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² See also 414.

French Influence in English Phrasing

(Concluded)*

FINE, END

To take (one's) end, fine (to die) — *prendre fin*

Cf. *French Influence in Engl. Phr.*: To take an end, p. 264, and: To make a good end, p. 203.

Though the word *ende* was used in the sense of 'death' in OE (cf. BTS 188a, 4a), the above phrase did not occur in OE.

G 4.9: *Fine*, fin, mort. Qui plus ert, amere que fine. *Les 3 ennus de l'homme*, Richel. 19525, fo 126 vo.

TL 3. 1862: *prendre fin*, sein Leben beschlieszen, sterben: *Pramis nus est*, fin prendrunt a itant, Ulte cest jur ne serum plus vivant, *Ch. Rol.* 1476.

MED s.v. fin 564a 2: The end of life, death; *don*, *taken*, *maken* or *haven fin*, to die. *Cursor* 21102: *Flexsli þer tok he fine* [Trin-C: *ende*], *Smiten thoru þer wit a sper*.

MED s.v. *ende* 117/8: *taken ende* ... (b) to die: a 1500 (a 1400) *Eglam.* 756: The dragon hath tan his gynde.

The same examples are found in NED. s.v. End and Fine.

ESSOIN

By *essoin* — *par essoigne*

MoF. *Exoine*, excuse en justice, de ce qu'on ne peut se trouver à une assignation. L 2. 1565.

XVIe s.: Souffrance se doit bailler à ceux qui, par *essoine* légitime, ne peuvent faire la foi en personne, *Loysel*, 586.

TL 3. 1311: *par essoigne* convint tot respitier, *Cor. Lo.* 1376.
par essoigne convint tot refuser, *eb.* 1382.

MED s.v. *essoine* n. 256b: a) The offering of an excuse, or an excuse offered, for non-appearance in court, etc.

b) *bi essoine*, by sending a substitute.

(a) c1436 *Ipswich Domesday* (2) 37: *Delayes be essoine*.

(b) c1325 (c1300) *Glo. Chron.* A 11156: *Sir Ion giffard ... com bi asoigne*.

Though the group does not seem to be a very close one either in OFr or ME, yet the collocation must have been fairly frequent and was obviously

* See E. S. XL, 1 (Febr. 1959), 27-32. — The following note should be added to line 4, page 30, of that number:

⁴ The quotations from Chaucer show somewhat different forms of the idiom. The first, however, corresponds to the last French quotation (*Ménagier*, I, 76), the second to the following French quotations:

G 2.762. De celui n'ert nule detance Que, etc. *Gilles de Chin*, 434, Reiff.

TL 2042 De ce ne doit estre nus doutes. *Mousk.* 6419.

taken over as a whole. The sense-development in English (b) is easy to account for. If a man is absent *bi essoine* (cf. *par essoine légitime*) and sends a substitute, he may be said to be represented *bi essoine*.

Without essoin — sans essoigne

TL 3. 1311-12: *essoigne*, Aufschub.

Son tref commande a tendre, on le fait sans essone, *RAlix*. 500, 16.

Or m'en irai cele part sanz essone, *Aym. Narb.* 433.

Or me venés servir a Paris sans essoigne, *Gaufr.* 317.

G 3. 576: *Essoine*, empêchement, obstacle, retard: toute sorte d'excuse, etc.

Citei compassa sens essonie. *Brut*, ms. Munich, 1561.

*Se il les mande en Babyloine, Il i vendront sanz nule essoine. *Floire et Blancheflor*, 1598 (ed. Pelan, 1956).

*Morir doivent bien sanz essoine. *Ibid.* 2557.

Si vos mande que Babiloine Li soit rendue sanz essoine, *Floire et Blancheflor*, 2e vers., 3085, du Mériel.

Par mer al vent, sans essone, S'en alerent droit en Pannone. *Mousk. Chron.* 166, Reiff.

Etc., etc.

NED s.v., Essoin, essoign, 297: 2. An excuse, exemption, making of conditions, parleying, delay; also in phr. *without essoin*.

*c1400 (? a1300) *Kyng Alisaunder*, B 1019: þe day was sette, wiþouten essoyne. L 1015 wiþ outyn assoyne.

And also 1441, 3197, 4507, 6040, 7778, 7982.

MED s.v. essoine n. 257: *withouten essoine*, without delay; without fail, for sooth; — also as verse tag.

a1325 *Flem. Insur.* 67: Wende we forþ anon riht wiþ oute eny assoyne.

a1400 *Cursor* (Trin-C) 2268: þefore hit hiȝte babiloyne þat shend þing is wiþouten assoyne.

?a1400 (a1338) *Mannyng Chron. Pt.* 2 p. 104: Withouten any essoyne, vengeance salle falle þe not lite.

Etc., etc. Last quot. 1543 (1464)

EXILE

In connection with this word there are a few English phrases which are undoubtedly derived from French:

To go in(to) exile — aller en exil

TL s.v. essil, 1306: Or m'estuet aler an essil. *Erec* 2596.

Rois, va an essil. *Guil. d'A.* 83 (freiwillige Verbannung).

*c1330 *Sir Orfeo Auchinl.* 493: Hou her king en exile ȝede.

One should note the use of the French phrase as such.

*c1380 Chaucer *Boeth.* 3 pr. 5. 40 (ed. Skeat): To han gon into solitarie exil.

MED s.v. exil, 332 a1400 (a1325) *Cursor* 1154: þou [Cain] sal bi halden vile, Quar-sa þou wendes in exile.

c1475 *Guy(4)* (Cai) 7500: My lord ys wente oute of this contre.. In excile now ys he gone.

NED s.v. exile, 411c: 1548 *Hall Chron.* 242b, He so...greved his nobilitie.. that some .. went into Exile.

To put in exile — mettre en exil

The OFr word *exil* had two senses: a) foreign parts, b) destruction, ravage. The phrase was found with either sense of the noun, and this is reflected in English, so that the French origin is doubly confirmed.

a) L. 2. 1564, XIIe s.: Si erent mis En eixil fors [hors] de lur païs, Benoit, I, 557.

b) G. 3. 574: destruction, ravage, pillage, ruine, tourment, dommage, fatigue: Qui vos a mort mis m'a en grant essil. *Garin le Loh.* 2e chans., xviii, [etc.]

Tante gent as hui mis en duel et en essis. *Roum. d'Alix.*, fo 81a, Michelant.

*Ki tei ad mort France ad mis en exill. *Chans. de Rol.* 2935. Gloss.: désastre. Ed. Gautier, 1883.

TL. s.v. essil. 3, 1306: Not, Drangsal: Qui por lui metent en eschil Lor cors. *SFranch.* 68.

.. Ki les altres mist en eissil, *MFce Espurg. S Patr.* ... 642.

Et li povres est en essil, Chascun le foule et le tient vil, *Méon* II 244, 277.

MED s.v. exil: (a) Banishment, etc., (b) the state of living in exile.

c1450 (c1412) Hoccl. *RP* 522: Now wold god þe waast of cloth & pryde Y-put were in exyl perpetual.

*c1390 Chaucer, *CT. Mel.* B 3025: I thinke and purpose me fully to desherite hem of al that ever they han, and for to putte hem in exil for ever.

c1460 (1422) Lydg., *SD* (Calth) 49/11: The Roial stokke of þe forsaide Tarqvyne was proscrip̄te & put in exile.

NED s.v. exile, sb.¹, 411c. c1450 *Castle Hd. Life St. Cuthb.* (Surtees) 7994 Þe same bischope ... Fra his kirke was putt in exile.

To put in exile to ravage (a country), ruin (a person). *obs.*

Note: NED wrongly adds [OF. *mettre a essil*] in explanation of this phrase, and wrongly gives the above quotation from Chaucer *CT. Mel.* as a case in point. The context makes it unlikely that this is correct.

1483 Caxton *G. de la Tour* E vj b, He began werre to his neyghbours ... in so much that the reame was put in exyl.

In exile — en exil

For the use of this phrase in verbal groups we refer to the two preceding lemmata. These should in any case be consulted for further OF instances.

TL s.v. essil. 3, 1306. = Verbannung: En eisel l'en envëat l'om, *Wace Vie SNicolas*, etc., 642.

Cis (*charboucles*) la nuit en essil envoie, *Rose* 21491.

G 3. 573, s.v. essil: Tres haut Sire, que porrai faire En cest essil ou je repaire ? *Serm. du XIIIe s.*

GC 9. 583: Son père le rappela apres plusieurs ans qu'il avoit esté en exil. Mielot, *Adv. dir.*

NED s.v. exile, sb.¹. c 1425 Wyntoun *Cron.* vii. viii. 44: Saynt Thomas In Frawns, as in-til Exile, was.

MED s.v. exil, n. (1) (?c1421) Lydg. *ST* 1098: Lyve in exile and in pouerte.

a1500 (a1415) Mirk, *Fest.* 39/18: þe kyng ... was aftyr hys best frende yn exhile. [a1450 (c1410) Lovel., *Grail* 37.304: They weren In gret peryl, fer with-inne the See In that Exyl.]

c1600 (c1350) *Alex. Maced.* 240: Eruba in exile ever was after.

[a1420 Lydg., *TB.* 2.109: þe peple ... Lad in-to exil, fer from her cite.]

FABLE

Holden at fable — tenir a fable

Holden in fable — tenir fable

Of these two phrases only one example can be found in NED and MED, and it seems doubtful whether they were at any time really incorporated into English. Both are found in translations of French works, the first from the French of G. de Guilleville, the second in Fragment A of the translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, where it seems to be a more or less incorrect rendering of the French. The second phrase, moreover, though undoubtedly suggested by the French phrase, is not a pure *calque* in form and seems to differ in meaning as well.

TL s.v. fable 3, 1543: = leeres Geschwätz, Nichtigkeit: Nel tenez mie a faule, Une merveille qui avint Uns bachelers ... me conta, *GDole* 656.

Et se nel tenissies a fable, *Ferg.* 151, 5.

L. 2, 1584, XV^e s.: Il ne le tint à fable, mais s'appareilla, et monta tantost à cheval, et partit, Froiss. liv. ii, p. 409, dans Lacurne.

MED s.v. fable, n. 2. c1450 *Pilgr.* LM 83: Wolt thou holde the gospel at fable and lesinge? (Same instance in NED).

G. de Lorris, *Rom. de la Rose* 1419 in Skeat, *Compl. Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*: Ne vous tenrai jà longue fable Du leu plesant et délitale.

*1532 (? a1400) Chaucer, *Rom. de la Rose* 1439: I wol not longe holde you in fable Of al this gardin delitable.

MED explains it as 'to detain with idle talk', which is not quite the meaning of the French phrase.

Maken fable(s — faire fable

Though the French phrase has the noun in the singular and the English one either in the singular or in the plural, it is a true *calque*.

TL s.v. fable, 3, 1543: *Gerede*: Del mangier ne faz autre fable: *Perc. H* 1569: Del lit nule fable ne faz, *eb.* 7697. Etc. leeres Geschwätz, Nichtigkeit: Et cil fable et mançoenge an font Qui s'an vantent et droit n'i ont, *Ch. Lyon* 24 u. 27.

GC. 9, 588: Ouy, va tost, sans faire fable. *La vie et l'hist. du maulv. riche*, Anc. Th. fr., III, 272.

Gloss. *Roman de Thèbes*: hâbler au sujet de: 915 Des mes ne vos quier faire fable. 7480 Por ço, n'en volon faire fable.

MED s.v. fable n. 355: *maken fable(s)*, to tell an untruth or lie.

[a1450 *St. Editha* 3178: Y nyl þerof no worde to 3ow of fable make.]

a1450 (c1410) Lovel. *Grail* 43.210: I lawhe.. For þat 3e maken fables so Openly.

a1450-1509 *Rich.* (Brunner) 3834: He gan to glose, and make ffable.

Without(en (saun, sans, but) fable — sans fable

TL s.v. fable, 3, 1543 (Sans longue fable vous veil dire, *Rose* 699.) Devant lui, sanz nule fable, Li abati desor la table, etc. *Perc. H* 935.

Pour lui et les navrés garir Manda mires sans nule faule, .. *Jeh. et Bl.* 4480.

L 2. 1584, XVe s.: Clemence grant et magnanimité, Cela avez; mais vous passez, sans fable, Ung droit Cesar en liberalité, Ch. d'Orl., *Rondeau de Robertet*.

MED s.v. fable n. 355: *Withouten* or *saun (ani) fable*, without falsehood or pretense; truly; in fact, actually, to a certainty (often as verse tag).

c1330 *Arth. & M.* 4115: *De douke þo, wiþouten fable, Of Cardoil hadde ben constable.*

c1330 7 *Sages* 66/1424: *Sop i seie, wiȝ outen fable.*

Etc.

[*(c1395) Chaucer, *CT. Sq.* F 180: Sikerly, with-outen any fable.]

*c1400 (? a1300) *K. Alis.* 134: Of gold he made atable, Al ful of steorren, saun fable (L), saunz fable (B).

*Ibid. 310: 'It is soop', he seide, 'saunz fable'; L saun fable.

*778 *Pere* it was tyed jinne, saun fable; L saunfable.

*1081 *Forþ goþ Alisaunder*, saunz fable; L saunfable.

*4167 *Alisaunder*, wiþouten fable, He setteþ at his owen table; L wiþ oute fable.

*4211 And he be worpi, saunz fable, He shall sytte at his table; L saunfable.

NED s.v. fable sb. Id: 1535 *Stewart Cron. Scot.* I. 534: Rycht fair he wes and fecfull als but fabill.

1590 *Shaks., Com. Err.* iv. iv. 76: Sans Fable, she her selfe reuil'd you there.

The insertion of *nule* in the OFr phrase is also reflected in ME:

MED a1375 *WPa.* 4608: *Dis ȝe witeþ wel alle, with-oute any fabul.*

*(c1395) Chaucer *CT. Sq.* F 180: Sikerly with outen any fable.

FINE

For In (the) fin(e — en (la) fin see *French Influence*, p. 172.

It will be seen that in this case also the noun *fin* was adopted in English in a group of phrases.

Afin(e — a fin

G.4.6: *A fin*, pour toujours, à perpétuité: *A portees bien et em pez affin*, etc.;

Fête de S. Sim. 1282, *Ch. du Vic. de Bay*, etc.

Il a vendu et delessi a fin em perpetuel. *Fête S. Sim.* 1284, *Chap. de Bay.*,

Arch. Calv.

A vendu et delaissi a fin d'en tout en tout. *Janv.* 1290, *Chap. de Bay.*, no 214.

Arch. Calv.

Etc., etc.

The collocation here has a somewhat different sense from the ME phrase. In the following examples, however, we find the sense which is reflected in English:

L.2.1680, XIIe s.: Que plus [je] ne doi à fin d'amours penser. *Couci*, xx.

TL 3, 1862: *a fin* endgültig, als letztes: *Deseriter a fin e chacier le voleient*, *Rou II* 1595.

Lors veïssiez François sus paiens desrengier Et occire et abatre et a fin (*Var.* en fin) detrenchier, *FCand. Sch.* G. 14787 (*Glossar: ganz und gar*).

La cité achata tut a fin par marchié. *Rou II* 527.

MED *afin(e)*, adv. a) Fully, completely, altogether; very well.

c1325 (c1300) *Glo. Chron.* A 1865: god King was afin.

c1330 (? a1300) *Arth. & M.* 50: *De eldest sone . . Was noble clerk & wise afine.*

*c1330 *Sir Orfeo* 277 MS Auch.: To here his harping a-fine (not in other mss.).

Etc., etc. Last example in NED. s.v. fine, sb.¹, 226c dates from 1575.

In ME the phrase was often emphasized by the addition of *wel* or *right*, for which see MED.

At (the) fin — a la fin

L. 2. 1680, XIIIe s.: Que Dieu le gart et s'ame fasse à la fin merci, *Berte*, lix.

XVe s.: Et à la fin finale si en fist une [trefve] d'ung an. Comm. III.3.

XVIe s.: La riviere croissant tousjours vint à la fin à sortir de rive, Amyot, *Rom.* 4.

MED s.v. fin, n. (2), 563b: *at* or *in* (the) *fin*, in the end, at last.

a1325 (c 1280) *SLeg. Pass.* (Pep) 849: Pulke day þat ich atte ffyne Drynke wiþ 3ow al nywe in my ffader kyngdom.

c1325 (c1300) *Glo. Chron.* A 10057: He smot of þan vot mid gret wo atte fine.

NED s.v. fine sb.¹, 226c: 1297 R. Glouc. (1724) 91 þe noble Constantyn, (þat was kyng here of þis lond, & emperour atte fyn).

OF also had a phrase *a la fin* in which *fin* meant the end in view. It is found in *a la fin de*, *a la fin que*, *a quel fin*. The second phrase is reflected in E *to the end that*, but the noun *fine* is only found in *to what fine*, in which it is later also replaced by *end*.

The noun *ende* was used in OE in the phrases *æt (þam) ende* in the sense of 'in the end, ultimately' (Cf BTS 188a), which phrases are probably native formations. The noun is, however, also found in the sense of 'end to be attained', which is obviously a 'loan-sense' from Latin. (Cf. L *ad eum finem* 'deswegen' Tacitus, H s.v. finis). The only two examples in BTS are from the translation of Boethius, and in one of these: *to anum ende* it is a literal rendering of the Latin *ad unum finem*, BTS s.v. ende II, 8 (188a). The phrases *to the end (that)*, and *to this (that, what, which) end*, however, are not found before the ME period and are obviously based on French, as is also apparent from *to what fine*.

G. 4.6: *Fin* marque le but; loc., à la fin de, comme à fin de: ... a la fin de en avoir cognoissance. G. de Charny, *Liv. de Cheval*, ms Brux., fo 112 v°.

TL 3, 1866: *a la fin que*, zu dem Ende dasz: Toutes ytelz choses doit fere A la fin que li puisses plere, *Clef d'Am.* 88. Etc., etc.

a cele fin que, zu dem Ende dasz: On les pent delés un chemin / A un grant arbre, a celle fin / Que ceulx qui par là passeront / Devotement Dieu prieront, etc. *Gace de la Buigne*, .. 8548.

L 2, 1680, XVe s: Vous m'avez demandé tout premierelement à quel fin il garde tant d'argent. Froiss. II, III, 9.

...le dit accord... n'estoit fait à aultre fin que pour l'aler destruire incontinent. J. de Troyes, *Chr.* 1469.

Les choses qu'ilz avoient proposées estoient tendans à fin de paix, Comm. v, 16. XVIe s.: Il ... alloit sollicitant à ces fins les chefs des bandes, Amyot, *Cam.* 63.

MED s.v. fin n. (2), 564, 3 and 4: (c1375) Chaucer *CT. Mk.* B. 3348: Ne was ther noon / That wiste to what fyn his dremes sowned.

To fin, to this end, for this purpose:

(a1420) Lydg., *TB* 4. 2618: To fyn only, þer shuld haue ben a pes / Atwen Grekis and hem of Troye toun.

a1425 (c1385) Chaucer, *TC* 2. 794: To what fyn is swich love, I kan nat see.

? a1450 (1413) ? Hoccl., *Poems PS* p. xxxviii/59: To what entent, or to what ende of [read: or] fyne / Engendred ye me ?

The last example is interesting because it shows the noun both in the French and in the English form.

NED s.v. *fine*, sb.¹, 226c, 4: End in view, ...; esp. in phr. *to what fine*. Obs. Same instances, and:

1533 Bellenden, *Livy* I. (1822) 38: To schaw to quhat fine thay war cummin.

1562 Winzet, *Cert. Tract.* iii. Wks. 1888 I. 31: For thair abusing of the samyn to ane vther fine than He [God] institute tham.

The following examples show the phrases with the English form of the noun:

MED s.v. *ende* n. (1), 113, 9a: Purpose, intention, aim; *to this (that) ende*, with this (that) purpose, to this (that) end; — usually followed by a *that* clause.

*(c1390) Chaucer, *CT. Mel.* B. 3073: To this effect and to this ende that god of his endelees mercy wole at the tyme of oure dyyngne foryeuen vs our gyltes.

[*Trev. Barth. 20a/a: [The soul] is discriued in comparisoun to god as to þe ende þat he is I maad for.]

(?1419) *Proc. Privy C.* 2. 260: It shulde be heere in this land to that eende that [etc].

?a1425 (c1400) *Mandev.* 2/10: To þat ende & entent þat his passioun & his deth.. myghte ben knowen euenly to all the parties of the world.

(1447) in Mullinger, *Cambridge* 1/313: To the ende there accustomed of plain lecture and expositcion.

NED s.v. *end*, sb. 154c, 14b: In phrases, *For* or *to this (that, what, which) end* ... Also in conjunctional phrase, *To the end (that)*; formerly also, *To the end to* (with *inf.*).

138. Wyclif, *Sel. Wks.* III. 354: Han power of him to pise ende.

c1400 Maundev. v. 51 3ee schulle knowe and preve, to the ende that 3ee schulle not been disceyved.

1474 Caxton, *Chesse* iv, ii. (1860) K iiij b, The faders had dyuerse wyues.. to thende whan one was [with] childe, they myght take another.

1558 To thende. 1605 Bacon *Adv. Learn.* I.II. § 9 (1873) 17: To the end to peruse the Greek authors.

1634 Sir T. Herbert, *Trav.* 28: To which end, King Abbas, sends his Ambassadour to Constantinople.

1684 Bunyan: To that end.

1712 Addison, *Spect.* No. 305 ¶ 12: To the End that they may be perfect also in this Practice.

It will be seen that the French use of *fin* in the various collocations is reflected in English:

<i>a la fin</i>	—	<i>to the end</i>
<i>a la fin que</i>	—	<i>to the end that</i>
<i>a fin</i>	—	<i>to fin</i>
<i>a cele fin que</i>	—	<i>to this (that) end</i>
<i>a quel fin</i>	—	<i>to what fine, to what end</i>
<i>a fin</i>	—	<i>to fine</i>

FOU AND GRIS

Fou and grei, fou and gris — vair et gris

This collocation was very common in OF to denote a kind of fur, the colour of which was grey and which was made of the skin of the squirrel. The adjective *vair* < L. *varium*, meant 'variable, changeant', or 'bigarré, bariolé' (Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, *Dict. d'ancien Français*). These

senses 'variegated, mottled' were also the senses of OE *fāh*, *fāg* ME *faw*, *fowe*. The second element of the OF collocation was either translated as well (*grei*) or left untranslated (*gris*).

As the quotations, both French and English, show, the collocation was used to denote ermine. It was the sort of dress worn by the nobility, and people of high rank. It is therefore not surprising that the collocation should have been adopted as such in English.

Since the number of quotations in OF is considerable, we shall only quote the most pregnant examples.

L 4. 2412. XVe s.: Ils [les seigneurs] sont fourrés de vairs et de gris, et nous [les paysans] sommes vestus de povres draps. Froiss. II, II, 160.

TL s.v. gris 671-4: Je n'ai pelichon vair ne gris hermine, *Aiol* 3513.

Et s'i avoit assés encor De rices dras batus a or ... Sables, ermins, et vairs et gris, *Mousk.* 24198.

Une pelice vaire e grise / Vest Medea sor sa chemise, *Troie* 1619.

Or soient vostre li mantel vair et gris, *Aym. Narb.* 2669.

De bone robe vaire et grise, *Barb. u. M.* III 194, 111.

ore argent, e veir e gris, *Gaimar*², 5560.

Donc me donez et veir et gris, *Clig.* 142.

Despiseit vair e gris, *SThom.* W 734.

Et Basiles lor donne et le var et le grix, *Orson* 1615.

Tot m'est falli et vair et gris, *Trist. Bér.* 2168.

Bien fu vestue et de ver et de gris, *Aym. Narb.* 3265.

Assés portent avoir et vair et gris, *Aiol* 607.

Tant vi entor le roi et vair et gris, *Aiol* 1575 (Glossar: *vair et gris* = mthd. *grā unde bunt*).

This shows that the phrase was also adopted in Old High German.

E de vair e de gris les fourre, *Rose L* 9083.

Etc., etc.

It seems unnecessary to add more quotations. Their number is so large as to show unmistakably how popular the phrase was.

MED s.v. fou adj. 832. 1. Particolored, variegated, spotted or streaked. 2. As noun: a kind of particolored fur; *fou* and *grei*, ..., *fou* and *gris*.

a1225 (?c1175) *PMor.* (Trin-C) 365: Ne sal þar ben foh [vrr. fah, foʒ, fou] ne grai, ne cunin ne ermine.

a1225 (?a1200) *Trin. Hom.* 179: Þe riche þe ben louerdinges.. habbeð.. fogh and grei.

c1250 *Wolle ye i heren* 7: Ne werede he nouþer fou ne grey, þe louerd þat us alle hauet iwroust.

c1250 *Nu þu vnseli bodi* 2: Were bet þine robin of fau & of gris?

c1275 (c1250) *Prov. Hend.* st. 2: For betere were to ben wis, þan to werien fou [vr. foh] and gris.

And six more quotations: a1300 *A Mayde Cristes* 106: vouh ne gray; a1300 *I-hereþ ny one* 66: robe of fowe ne of gray; c1330 (?a1300) *Tristrem* 1268: fow and griis; c1330 (?c1300) *Guy (1)* 711: Þe panis al of fow & griis; c1400 *St. Greg.* (Cleo) 187/1240: Ðat wereþ hope fou and graye.

*1330 *Sir Orfeo* (Auch.) 241: Ne þat hadde y-wered þe fowe & griis (not in mss. Harley or Ashmole).

The collocation was not found in OE.

MALEASE

1. At malease — a malaise
2. In malease — en malaise

Both phrases are early in OF, the first being found in the twelfth century, the second in the thirteenth.

1. GC 10. 110: Malaise, s.m., état où l'on n'est pas à son aise. Ne seiez a malaise. *Coronem. Loois*, 261. (12th c.)
 L 3.404, XIIIe s.: Ceux qui estoient de l'arriere garde furent à grant malaise des Turcs [furent très-maltraités]. Joinv. p. 58 dans Lacurne.
 XVe s.: Et sachez que qui fust encrolé en ces crolieres, il eust trouvé à malaise qui lui aidast. Froiss. II.37.
 ... Car j'en suis à tres grand malaise. Godefroy, *Rem. sur l'hist. de Charles VII*, p. 896, dans Lacurne.
 *c1400 (?a1300) *K. Alis.* (ed. Smithers) B 1147: Kyng Philippe was a male eys. (L in male ese.)
 NED s.v. malease, a1400: *Relig. Pieces fr. Thornton MS.* 18 Euer mare when pou ert at male-ese þan he comforthes þe.
 *a1500 *Sir Orfeo* (Harley) 234: But now he is at male-ese.

In the first English quotation *a* is probably OF *a*, cf *a-bandon*, *a-cas*, *a-cost*, *a-fine*, etc. MED. p. 4b, and *French Influence*, pp. 62-3, 68 (*at leisure*), 75-6 (*at will*).

2. L 3. 404, XIIIe s.: Et si tres en malaise et si fort tourmentée, *Berte*, lxviii.
 GC 10. 110: N'est mie encor mort, mes em maleise est moult. *Quatre fils Aymon*, ms. Montpellier 247, fo 192e.
 *?a1300 *King Alis.* B 7359: Better is litel to habbe in ayse þan mychel aghȝtte in malayse. L 6086 Beter is lyte to haue in ese þen muche to haue in malese. L 1147 Kyng Felip was in male ese. (B a male ese.)
 *c1330 *Sir Orfeo* (Auchinl.) 240: bot euer he liueþ in gret malais. (Cf. Harley 234 at male-ese.)
 NED Malory, *Arth.* viii, xli. 338: A syr yet shalle I shewe you faueour in your male ease.

MIGHT, POWER

At one's power, at one's might — a mon (son, etc.) pouvoir

- L 3. 1262, XIIe s.: Che que je l'ai [amour] à mon pooir Servie sans desloiauté, *Couct.* III.
 G 6. 245 s.v. poier, pooier, puier, s.m., pouvoir: Il s'en repeine a son poier. Guill. de S. Pair, *Mont St. Michel*, 1450, Michel.
 GC 10. 364: Vos servirai a men poeir. *Le Lai du Desiré*, Fr. Michel, *Lais inédits*, p. 14.
 A nos pouors. (1269, *Lett. d'Aelis, fem. de J. de Joinv.*)
 NED s.v. power, 1214, V, 17. Phrases, † *At one's power, at all one's power*: according to one's ability; to the utmost of one's ability, with all one's might.
 c1330 R. Brunne, *Chron. Wace* (Rolls) 10861: Per horses at þer power runnen.
 1627 Rutherford, *Lett.* (1862) I. 35: Your's at all power in the Lord Jesus, S.R.
 a1649 Drumm. of Hawth., *Fam. Ep. Wks.* (1711) 138: I shall fortify and defend the true holy catholick and christian religion ... at all my power.
 *a1500 (a1460) *Towneley Pl. Noah* (in Sisam) 322: Without any yelp, At my myght shall I help.

NED s.v. *might*, 429, 1 b. 1500-20, Dunbar *Poems* x.36: Be myrthfull now, at all
 3our mycht.

The phrase was not found in OE, nor does it occur in Chaucer or Gower. The gap in the use of *power* in this phrase (c 1330-1627) is more or less filled up by the use of *might*.

PACE, TROT

Apace, apas — a pas

This adverb was probably wrongly explained in NED as being on a line with *afoot*, *ahead*, in which *a* is a weakened form of *on*. MED explains it as being from OF *à pas*, which is more likely.⁵

L 3. 980-1: *À pas lents. Aller à pas de loup. Marcher à pas comptés.*

*(c1385) Chaucer, *CT. Kn.* A 2217: He walketh forth a pas Un-to the listes.

**Ibid.* 2897: [They] riden forth a pas with sorweful chere.

*(c1390) Chaucer, *CT. Pard.* C 866: Ye, sterve he shal, and that in lasse whyle Than thou wolt goon a paas nat but a myle.

Other instances from Chaucer: **CT. Sq.* F 388; **Tr.* 2.627: Wounded was his hors . . . On whiche he rood a pas [vrr. a pace, a pase], ful softly. **Ibid.* 5.60: And forth she rit ful sorwfully a pas [vrr. apas, apaas]. **Mars* 134.

MED correctly explains this use as: Step by step, with measured step; at a walking pace, slowly, and gives more instances (s.v. *apas*, 307), of which I shall quote one more:

c1440 (? 1400) *Morte Arth.* (1) 4014: Thare come þe prior of the plas and professide monnkes, Apas in processione.

The modern sense of the phrase: 'rapidly, fast' develops in the fifteenth century, for which see MED, 307b, sub 2.

Atrot — a trot

This adverb is probably wrongly explained in MED as being derived from *on trot*. It is more likely that it is a French formation which was adopted in ME.

⁵ Though MED derives ME *apas* from OF *à pas*, I have not been able to find one example of this expression in any Old French dictionary or glossary. This does not prove there was no such phrase. The fact that a *trote* is found, and that in later times *au pas* is the normal phrase, makes it quite likely that a *pas* was found in OF by the side of the apparently normal *le pas*.

Instances like the following prove very little, for there the sense is entirely different:

C'est fait a deux pas et ung sault. III, 17743

Acop, a deux pas et ung sault! III, 24774

Le mystère du Viel Testament, Ed. J. de Rothschild, SATF. Paris, 1878-91

I found one instance of *d'a pas* = *au pas*, which comes closest to what is required, but the example occurs in a Provençal text, and unless something like it is found in texts from other dialects, it proves little:

E no es d'anar tan cotxos

Qe tot d'a pas nous en tornetz. 3419

Jaufré, Roman Arthurien du xiiiè siècle en vers provençaux.

Ed. C. Brunel. Paris, 1943.

G 8.91. s.v. trote, s.f., trot: Quant (le sanglier) est une foiz a trote et a un peu d'avantage devant les chiens. Gast. Phebus, p. 61, ap. Ste-Pal.

In later French the phrase takes the definite article:

L 5.2363: un . . nombre de chevaux qui marchaient au trot. Larochefouc., *Mém.* 269. Au grand trot. Riccoboni. L'âne, le mulet . . vont au trot.

MED s.v. atrot, adv.: . . At a trot, apace. a1400 (a1325) *Cursor* 15872: Pai . . ledd him forth, a-trott [so other MSS] and noght þe pas. (NED 2 MSS. a-pas, apas.)

That the explanation given above is, indeed, the correct one, appears from the parallel phrase *þe pas*, which is also an imitation from the French which uses the definite article in connection with *pas* and *trot*, used adverbially:

G 6.16: Mes Faus Sanblant n'i treuve pas, Partiz s'en iert plus que le pas. Rose, Richel. 1573, f° 163a.

Par belle ordonnance chevalcherent tout le petit pas jusques a Arras. Monstrelet, *Chron.*, II, 180.

Haste toy le grand pas. *L'Enfer de la mere Cardine*, Poés. fr. des XVe et XVIe s., III, 316.

*Gower, *Mirr.* 890: Enchivalchant le petit pass.

GC 10. 814 s.v. trot. Vers lui se mot plus ke le trot. Huon de Rotel., *Ipomedon*, 6185.

NED adduces a good many more examples (s.v. trot, sb.¹, 401, I, 1), some of which do not seem quite conclusive owing to the addition of a qualifying noun or adjective:

*c1375 *Purity* 976: Trynande ay a hyze trot þat torne never dorsten.

c1425 *Cast. Persev.* 3100 in *Macro Plays* 169: Now dagge we hens a dogge trot. 1590 Barwick, *Disc. Weapons* 9b: They retired a soft trote: their enemies . . made after them with more speed.

In the first of these examples it is possible that a should be looked upon as an article.

The pas (adv.) — le pas

For OF instances of this phrase see above (*atrot*). It will be seen that in some cases the word *pas* is qualified by some adjective (*grand*, *petit*). This is reflected in English, which confirms that the English phrase is a true *calque*.

*c1390 Gower, *Conf. Am.* vi. 151: I mai unethes gon the pas.

**Ib.* ii. 988: This Messenger, whan he awok, . . . Aros and rod the grete pas / And tok this lettre to the king.

**Ib.* v. 3178: For he goth forth the grete pas / Into the chambre where he lay.

**Ib.* vii. 4970: The softe pas and forth he ferde Unto the bed wher that sche slepte. (The line contains the transposition which is so usual in Gower. Read: And forth he ferde the softe pas.)

NED s.v. pace, sb.¹, 358,5. a1300 *Cursor M.* 15392 (Cott.): Fra þan he ran him ilk fote, no yode he noght þe pas, til he com him til þat in.

Ib. 15872 (Cott.): Pai . . ledd him forth A-trott and noght þe pas. [So Gött. *Fairf.*, *Trin.* a pas.]

Pas (adv.) — pas (adv.)

Trot (adv.) — trot (adv.)

Trot or pas — Ne pas ne trot

In OF the nouns *pas* and *trot* could be used adverbially and were also combined in the adverbial phrase quoted above. This was also adopted in E.

G 6.16: Goliath vint vers David petit pas. *Rois*, p. 66, Ler. de Lincy.

L. 3. 983, XIIe s.: Ne jamais en s'aië [à son aide] n'irons ne pas ne trot. *Sax.* xvii.

The same example is found in G 6.16 with the explanation: *Ne pas ne trot*, en aucune façon.

*c1390 Gower, *Conf.* ii. 1509: Thei wondren what sche wolde mene, And riden after softe pas.

*c1395 Chaucer, *CT Can. Yeom. Prol.* 22 (G 575): His hat heng at his bak down by a laas, For he had riden more than trot or paas.

It seems, however, that there are not so many instances of the adverbial use of these nouns.

PITY

For **To have pity of** — **avoir pitié de** see *French Influence*, p. 149.

For **To take pity of** — *Ibid.* p. 272.

Sans, without pity — **sans pitié, pitance**

No example of the OF phrase is to be found in Littré, Godefroy, or Godefroy-Compl. s.v. *pitié*, or *sans*, though it must undoubtedly have existed. There is, however, an instance with *pitance* 'pitié':

G 6.179, s.v. *pitance* = *pitié*: Et sans amor et sans pitance. Raoul de Houdenc, *Songe de paradis*, 1182 [etc.].

Curiously enough the earliest English examples have *without*, whereas a few later instances have the French form of the preposition:

a1300 *Cursor M.* 3976: Wit-outen pite he wald him sla.

*c1400 (?a1300) *King Alis*, L 979: And slouȝ doun wiȝoute pite. (B 983 wiȝoute pyte. Gloss. = mercy.)

Also in ll. 1264, 1599, 1858.

NED s.v. *sans*. a1400 *Pistill of Susan* 181 (MS. A): De prestes saun pite, And ful of falskede.

1470-85 Malory, *Arthur* ix. xli. 407: Here came a knyght called sir Breuse saunce pyte.

RETURN

Sans return — **sans retour**

This phrase was quite common in OF in a variety of senses. It never seems to have been truly incorporated in English, for the only examples are from *King Alisaunder*, where it was probably taken over literally from the French original. There is, however, a possibility that the forthcoming

volumes of MED may contain further instances. There are none in NED s.v. *retour* or *return*.

L. 4. 1692. XIIe s.: Et mi desconfort greignor, Dont je mourrai sans retor, *Couci*, I. XIIIe s.: Parole volent sans retour, Brun. Latini, Trésor, p. 354.

G. 2. 762 s.v. *doutance*: Qu'eles (les nefes) fussent arses lo jor / Tot sanz dotence et sans retor. Ben., *Troie*, ms. Naples, fo 4a.

G. 7. 148. s.v. *retor*. = asile, refuge, recours: Pleurent Floires et Blanceflor; Morir cuidoient sans nul retor. *Floire et Blanceflor*, Ire vers., 2403, Du Ménil.

Loc., *sans retour*, sans détour: Dusc'a paradis tout entour / A lius mout divers sans retour, Gaut. de Mes, *Im. du monde*, ap. Bartsch, *Lang. et litt. fr.* 426, 3.

GC 10. 565. *Sans retour*, sans possibilité de revenir:

Prestre, trop aroit grant tristour, / Tantes mors soffrir sans retour. Renclus, *Carité*, xciv, 1.

Lor pechiez lor a molt grevez / Qu'il ont tot perdu sanz retor. Guiot, *Bible*, 1604.

It was in this sense, with a connotation of irreparability, that it was used in the English quotations:⁶

*c1400 (?a1300) *King Alis*. L 596: He schal beo poisonsd, saun return (B 601 saunz retours) / Of his owne traitour.

To make retour, return — faire retour, retornance, retornee, retournement

G 7. 149 s.v. *retornance, retour* = *retour*.

Mais en Gascongne ne ferons retournance. *Les Loh.*, Richel. 4988, fo 263d.

Ib. 149-150 s.v. *retornee* = *retour*, action de s'en retourner, retraite.

[Qu'enviers Jherusalem feront la retournee. *Chev. au Cygne*, 21700, Reiff.]

There are a few more instances in which the phrase is used with the definite article. This is never the case in English, though there is at least one instance where English uses the possessive pronoun.

Et que brief bonne retournee Nous puissions tous faire au pays. *Mist. du siege d'Orl.*, 1132, Guessard.

J'ay bien joué mon parsonnage: Je puis bien faire retournee. Greban, *Mist. de la Pass.*, 861.

L. 4. 1692 XVe s.: Une autre lingne qui faict retour depuis ladite arreste jusques à bonne [borne] ... *Souven. de la Flandre wallone*, juill. et août, p. 108.

NED s.v. *retour*, sb. 575, 1. 13. *Seuyn Sag.* (W.) 436: Scho... dede here mene make retour.

[c1330 R. Brunne, *Chron. Wace* (Rolls) 5482: Hamoun .. spirde after þer enperour, Whider-ward he made his retour.]

1567 Turberv., *Ovid's Ep.* 112: Come hither, come and to my bosome make retowre. S.v. *return*, sb. 587, I 1. † *To make return, to return*, to come back.

c1489 Caxton, *Blanchardyn* xlvi. 177: Prayeng humbly that a goode retorne & a shorte he myght make.

1626 Bacon, *New Atl.* (1900) 15: Wee never heard tell .. of any Shipp... that had made retorne from them.

There is also an instance of the phrase *to make returnment*, which is also found in OF. It is not certain, however, whether the English phrase is not an independent creation:

⁶ Note. NED s.v. *retour* sb. suggests that in this quotation '*retours*' is perhaps an alteration of *recours* Recourse (but cf. OF. *sans retour*).

G 7. 150 s.v. *retournement* = retour. Au conte Bauc ferai retournement. *Les Loh.*, Richel. 4988, fo 243c.

Vers Renoart ont fet retournement. *Mon. Renuart*, Richel. 368, fo 242d.

NED s.v. *returnment*, 591. *Obs. rare.* 1606 Heywood *If you know me not.* App., Sometimes we yeelded; but like a ramme That makes returnment to redouble strength, Then forc'd them yeeld.

The noun *retour* is also used in the plural in connection with the verb *faire*, and this is also found in English (*to make ... returns*), but in these cases we cannot speak of phrasal units, and the paralellism is probably purely accidental:

L 4. 1692. XVIe s.: Lesquels vaisseaux font plusieurs retours et revolutions et replis... Paré xviii, *Préf.*

NED s.v. *return*, sb. 587. 1513 Douglas *Æneis* v. x. 69: Sindry coursis and returnis maid thai.

1686 tr. *Chardin's Trav. Persia* 110: It was late, and the Vessels rid about a mile from the shoar; nor could they make above two Returns.

STUDY

In a study — en estude

The OF phrase was used in various senses:

L 2. 1538 XIIe s.: Ainz voliez poverte de vostre gré porter, En oreisun adès e en estudie ester. *Th. le mart.* 81.

This instance is also found in TL s.v. *estudie*, 1493 where the noun is here defined as 'Studium'. The following quotations are to be found under the heading: 'Bemühen, Eifer, Sorgfalt' TL 3. 1495-7:

S'est an grant painne et an estuide / De la pucele losangier, *Clig.* 3352.
En grant estude d'arester, *Parton.* 7916.

Still another sense is found in:

GC 9.568, s.v. *estude*: 'application de l'esprit à une chose pour l'apprendre: Apres cel ure grant tens Fu en estudie e grant purpens. *S. Edward le conf.*, 1295.

It denotes a state of concentration (study) or trouble, pains, or application. The English noun, when found in the phrase, has a somewhat different sense, though it is obvious that the phrase as such was adopted from OF. The sense-shift is not very considerable. Besides, the noun is found in this phrase at a very early date (c 1290) and is not quoted at an earlier date in ME:

NED s.v. *study*, sb. 1181, 3: A state of mental perplexity or anxious thought.

*c1290 *Beket* 1187 in *S.E. Leg.* 140: In gret studie he was i-brouȝt; He rounede in his wiues ere and tolde hire al is þouȝt.

1338 R. Brunne *Chron.* (1725) 58: Whan Edward perceyued, his herte was in studie, How þat werre bigan on him so sodanly.

c1450 *Mirk's Festial* 37: Pen stode þe Emperour yn full gret stude. Etc., etc. Last quot. 1689.

Ib. 6: The action of studying, etc.

c1300 *St. Edmund* 276 in *E.E.P.* (1862) 78: O tyme he was in gret studie of his lessoun a nyȝt.

Ib. 3b: A state of reverie or abstraction. *Obs. exc. in Brown study.*

*c1362 Langland, *Piers Pl.* A xii. 61: As I ȝede thurgh ȝouthe a-ȝen prime dayes, I stode stille in a stodie and stared a-bowte.

*c1386 Chaucer, *CT A* 1530: In-to a studie he fil sodeynly.

*c1375 *Sir Gaw. Gr. Kn.* 2369: Þat oþer stif mon in study stod a gret whyle.

1470-85 Malory, *Arthur* viii. xxxi. 320: He was in suche a study he herd not what Gouvernayle said.

1535 Stewart *Cron. Scot.* (Rolls) I. 554: Carthlyntus than into ane studie stude.

Etc., etc. Last quot. 17th c.

To set one's study — mettre son estude

L 2. 1538, XIIIe s.: [Les rois qui] Fierement metent lor estuide / À faire entor eus armer gens. *La Rose*, 5288.

XVe s.: Sans mettre y vostre estudie, Vous en savés là et avant, Froiss., *Esp. Amour*.

XVIe s.: Mais par sus tout il met son estudie À reparer son païs d' Arcadie, Marot, IV, 77.

TL s.v. estudie, 1493: Bemühen, Eifer, Sorgfalt: J'ai mis m'estudie En la plux jolie, Bern. *LHs.* 57, 1.

ot mis s'estudie Por qu'il feïst de li s'amie, *Barb. u. M.* III 64, 101. Etc., etc.

Ibid. s.v. estuide, 1496-7 (same sense): A mis son estude et s'entente A fere une novele branche De Renart, *Ren.* 15312.

Etc., etc. Cf. also G 3. 661 and GC 9, 568.

The phrase was adopted in English with exactly the same sense: 'to take pains, to lay oneself out, to direct deliberate effort to'.

NED s.v. study, sb. 1181,4.

*1390 Gower, *Conf.* v, 3090 (II, 230): And he, which hadde noght foryete / Of that belongeth to a clerk, / His studie sette upon this werk.

c1430 Lydgate, *Min. Poems* (Percy Soc.) 218: Lusty hertys in gladnesse them delite, Set al ther study on occupacioun, In joye and myrthe.

UTTERANCE

A outrance — at, to utterance

A l'outrance — at the utterance, to (unto) the utterance

The OF phrase *a l'outrance* was often used in connection with 'fight':

G 5.668. *Outrance*, action de pousser à bout, violence: Lesquelz se joignirent tous ensemble et escarmoucherent a l'outrance. D'Auton, *Chron.*, Richel. 5082, fo 150 ro. Combatus a l'outrance, Id., *ib.*, fo 51 vo.

Et estre malheureux sectateur [*sic*] de leur combat a mortelle outrance. Amyot, *Theag. et. Car.*, ch. xviii, éd. 1559.

In the same sense we also find *a outrance* :

L. 4. 884: À outrance, à toute outrance, jusqu'à l'excès.

XIIIe s.: jusqu'à outrance de mort. Merlin, fo 51, verso.

This phrase (*a outrance*) was, however, also used in a wider sense :

G. 5. 669: *A outrance*, excessivement, violemment:

Fortaiture faicte a oultrance / Jamais ne demeure impugnie. *Moral. d'ung Emper.*, Anc. Th. fr., III, 161.

Voyant ses sœurs qui pleuroient a toute outrance aupres d'elle, elle les consola. Brant., *Dames gal.* 8e disc. p. 451, Buchon.

Il neigoit a outrance. Id., *des Duels*.

Pour avoir esté offensé d'eux a outrance. N. Pasq., *le Gentilh.*, p. 282.

Chacun s'abandonna aux cris et aux pleurs a toute outrance. P. Hurault, *Mém.*, an 1599, éd. 1600.

The phrase as adopted in English is found in the same senses:

NED s.v. utterance 2. 490, 2a: *To (unto) . . the (such, etc.) utterance*, to an extreme degree; to the bitter end; to the last or utmost extremity. Freq. with *fight*, etc. Now *lit.* or *arch.* (revived in 19th cent.).

c1400 *Destr. Troy* 7981: Pat all the deire of the ded be done on vs two, To vttrance & yssue vne at this tyme.

1475 *Bk. Noblesse* 77: To doo armes in liestis to the utteraunce.

1470-85 *Malory, Arthur* vii. xii. 230: Thenne will I haue adoo with hym to the vtteraunce.

Etc., etc. Last example:

1907 *McCarthy Needles & Pins* xi: She had loved him well and proved it to the utterance.

Since the 'end' often meant 'subjection, ruin or death' in this connection, the expression was also used in this sense in English:

1430 *Lydg., St. Margaret* 324: Thou hast me brought shortly to vttraunce, I am venquysshed.

c1430 *Lydg., Min. Poems* (Percy Soc.) 135: Whan Amelech was brouhte unto uttraunce.

Etc., etc. Last quot. 1596.

NED 3. *At (the) utterance*: a. With the highest degree of energy or vigour; with the utmost force or violence; to the last or uttermost degree. Freq. with verbs, esp. *fight*.

1480 *Caxton, Chron. Eng.* ccxlii 148b: Than thees two worthy lordes comen . . and weren redy in the place for to fight at vtteraunce.

1485 *Caxton, Chas. Gt.* 62: They lete theyr horses renne wyth a grete courage for to luste at vtteraunce.

Etc., etc.

b. To the utmost of (one's power). *Obs.*

1513 *Douglas, Æneid* xii. ix. 124: Euery man . . At the vtyrans of all his fors gan fycht.

This phrase, like *to utterance*, was also used to denote 'the last extremity':

1525 *Ld. Berners, Froiss.* II. xxiv. 26/1: A varlet . . stode by and saw the batayle . . And whan he sawe his maister almost at vttraunce, he was sorie.

It will be seen that the English phrases exactly reflect the various connotations and shades of meaning which are found in the French phrases.

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Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* and Lord Hailes

When John Home returned to Edinburgh from Moffat in the autumn of 1759, taking with him James Macpherson's supposed translations from Gaelic poetry for Hugh Blair's reading, he took the first step in introducing Macpherson to the literary society of Edinburgh.¹ The Edinburgh *literati*

¹ *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.* (Edinburgh. 1805) Appendix IV. pp. 56-69. (This work hereinafter referred to as *Report 1805*.) The letters from Hugh Blair, Adam Fergusson, and Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, along with the note from John Home, are the basis of all later accounts of the first discovery and support of Macpherson. The best known modern accounts are those in the *Life and Letters of James Macpherson*. Bailey Saunders. London 1895. pp. 65-69; and *James Macpherson An Episode in Literature*. J. S. Smart. London. 1905. pp. 87-95. (hereinafter referred to as *Smart*.)

were stimulated to examine the manuscript translations of the unknown Highland tutor by the eager enthusiasm of the learned divine,² and they were largely converted to Blair's belief that here was a literary find of the first importance before the appearance in print of Macpherson's first slim volume of translations, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language*.³ With the inspiring thought of a national epic, worthy of comparison with the work of Homer, spurring them on, the literary men of Edinburgh took practical steps to ensure that Macpherson continued his work of collecting and translating, and individuals such as Lord Hailes, David Hume and John McGowan aroused interest in the work in England by writing enthusiastic letters to literary friends concerning the discoveries.⁴

The purpose of this article is to state precisely the important dual role played by Sir David Dalrymple, best known by his legal title of Lord Hailes,⁵ in the popularisation and support of James Macpherson. Hailes stood a little apart from the others who interested themselves in this project. He was on bad terms with David Hume,⁶ for though they were both historians, the young lawyer was a devout Christian and disapproved of Hume's atheism. Hailes's correspondence with Adam Smith, William Robertson and Hugh Blair was polite rather than cordial.⁷

² *Hugh Blair*. R. M. Schmitz. (New York. 1948.) p. 46 et seq. Schmitz gives a concise readable account of Blair's enthusiastic support of Macpherson.

³ This slim volume appeared in June 1760, and was printed by Hamilton and Balfour, Edinburgh. 'Macpherson's Ossian; A Contribution towards a Bibliography.' G. F. Black. *New York Public Library Bulletin* Vol. XXX. pp. 424-39.; 508-24. gives a full list of editions of the *Fragments* volume.

⁴ John McGowan, the Edinburgh antiquarian and correspondent of Shenstone, was responsible for one fruitful line of contact with England. He sent two copies of the *Fragments* to Shenstone, and he told him in a letter of the scheme to rescue a Scottish epic. cp. *The Letters of William Shenstone*. ed. M. Williams. (Oxford 1934.) p. 556. and *Smart*. p. 97. fn. Knowledge of Macpherson's work spread to Percy, Lord Lyttelton and Mrs. Montague. The last named became a strong supporter of Macpherson. David Hume's efforts in furthering Macpherson's interests in England are incidentally dealt with in the course of this article. For a fuller account, cp. *The Forgotten Hume Le Bon David*. E. C. Mossner. (New York. 1953.) Ch. IV. pp. 82-102.

⁵ Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. (1726-92) Lawyer, judge, historian and editor. The best short account of Hailes in print is that by David Laing. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 7th ed. (1833.) Laing's list of Hailes's publications is incomplete.

⁶ In 1753, Hume and Hailes had politely corresponded on historical matters. cp. *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig. (Oxford 1937.) 2 vols. Vol. I. pp. 174-176. (Hereinafter referred to as *Greig*.) But about the same time, Hailes offended Hume by a slighting reference in an undated pamphlet called *Proposals for carrying out a certain Public Work in the City of Edinburgh*. He compared Hume's *Essays* with almanacs and cookery books. Hume further resented the fact that Hailes did not support his application to become Librarian of the Advocates' Library. *Greig*. Vol. I. p. 167. The estrangement was completed by the fact that Hailes was one of the Curators of that library who objected to his purchase of certain books — the incident which led, a few years later, to Hume's resignation from the librarian's post. *Greig*. Vol. I. p. 211. n. 3. But the basic cause of disagreement was the strong Christianity of Hailes.

⁷ Correspondence between Robertson and Hailes is printed in the Appendix to the *Life*

At first sight Hailes's part in sponsoring Macpherson would seem to be unimportant for Hugh Blair does not mention him by name in the letter he wrote to Henry Mackenzie in 1797 giving an account of the first discovery and publication of the Ossian poems,⁸ and he must presumably be included amongst the many others whom Blair said he had now forgotten and who 'were very zealous in forwarding the discovery proposed'. Blair's lapse of memory showed little gratitude for the efforts made on the behalf of his protégé, for Hailes introduced the *Fragments*, before publication, to an influential group of English men of letters, and, what is less well-known, he played a major part in raising the funds necessary to subsidize Macpherson's further expeditions to the Highlands.

It was to Horace Walpole,⁹ his correspondent on historical and antiquarian matters, that Hailes sent, in January 1760,¹⁰ some months before the publication of the *Fragments* volume, specimens of Macpherson's work, with the suggestion that Thomas Gray might like to see them. Walpole and Gray had been at Eton some years before Hailes had attended that famous school.¹¹ The Scots lawyer's initial familiarity with these two men may well have arisen from this connection, though Hailes started to correspond with Walpole by sending some notes on the *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*.¹² When Gray saw the poems he was thrilled and fascinated by them, but at this stage he had considerable doubts as to their authenticity. He wrote to Walpole requesting further information, stressing that he particularly wanted to see a few lines of the originals. Walpole's next letter to Hailes, in April, 1760, incorporated this request *verbatim*,¹³ and the latter promptly contacted Macpherson, who wrote him

of Robertson. D. Stewart. (Edinburgh, 1801.) Unpublished letters are preserved amongst the Newhailes MSS and in the National Library of Scotland. *Adam Smith as Student and Professor*. W. R. Scott. (1937.) p. 265. prints a letter from Smith to Hailes. For another see *Life of Adam Smith*. J. Rae. (1895.) p. 246. Eight letters from Blair to Hailes are preserved in the Newhailes Collection. One letter to Blair is printed in *Notes and Queries*. 4th Series. Vol. 5. p. 144.

⁸ *Report, 1805 Appendix IV*. pp. 56-62.

⁹ cp. *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. ed. W. S. Lewis and others. Vol. XV. 1952. (page references to British printing). The correspondence with Hailes has not completely survived but it is the most considerable in this volume. It covers the period 1758-92. Walpole thanks Hailes in his letter of 3rd Feb. 1760 for the specimens of Macpherson's translations. (*Yale XV*. p. 61.) Macpherson is first mentioned anonymously as 'the young translator' in Walpole's letter, 4th April 1760. (*Yale XV*. p. 64.) Both Mason and Lyttelton are mentioned here as admirers of the poems.

¹⁰ This date is conjectural. Hailes's letter is missing. Walpole's reply is dated Feb. 3rd, 1760.

¹¹ It was unusual for a Scot to be educated at Eton in the 18th Century. Hailes may have intended to study English law, for he was registered at the Middle Temple. *Records of the Middle Temple*. ed. H. T. McGeach. (London 1949.) He did not study there, but proceeded to Utrecht, a not unusual course for a Scots lawyer.

¹² *Yale XV*. pp. 26-27. Hailes's notes were included, almost in his own words, in the second edition of the *Catalogue* printed by Dodsley in 1759. cp. *Yale XV*. p. 38.

¹³ *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*. ed. Toynbee and Whibley. (Hereinafter referred to as *Toynbee and Whibley*. (Oxford, 1935.) 3 vols. Vol. II. pp. 664-5 and notes.

a letter on the subject of 'Irish' versification. This was forwarded to Walpole, with two specimens enclosed,¹⁴ for which 'obliging kindness' Hailes received Walpole's gracious thanks. Gray was now sufficiently interested to contact Macpherson directly, and he received further specimens. But Macpherson was an unsatisfactory correspondent. Gray believed the poems to be ancient rather in spite of Macpherson than because of him and the evidence contained in his evasive letters.¹⁵ A letter from David Hume to some unknown correspondent,¹⁶ which somehow reached Gray, further allayed the latter's doubts, for Hume, who was at this time an admirer of Macpherson, and a believer in the antiquity of Macpherson's materials, assured his correspondent that there was good evidence to support the claims made on behalf of the *Fragments*.

Macpherson owed a great deal to the sponsorship of such public figures as Hume, Blair and Hailes. It created an atmosphere of confidence in his work which was only partly dissipated by the remarkable behaviour of Macpherson himself, while the straightforward speaking and unhesitating opposition of Samuel Johnson inclined to make patriotic Scots more anxious than ever to prove *Ossian* ancient. Hume was one Scot who early changed his mind, and by 1763, he was impatient of Macpherson as a 'perverse and unamiable man'.¹⁷ But his earlier support, like that of Hailes, had had its effect in England. Walpole, an early doubter, wrote to Hailes in April 1761 that his doubts had temporarily vanished.¹⁸ The famous

The part of Gray's letter which was sent to Hailes is printed here. Also *Yale XV*. pp. 64-65, and again in *Yale XIV*. p. 106. The connections between Gray and Macpherson are summed up by Whibley in Appendix L. Vol. III. pp. 1123-1127.

¹⁴ The letter from Macpherson to Hailes is quoted by *Toynbee and Whibley*. Vol. II. p. 665. n. 3. I have not been able to trace the present whereabouts of this letter, which was formerly in the Waller collection.

¹⁵ *Toynbee and Whibley*. Vol. II pp. 677-82. Letter to Wharton. June 20. 1760. The same letter is quoted in Bailey Saunders. *Life and Letters of James Macpherson*. p. 87.

¹⁶ This letter by Hume has been printed several times. *European Magazine*. Vol. V. 1784.; *Toynbee and Whibley*. Vol. III. p. 1224.; *Greig*. Vol. I. p. 328. Greig conjectures that the unknown recipient of the letter was Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, but his reasons for this attribution are unsatisfactory. Whibley gives some general reasons against the suggestion. The following points should also be noted. By Aug. 16., the date of the letter, Hailes already knew all about the scheme for forwarding Macpherson's work, and was taking an active part in it. He would not require to be told all this, or indeed that his correspondent Adam Smith was the 'celebrated Professor at Glasgow'. I would conjecture from the type of information contained in the letter that it was written to someone completely outside the Edinburgh literary circle, who was a friend of both John Home and of David Hume and who was also in touch with Gray. He would probably be a Scot living in England, or an Englishman.

¹⁷ In *The Forgotten Hume*. Note F. p. 217. Mossner suggests that Hume's tract on the *Authenticity of Ossian's Poems*, unpublished during Hume's lifetime, (cp. Hume's *Philosophical Works*. [London 1874-5.] pp. 415-424.) was inspired by Johnson's comment that Scotsmen loved Scotland better than the truth. Hume found it necessary, while suggesting that Macpherson's work was unreliable, to vindicate the integrity of the Edinburgh critics who had been deceived by him. On Hume's growing dislike of Macpherson as a person cp. *Greig*. Vol. I. p. 398. Letter 19th Sept. 1763.

¹⁸ *Yale XV*. Walpole to Hailes. 14th April. 1761. p. 71-2, n. 5.

letter-writer had forgotten this burst of confidence, or perhaps preferred to forget it, when he wrote to Cole in 1780:¹⁹

There is another trifling mistake of still less consequence. The Editor supposes that it was Macpherson who communicated with me. It was Sir David Dalrymple who sent the first specimens. Macpherson did come to me but my credulity was then a little shaken.

Walpole wished it to be clearly understood that his first source was a respectable one, and he implies that Macpherson had failed to impress him. Yet we know that he gave a kindly reception and friendly advice to the translator when he came to London in the Spring of 1761 to arrange for the publication of *Fingal*.²⁰ In successfully approaching the eminent Walpole, Macpherson achieved more than did his fellow-Scot, James Boswell.²¹ Walpole claimed to have a strong partiality in favour of Scots, which was in striking contrast to the widespread English dislike of that nation at this time. Hailes's support of Macpherson would count a great deal with Walpole, for it is obvious from the correspondence of the two men that Walpole added a considerable respect for the Scottish lawyer's literary and historical judgement to his theoretical partiality in favour of his race.²²

Hailes's part in raising funds to send Macpherson to the Highlands to find a Scottish epic is less well-known and less clearly defined. All printed accounts of the scheme derive from that given by Hugh Blair, its chief mover, in his letter to Henry Mackenzie,²³ but the correspondence printed below adds several details previously unknown. It has been convincingly argued by Smart that while the scheme was Blair's idea, Macpherson had implanted the general suggestion in his mind, and the same scholar describes the project thus:²⁴

It was proposed that a collection should be made to enable Macpherson to travel in the Highlands in search of ancient poetic remains; and a dinner was held at which the enterprise was set on foot. Much interest was shown by Blair himself, Robertson the historian, John Home, Lord Elibank and Adam Fergusson; Lord Hailes was friendly, and Hume gave some help. There was a subscription of a guinea or two guineas apiece, a mercurial young man named James Boswell being one of those who contributed.

This account is clear enough, but is inaccurate in one or two details, and underestimates Hailes's activity on Macpherson's behalf. He was more than just 'friendly', for he made himself responsible for a collection of money from the professional men with whom he was in daily contact

¹⁹ *Yale Correspondence of Horace Walpole*. Vol. II (1934-) p. 206 and n. 8.

²⁰ *Yale XV*. p. 71-2, n. 5.

²¹ Boswell wrote to Hailes in 1760: 'I am affraid that Mr Walpole moves in rather too high a sphere for your humble servant, whose company would be of consequence rather burdensome to him.' cp. 'Boswell's letters at Newhailes' A. Hoover. *University of Toronto Quarterly* Vol. XXII. 1952-3. p. 248. For Boswell's later unsuccessful efforts to be friendly with Walpole cp. R. Ketton-Cremer. *Horace Walpole*. London (1940) p. 265. and note.

²³ *Report. 1805*. Appendix IV. pp. 56-62.

²⁴ *Smart*. Ch. IV. p. 98.

at the Court of Session — his fellow-lawyers and the writers to the Signet. Blair had personally requested Hailes to take an active part in the work in the letter which is given in full below:²⁵

Dear Sir,

I intended to have waited of you this day, but was hinder'd by some accidents, that we might have had some conversation about any scheme that can be fallen upon for encouraging Mr. Mcpherson to apply himself to the making of a further Collection of Erse poetry and in particular for recovering our Epics. As the Specimens are so highly relish'd don't you think that a pretty considerable Collection might be made for bearing his Expence? In case you think this practicable, the sooner it is thought off the better. As without something of this kind we will not, I am afraid, gett him persuaded to go on, I desired him to write me an ostensible letter concerning his Situation, and the reasons why without some Encouragement he could not adventure on such an Undertaking. This I enclose to you in case you think it proper to make any use of it just now; as I am going into the Country for 2 or 3 weeks. I believe it might be proper that there should be a meeting of some 4 or 5 persons who would lay themselves out among the Circle of their Several Acquaintances for promoting this design. Dr Robertson,²⁶ and Stuart,²⁷ Jack Dalrymple,²⁸ have spoke to me as being very willing to take some trouble about it. John Balfour²⁹ thinks he could raise some money, and is desirous to contribute himself.

I shall certainly wait of you as soon as I return to consult with you on this Subject. In the meantime as your being at the head of such a design will give it weight, I thought it might be proper to send you McPherson's letter. I have already spoke to Ld Kames³⁰ on the Subject and hinted it to the Chief Baron both whom are favourably inclined.

I am

Dr Sir

Your Faithful and Affectionate Humble Servt.

Hugh Blair.

23 June Bruntisfield.

I congratulate you upon your brother being safe in this unhappy affair of Quebec.³¹

²⁵ This letter is preserved amongst the Newhailes MSS and is printed here, as is Macpherson's letter to Blair, by kind permission of Sir Mark Dalrymple, Bart., of Newhailes. It was transcribed from the microfilm copies of the Newhailes MSS housed in the National Library of Scotland. It was at one time seen by Malcolm Laing, who prints the first two sentences only in a footnote to p. xvi of his Preface to *The Poems of Ossian containing the Poetical Works of James Macpherson Esq. in Prose and Rhyme*. (Edinburgh 1805.) 2 vols.

²⁶ I have not found any exact record of the part played by Robertson. His name is mentioned by Blair. *Report*. App. IV.

²⁷ It is difficult to be certain to which Stewart this refers. The date is much too early for Dugald Stewart, and a little too early for Gilbert Stuart, (1742-86.) the irascible historian and reviewer, who was a correspondent of Hailes. It may have been the latter's father, George Stuart (1715-93.) who was Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh University. cp. *D.N.B.* 1921-2 reprint. Vol. XIX. pp. 81-82.

²⁸ Sir John Dalrymple. (1726-1810) Lawyer and historian. He was a cousin of Hailes. cp. *D.N.B.* 1921-2 reprint. Vol. V. pp. 424-425.

²⁹ cp. *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers*. Plomer, Bushnell and Dix. (Oxford. 1932.) p. 281. It is interesting to remember that Balfour had employed Macpherson as a corrector of the press. *Bailey Saunders*, p. 63.

³⁰ Henry Home, Lord Kames. (1696-1782.) The best account of this interesting man is that given by A. F. Tytler. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames*. (Edinburgh 1807.) 2 vols. Hailes and Kames do not seem to have been friends.

³¹ This letter which is dated June 23, obviously belongs to the year 1760. The 'unhappy

This letter makes several interesting points. Blair was unfortunately to be out of town at the time when Macpherson most needed his support in collecting money. As Macpherson was to leave towards the end of August, time was fairly short. Again it seems that Blair was not averse to the project gaining prestige by the fact that a socially prominent young lawyer, who had a reputation as a coming man of letters, was to be temporarily in charge. Thirdly, though Macpherson had obviously first made it clear to Blair that he could not collect further poems unless he was financially supported, Blair himself was responsible for the 'ostensible' letter in which this fact was to be announced to all who might be interested. The letter itself has survived and answers fairly closely to Blair's description of it. While it inevitably has something of the tone of a begging letter, knowledge of the circumstances of its composition slightly lessens the initial impression it gives a modern reader that Macpherson was trying to blackmail the Edinburgh enthusiasts into financially supporting him by the threat that the Ossianic poetry would be lost for ever if he was not sent out to save it. But it remains, under the circumstances, a striking example of literary impudence.³²

Revd Sir

None would be more willing to undertake the work you and others, my friends, reccommend, did it suit with my interests than I. I certainly admire the poetry of my country much; and would with eagerness seise on every opportunity to make its beauties known.

But, Sir, a journey thro' the Highlands and Isles is attended with risque and Expençe that are not proper for me to incur on my own bottom.

I would be obliged to throw up the business I pursue;³³ devote myself for twelve month, at least, to that work, and, besides my travelling expences, be obliged to gratify some persons who are in possession of the original poems.

All which put together makes it too great a venture for me to go on such a design without some assistance and encouragement.

Did all things answer I could make a large, and I hope a valuable, collection of our ancient poetry; but as I cannot well spare the expence and time I must give over all thoughts of the matter.

It were to be wished however that these remains of genius were not lost, And I am 'extreamly sorry it does not suit with my present circumstances to have the pleasure of preserving them. With great Respect I am

Revd Sir

Your most Obedient Humble Servant
James Macpherson.

Balgowan 16th June 1760.

affair at Quebec', in which Hailes's brother James Dalrymple (1729-1801) was concerned was probably the unsuccessful attack made by Murray against Levis, Montcalm's successor who was besieging Quebec. cp. *Toynbee and Whibley*. Vol. II. p. 679. n. 14.

³² This letter was transcribed from the microfilms of the Newhailes MSS in the N.L.S. cp. n. 25. As far as I know, it has not been printed before.

³³ Macpherson was employed as a tutor in the family of Graham of Balgowan. It was, according to Hume, a way of life of which he was not fond. *Greig*. Vol. I. p. 329.

Blair's later insistence that Macpherson was *most reluctant*³⁴ to undertake the expedition does not seem to me to be borne out by this letter. The financial side of the question is the *only* obstacle concerning which Macpherson makes a major point. Whether Hailes made any use of this odd document when supporting the scheme we cannot tell, for his reply to Blair's letter does not seem to have survived. But he did accept the responsibility thus thrust upon him. Amongst his papers³⁵ is a list of subscribers to a fund for Macpherson, with the amount subscribed by each person annexed to his name. As I have already indicated, the collection was made largely amongst lawyers and writers to the Signet, and is obviously a separate collection to that mentioned by Blair, made under the Treasurership of Robert Chambers.³⁶ From the two professions named above Hailes raised some twenty guineas, the average subscription being half a guinea, in comparison with Hume's suggested 'guinea or two'. The name of James Boswell is the most illustrious in Hailes's list, though many others in it were to far outshine Lord Auchinleck's errant son in his chosen profession of lawyer, and were to become judges in the supreme Courts of Scotland.³⁷

A man of Hailes's high moral calibre and literary integrity — and these two qualities were well known to be two of his outstanding characteristics — would not have supported Macpherson in this double way if he had had any doubt as to the authenticity of Macpherson's originals. But Hailes chose not to take an active part in the controversies which raged over the *Ossian* poems. He had his own views, but, as he told Boswell in 1775,

³⁴ M. Laing, in his *Poems of Ossian*, cited above, is most suspicious of Macpherson's supposed reluctance to continue the work. He suggests that if it was at any time real, it was due to the fact that Macpherson was startled at the magnitude of the imposture on which he was now engaged, but that Blair's enthusiasm prevented withdrawal.

³⁵ Newhailes MSS. (N.L.S. microfilms) The list is headed by the following statement: 'The Gentlemen after mentioned having paid into my hands the sums subjoined to their names for the behoof of Mr. James Macpherson now residing at Balgowan in Perthshire, in order to enable him to collect, translate and publish remains of Ancient Gaelic Poetry.' Dav: Dalrymple.

There are forty names of which two are illegible. Subscriptions were in a few cases a guinea, but usually half a guinea.

³⁶ *Report. 1805*. App. IV. p. 58. As far as I know, Chambers' subscription list has not survived, or at least, has not been printed. *Bailey Saunders*. (p. 94.) says that the list was opened in Parliament House and brought in sixty pounds, and he quotes Mrs. Montague to the effect that Macpherson received 100 Pounds to defray the expenses of his journey. R. M. Schmitz. *Hugh Blair*, suggests that there would be some forty names on the list on the basis of Hume's suggested 'guinea or two', and includes Hume and Boswell as subscribers. As Boswell was on Hailes's list, it seems unlikely that he would appear on any other.

³⁷ Amongst the best known names are Andrew Crosbie; Sir Adam Fergusson; George Dempster, Frances Garden and James Burnett. All these men were lawyers; Dempster was a Member of Parliament, and the last two were to become judges as Lord Gardenstone and Lord Monboddo respectively. A 'John Home' appears on the list. If this is the clergyman-dramatist, he is one of the very few persons listed who was not either a lawyer or a writer to the Signet. Hailes's own name is not listed.

he preferred to keep them to himself.³⁸ We know that he remained keenly interested in the matter for he was behind the investigation of possible Ossianic manuscript sources made by Lord Bannatyne, a fellow lawyer and judge, a report of which Bannatyne later sent along with his finds, to the Highland Society.³⁹ Bannatyne says :

The public are no strangers to the desire with which the late *Lord Hailes* was always actuated for informing himself of whatever respected the history and antiquities of this country. The course of my duty, while I was Sheriff of Bute, frequently led me to meet with his Lordship when holding Circuit at Inverary. On one of these occasions, our conversation turning on the different opinions entertained as to the authenticity of the Poems published by Mr. McPherson, his Lordship expressed a particular desire to know how far any Gaelic manuscripts of tolerable antiquity were preserved in the Highlands of Scotland, and particularly whether any of them contained remains of ancient poetry connected with or similar to those which Mr McPherson had published.

Bannatyne goes on to tell us that Hailes examined a manuscript which was brought to him and assigned it to the Reformation period on palaeographical grounds. This particular MS is now lost, but Bannatyne was inspired to investigate further and discovered valuable material which he sent to the Highland Society Committee.⁴⁰ The above incident is undated, though it must have occurred after Hailes's elevation to the judicial Bench in 1766. In 1770, Hailes had quietly announced his belief in the authenticity of the Ossianic poems, though not in Macpherson's talents as a scholar, in a note to his *Ancient Scottish Poems*. He described this volume in his letters as an 'obscure duodecimo'.⁴¹

Here let me observe, that to doubt of Fingal and Temora being ancient compositions, is indeed a refinement in scepticism. They contain various allusions to the manners of other times, which have escaped the observation of Mr. Macpherson himself.⁴²

The satirical tone of this reference to Macpherson is our first evidence that Hailes's friendship with the translator of Ossian had become strained. Macpherson's historical work certainly offended Hailes, both because it was of poor quality, and because it contained passages which personally annoyed him. Hailes wrote a sharp letter, which was printed in two London periodicals and one Edinburgh magazine, defending the reputation of his grandfather, the first Sir David Dalrymple of Newhailes, against charges made in *The History of Great Britain from the Restoration till the*

³⁸ Letter Boswell to Johnson. Febr. 1775. *Life of Samuel Johnson*. (Oxford 1934-) ed. Hill-Powell. Vol. II. p. 295. and note.

³⁹ *Report*. 1805. App. XVIII. pp. 281-2. Letter from Lord Bannatyne to Mackenzie.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*. p. 283.

⁴¹ The first edition of this work is scarce. An octavo edition (1817?) with an unaltered title-page, is much commoner, and the two are often confused. The octavo reprints has a colophon: Reprinted for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. London; and Robinson, Lacy and Holdsworth, Leeds; by J. B. Dewhirst. The pagination of the two volumes, is, as one would expect, quite different.

⁴² *Ancient Scottish Poems*. (Edinburgh 1770.) Note p. 302. to the poem printed on p. 173. (Page references to first edition.)

*Accession of George I.*⁴³ London 1775. By this time Hailes may well have deeply regretted that he had taken so much trouble to further the interests of the author of one of the most fascinating impostures in English literary history.

Dundee.

ROBERT HAY CARNIE.

Notes and News

'To Have God by the Toe'

In *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke Beeyng Long in Continual Discension*...¹ Edward Hall tells an anecdote concerning William Tyndale's difficulties in distributing his translation of the New Testament.

The Bishop of London, not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with hymself, how he might compasse and devise, to destroye that false and erronious translation, (as he saied). And so it happened that one Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a greate honestie, the same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly favored William Tyndale, but to the bishop utterly shewed hymself to the contrary. The bishop desirous to have his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them. Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied unto the bishop, my Lorde, if it bee your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie, then moste of the Merchauntes of Englande that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers, that have bought theim of Tyndale, and have them here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure, to paye for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for them, I will then assure you, to have every boke of them, that is imprinted and is here unsolde.

The Bishop thinkyng that he had God by the too, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Devell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence and get them and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoever thei cost you, for the bokes are erronious and naughtes, and I entende surely to destroy them all, and to burne them at Paules Crosse.

And Packyngton did so. As it turned out, the bishop's eagerness to destroy all the copies of Tyndale's translation was more than paralleled by Tyndale's eagerness to have the money — in order to pay his debts and to bring out a new, better translation of the New Testament, on which he had been working for some time. 'And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packyngton had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money'.

⁴³ cp. *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, August, 1775. Vol. IV. p. 474; *London Magazine*, July 1775. Vol. XLIV. p. 330.; *London Chronicle*, April 1775. Boswell was responsible for the insertion of Hailes's letter into the *London Magazine*.

¹ London 1548. The anecdote occurs on fol. 186 recto and verso (*Kyng Henri the .viii.*).

The present note is concerned not with the distribution of Tyndale's New Testament but with the phrase Hall uses: that the bishop thought he had God by the toe when in fact he had the devil by the fist. This is one of the two phrases of this kind quoted in the NED under *toe* sb. 5; the other comes from one of Joseph Hall's sermons (dated 1623): *while they think they have God by the finger they hold a devil by the toe*. I have not come across similar phrases elsewhere in English literature.

Counterparts of the expression *he thought that he had God by the toe* are attested in Old French. The late A. Långfors² quotes six instances recorded between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. One of these occurs in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracle d'un chevalier qui amoit une dame* (c 1220):

Quant voit le fin de l'an venir,
Par les piés quide Diu tenir, 140
Car de s'amie tout pour voir
Sa volenté bien quide avoir...

Par les piés quide Diu tenir is all but identical with the English phrase *he thinks that he has God by the toe*. Analysing his Old French instances Långfors concludes that the type deals with an unrealisable wish: 'L'idée essentielle est la déception, la non-réalisation de l'espoir conçu. Ainsi, *tenir Dieu par les pieds* est une formule ironique...' This is true also of the phrase in Edward Hall's anecdote.

In a review of Långfors's article³ P. Ruelle calls attention to the survival of the phrase in the French-speaking parts of Belgium (*elle peinsse ténir l'bon Dieu pa les pieds*, etc.). Its ultimate source, as pointed out by Ruelle, is obviously Matthew xxviii 9:

And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them saying, 'All hail.' And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.

This is an episode in the story of the two Maries visiting Christ's sepulchre and hearing from an angel that Jesus has risen from the dead and is on his way to Galilee. The women leave the sepulchre in a state of fear and great joy, and as they are going to tell the disciples they meet Jesus. Their reaction, holding him by the feet, came in later times to signify great joy and happiness. The sensation of real (and not only imagined) joy is behind some of the modern French variants of the phrase (e.g., *i tié l'bon Dié pa les piés* 'he is perfectly happy at the moment') and also behind the earliest known Old French instance (Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre sainte*, completed after 1196):

Quant il la vit, si fud plus liez
Que s'il tenist Dieu par les piez; 2058
Cent foiz la baisa en plorant.

² 'Il cuide Dieu tenir par les piez,' *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à M. Karl Michaëlsson*, Göteborg 1952, pp. 351-5.

³ *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LIV, 1953, 85-7.

In the light of all this it is evident that the definition of the English phrase *to have or hold by the toe* as 'to have a secure hold of' (NED, *toe* sb. 5) focuses attention on a less essential aspect of it, at least in the instance under discussion. Also, the apparent rarity of the phrase in English and its long-established use in French suggest that it came to England from the continent.

As the origin of the phrase became obscured, variants began to appear. A late thirteenth-century French romance omits the reference to the feet (*ne samblast que Diu tenist*). Ruelle quotes a variant from Nivelles where the reference is to God's beard (*têni l'bon Dieu pa l'bârbe* 'to exult'), and the early seventeenth-century English variant reads *while they think they have God by the finger they hold a devil by the toe* reversing the idea in Edward Hall's phrase.

The fact that the two recorded English instances represent an expanded, antithetic variety of the phrase suggests that this was the normal form under which it was known in England. However this may be, it seems that the references to the devil and the finger (fist) are later additions, possibly created on English soil. It may also be worth noticing that while the French instances refer to God's feet, the English phrases refer to his toe.

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TAUNO F. MUSTANOJA.

Obsolete and Dialect Words as Serious Puns in Dylan Thomas

'In the white giant's thigh'¹ is about country women who were childless while alive and now mysteriously make known to the poet the longing for children that remains with them in death. 'The white giant' is a real or imaginary hillside-marking, at one time a burial ground; it is also a good metaphor for a whole limestone range, 'thigh' denoting the slopes of a hill somewhat lower than the shoulder. In keeping with a note by Thomas on this poem,² the giant landscape will further suggest an embodied God; and the resting place of the women in His thigh can be considered symbolic of their immortal longing. The words of the title prompt a leap from the merely topographic into the metaphoric and symbolic; the pun is being used not for levity but for a link with serious themes.

Of special interest is the pun on the word 'grains' in a line which expresses the strange pull exerted on the poet by the dead women of the hill, who

Now clasp me to their grains in the gigantic glade.

'Grains' here is equivalent to the 'dust' of a parallel phrasing later in the

¹ *The Collected Poems of Dylan Thomas* (New York, 1952), pp. 197-199.

² *Botteghe Oscure*, VI (1950), 338.

poem: 'Now [the women] curlew cry me down to kiss the mouths of their dust'. The ironic idea of the harvest grain seems also to be present in the word. We may, in addition, make an aural association with 'groins', and thus introduce the dynamic image of the poet's being drawn into a sexual embrace. Thomas actually had 'groins' in an earlier version of the poem³ and presumably hoped to retain something of this first thought in the new word 'grains'.

Not only do the two words sound alike, however, but 'grains' itself has the meaning of groin. We rely here on *The Dialect Dictionary*, few of us having the vantage of the 'North-countryman' who in 1871 had 'grain or grains' in daily use 'applied to a variety of objects, the leading character of all of which is division or separation — a stream divides or forks into two (or more) *grains*, so does a limb or a branch of a tree, so does the human form at the *groin*...' ⁴

Of the several occurrences of 'grains' in Thomas' poetry, at least two support the idea that the poet knew the word's dialect meaning. In 'A Winter's Tale',

The nightingale,
Dust in the buried wood, flies on the grains of her wings

suggests the bifurcation of the bird's wings.⁵ The girl in 'Ballad of the Long-legged Bait' is described as 'the tall grains' because of her long-leggedness:

Always good-bye to the long-legged bread
Scattered in the paths of his heels
For the salty birds fluttered and fed

And the tall grains foamed in their bills.⁶

In both these cases, however, as well as in the poem we have been discussing, the context is meaningful when 'grains' has its usual sense of dust or granules, while the dialect meaning serves to enrich the sense. When the women of the hill are described as having been 'bounced in a gambo bed', we need to know that 'gambo' is the name for a simple farm cart in counties about the Welsh border;⁷ but a pun on 'gambol' is unmistakably present. Thomas gives new currency to old and dialect meanings so long as the words hold a familiar meaning appropriate to the context.

On what grounds do we accept one pun and reject the many other possible puns hovering round a word? In the woods of the white giant's

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335. This first publication of the poem seems to have several misprints, but 'groins' appears in the poem as reprinted in *Atlantic Monthly*, 188 (September, 1950), 31-32.

⁴ J. C. Atkinson, *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, VII (1871), 384. The *O.E.D.* stresses that 'grains' and 'groins' differ in origin, but confirms the dialect meanings of 'grains'.

⁵ *The Collected Poems*, p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁷ Dylan Thomas, 'Seven Letters to Oscar Williams (1945-1953)', *New World Writing*, 7 (April, 1955), 136.

thigh we find some enigmatic creatures described as 'scurrying, furred small friars'. Is there a play on 'small fry' here? Chaucer would have known 'small fry' as a brood of young, and the *O.E.D.* has a happy quotation from 1873: 'one of the small fry is hopping about on the grass'. Or are we to read 'small friars' as 'chip-monks'? We make our choice according to the relative merits of the word-play, granting Thomas to be our equal in wit. There is more at stake, however, in our accepting 'groins' as a valid echo in 'Now clasp me to their grains' while excluding alternatives such as 'groans', 'greens', and 'grins'. Apart from the fortuitous record of the earlier variant of the line, we have as a permanent arbiter Thomas' known idiom. His puns are serious, pertinent to his deepest themes: conception, birth, marriage, and death. 'Groin' epitomises the sexual demand the women are making on the poet; alternative puns make no such direct connection with the kind of universe we know is behind his words.

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RALPH N. MAUD.

New Periodicals. Two new periodicals for the study of English Literature have recently made their appearance. *The Critical Quarterly*, edited by C. B. Cox (University of Hull) and A. E. Dyson (University College of North Wales, Bangor), began publication a year ago. It is lively and full of variety, and though its particular interest, according to the 'Foreword' in Number One, is in twentieth century literature — British, American, and European (the latter, however, has so far been all but ignored, and there have been only three articles on American authors) — its first Volume has contained articles on older writers as well, including Chaucer, Marlowe and Shakespeare. There are also discussions of general problems ('Why Teach Literature?' — one contributor's answer is: 'to do good to people' — but that is not a fair sample of the general standard), and some vigorous exchanges of divergent views. Annual subscriptions (12s. postage included in the British Isles, or \$2.50 elsewhere) should be sent to the Editors, *The Critical Quarterly*, The University, Hull.

A *Review of English Literature*, edited by A. Norman Jeffares (University of Leeds), the first number of which has just appeared, likewise places literary criticism, not research, in the forefront of its activities. Whereas the *Critical Quarterly*, besides well-known names such as J. F. Danby and Clifford Leech, includes school-teachers and even undergraduates among its contributors, those of the *Review* are drawn chiefly from the ranks of established scholars (James Sutherland, James Kinsley, C. S. Lewis, and others). What it loses in liveliness and variety, as compared with *C. Q.*, it will probably gain in uniformity of standard. Though one cannot judge a new periodical from a single number, one notes that in this issue no

author is dealt with older than Dryden, and that No. 2, according to an announcement on p. 70, will have for its theme the contemporary English novel. *The Review of English Literature* is published by Longmans, Green & Co., London; the subscription rate is 15s. per annum, post free.

The Dutch journal *Museum*, which for 64 years had published book reviews (latterly also a few articles) in the field of the classical and modern humanities and of history, has ceased to exist. It will be replaced by a new journal, *Forum der Letteren*, in which the emphasis will be on general rather than specialist problems, and in which only a limited number of books will be reviewed. The new journal will be issued by the same publisher (A. W. Sijthoff, Leiden) and edited by the same Board of Editors (with one exception) as the defunct *Museum*. There will be an Advisory Panel (Redactieraad), on which English will be represented by Prof. T. A. Birrell, of the University of Nijmegen.

International Congress. The Fédération Internationale des Langues et Littératures Modernes will hold its VIIIth Congress at Liège, from the 28th of August to the 4th of September 1960. The general theme of the Congress will be *La Langue et la Littérature*. There will be sections on A. Traduction et édition de textes; B. Analyse stylistique; C. Vocabulaire; D. Images, métaphores, symboles, topos; E. a) Syntaxe et style, b) Rythme et son; F. Dialectes et langues littéraires, et leur évolution. Papers will be read in French, English, and other languages. Lecturers in the field of English will include Prof. Norman Davis (Oxford) and Prof. Harry Levin (Harvard). The Congress will be open to members of affiliated international associations, such as the International Association of University Professors of English. For particulars apply to the Secrétariat du VIIIe Congrès de la FILLM, 7, Place du XX Août, Liège, Belgique.

Reviews

Poetry and Prose of the Anglo-Saxons: A Text-Book with Introductions, Translations, Bibliography, and an Old English Etymological Dictionary. By MARTIN LEHNERT. 2 Vols. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1955-56. xv + 173 + 247 pp. DM 15.30 + 20.00.

The publication, in Berlin and in the short span of two years, of two readers covering the OE. period, is a symptom of the vitality of English studies in Germany. That it could have taken place within ten years of Germany's breakdown, is all the more remarkable. But a comparison

between Professor Rolf Kaiser's *Alt- und mittellenglische Anthologie* (1954)¹ and Professor Lehnert's *Poetry and Prose*, tempting though it is from more than one point of view, lies beyond the scope of this review.

Professor Lehnert's two volumes are in fact an OE. reader + glossary, although they differ in some ways from similar works. First, there is the attractive cloth binding — students of OE. are not used to get their readers dressed in so luxurious a garb (I hope the price will not prove a deterrent for some would-be users). In an anthology printed in Germany and intended to be used by German students in the first place, it is also noteworthy that the 'teaching medium' should be English throughout. The only concession to these users seems to be the placing of the modern German cognates at the head of the etymological entries.

There is little to be gained from a discussion of Professor Lehnert's choice of texts: *de gustibus* ... Suffice it to say that his selections cover all aspects of OE. literature from the metrical Charms to the poetical version of the Lord's Prayer and *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and from the Laws of Æðelberht to Apollonius of Tyre and the oldest London charters of William the Conqueror. The main stress, however, lies on poetry (over 2000 lines, against some 1100 lines of prose). This stress also appears in the amount of information with which the extracts are introduced (cp. the poetical MSS., p. 1ff. and the MSS. of the Chronicle, p. 128).

It is rather difficult to decide what Professor Lehnert expects the student to do in the way of personal work, or what part the lecturer has to take. There is no introduction which would answer these questions; yet they become rather urgent when one finds that the introductory notes to some extracts quote at length from K. Malone's *The Old English Period* (in Baugh's *Literary History*), from G. K. Anderson's *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* and from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These introductory notes give the essential information for the student's understanding, but in a few cases they might have been more accurate or clearer, occasionally also more helpful. The bulk of OE. poetry is said to survive in 'four great collections of manuscripts' (p. 1). What Wanley edited in 1705 was a *Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (ibid. called 'his *Antiquae Litteraturae septentrionalis*'). Gnomonic poetry certainly lacks 'artistic unity', but isn't this a truism? (p. 5f.) The Franks Casket is no longer at Clermont-Ferrand (p. 15) — it has in fact been in the British Museum for 90 years. We can hardly expect an anthology to consider the 'numerous structural analyses' propounded for *The Seafarer*, but the student who looks up the reference to Krapp-Dobbie (p. 24) will find there almost literally the same deprecation. It was a good idea to revive an old device in adding Gothic, ON., OS. and OHG. translations (from Prokosch' *Comparative Germanic Grammar*, or his source?) to the OE. versions of the Lord's Prayer (p. 37f.), but why leave out parts of the *Heliand* text, the only one comparable with the OE. poetic version?

¹ Cf. *E. S.*, Dec. 1957.

Professor Lehnert's treatment of his texts depends of course on the editions from which he reprinted them. On the whole it may be termed conservative (e.g. Riddle 2 = 5, 6 *forwurde*; 7 = 35, 8 *amas*), although he makes no attempt to introduce the student to the manuscripts behind the printed texts. I found few misprints in the OE. and Latin extracts (Riddle 9 = 60, 11 *swilc* for MS. Edd. *swylc*; p. 31, l. 12 *wcal-* for *weal-*; p. 147, l. 1 *quadringentisimo*, and l. 17 *sun* for *sunt*); some more in the English text and in the bibliographical references (p. VIII, l. 8 OC for OF; p. X, l. 43 Petry for Poetry; p. 18, l. 22 *at* is missing; p. 44, l. 34 Merica for Mercia, etc.). A rather unexpected feature is the section devoted to MoE. translations of the poetic extracts (pp. 74-127) by R. K. Gordon, W. S. Mackie, I. Gollancz, B. Dickins, etc., as well as by Tennyson. The bibliographical notes are usually adequate, although such items as Miss M. M. Dubois' study of Ælfric or Professor Zandvoort's paper on the Leiden Riddle should not have been omitted (pp. 167 and 21).

The glossary, or 'Dictionary' as Professor Lehnert prefers to call it, contains 'all the words and forms' occurring in the texts of the first volume 'in black type'. Most forms do indeed appear as catchwords, and this tends to become *des Guten zuviel*. We actually find *ācōlian* followed immediately by its p.p. *ācōlod* as a new catchword, and *lēof* adj. by '*lēofan* weak g.d.a.sg. and nom. (voc.) a.pl. of *lēof*'; similarly *ofgēaƿon* pl. pret. precedes *ofgiefan*. I wonder whether students who have not learned these rudimenta of OE. grammar can profit much from reading texts. Nor is this generous principle applied consistently throughout: there are two catchwords *ācwealde*, one defined as '1. 3 sg. pret. of *ācwellan*', the other as 'p.p.pl. of *ācwellan*' (*ācwellan* itself follows immediately); but *ambiht* n. is listed under *ambiht* m. The glossary also gives the etymologies. This feature will no doubt be appreciated by many, although few students may have great use for Lithuanian and Sanscrit cognates, or will understand *amen* better because they are told that it comes from a Hebrew root meaning 'strength, stability'. Finally, the glossary contains the textual notes: it explains difficult constructions and phrasings and provides factual information. This arrangement has its pros and cons: the student has not got to look for enlightenment in two different places; but, on the other hand, if he has acquired some mastery of OE. vocabulary, he may fail to look up the words under which he would find further guidance. This is one of the points which can only be tested by actual use. I do hope that this on the whole remarkable reader will be given a place by the side of better-known OE. anthologies. Some revision on the occasion of a reprinting might improve its chances.

Ghent.

R. DEROLEZ.

Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre, 1860-1914. Par MADELEINE L. CAZAMIAN. Vol. III: *Les Doctrines d'Action et l'Aventure, 1880-1914.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 125.) Paris: Société d'édition: Les Belles Lettres, 1955. 499 pp.

With this bulky volume Mme Cazamian continues her *magnum opus* on the history of the modern English novel studied against the background of contemporary thought. The first volume, which appeared in 1923 as No. 15 of the Publications of the Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, was entitled *L'Influence de la Science, 1860-1890*. It dealt with the impact of intellectualism and science on the novels of George Eliot and Samuel Butler, and with the pessimists, George Gissing and Thomas Hardy. The second volume, *L'Anti-Intellectualisme et l'Esthétisme, 1880-1900*, published in the same series in 1935, traced the revenge taken by art through the various forms of aestheticism: the evolutionary aestheticism of Vernon Lee and Lafcadio Hearn, the social aestheticism of William Morris, the intuitive aestheticism of Walter Pater, decadent aestheticism and its sublimation, and the Celtic Renaissance. For the present volume, *Les Doctrines d'Action et l'Aventure, 1880-1914*, the author has once more hit upon the right keyword for her period. In it we see the novel returning to what is, in a sense, its oldest tradition: that of providing a record of action and adventure, sometimes with symbolic undertones. Though, as may be expected, there is some inevitable overlap with the preceding volumes, Mme Cazamian's delineation of the period in question, which overrides the conventional grouping into Victorians, Edwardians, and Georgians, does not need to be justified.

This is a difficult book to review, not only because of its size — 499 large, closely printed pages — but also because of its subject: the Protean novel against the complex background of contemporary philosophical thought. In both its subject and its size the book invites comparison with that other exhaustive (and somewhat exhausting) history of the modern English novel, the later volumes of Ernest A. Baker's *History of the English Novel*. As far as I know, Baker has never explained the point of view from which his book was written, but obviously he was mainly interested in tracing the 'origins and growth' of English prose fiction. Mme Cazamian is much more explicit in this matter. In a brief *avant-propos* she insists that she is going to strike a middle course between dogmatic critics like Dr. Johnson, who want to apply impersonal and absolute standards, and those who, like Walter Pater, aim at a merely impressionistic reconstruction of a work of art:

Entre un idéal qui dépouille l'œuvre littéraire de tous ses liens avec le monde environnant pour la considérer en Sirius et la faire entrer dans un rigoureux système — et la re-crédation libre de tout ce qu'elle contient et de tout ce qu'elle suggère, ainsi que le demande Pater, il est bien des formes d'étude dont on ne peut nier l'intérêt (p. 5).

She does not commit herself by making final judgments, inasmuch as her criticism

ne prétendra pas à l'objectivité, et son objet ne sera pas la vérité (ce leurre); mais, établissant une foule de dépendances, certaines ou probables, reliée de toutes parts aux sciences de la vie, elle gardera une valeur collective et une large portée (p. 6).

This type of criticism, which she likes to call 'critique interprétative, ou synthétique', and which she relates to Coleridge and Croce, to Audiat's *La Biographie de l'Œuvre Littéraire* and Herbert Read's *The True Voice of Feeling*, comprises a study of the author's life, of his personality, and of his period; of the place of his work in the history of literature and civilization; of psychology, psychoanalysis, the movement of thought, the evolution of humanity, etc. The author insists at the end of her book (p. 474) that, when studied in this way, the novel will give not only a reflection but also an interpretation of the time in which it is written. Within the limits imposed, the body of her book certainly bears out the rightness of this view.

In order to do justice to a work of this scope, it is necessary to give the reader some indication of the wealth it contains. The book is in four parts. The first and introductory part, 'Les nouvelles avenues ouvertes au roman', consists of two chapters. In Chapter I the author reviews the principal trends of opinion at the beginning of her period: the New Idealism, with special reference to Bradley's Absolute; its opposite, the Pragmatism of William James; Sturt's Personal Idealism; Schiller's Humanism; Voluntarism, Pluralism, and Pantheism; Psychophysics; Spiritism, Psychopathology, Theosophy, and Occultism. Chapter II describes the percolation of these new ideas through the novel. In the first section the stress is upon the interrelations between fiction and philosophy. Thus it is interesting to learn that *Marius the Epicurean*, on its appearance, was acclaimed in *Mind*, the well-known journal of psychology; that *Trilby* was frequently quoted by critics to illustrate speculations on the subconscious, the abnormal, and on hypnotic phenomena; and that William James admired Wells, who was not only a novelist, but also a sociologist and a theorist. The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a different type of novelist: the novelist as man of action, explorer, traveller. Of course Stevenson, Conrad, and Kipling are signal examples of this marriage between art and action. Before entering upon a detailed analysis of the novelists in whom the doctrines of action and adventure have found their highest expression, Mme Cazamian briefly reviews the whole field of contemporary fiction under the headings 'L'esprit d'aventure à travers le monde', 'Critique morale', 'Critique sociale', 'Vie religieuse', and 'Irréalisme'. In spite of her modest disclaimer of completeness and thoroughness, this thirty-page survey provides the reader with the requisite background against which to judge the achievements of the really great. The spirit of adventure is traced in the regional novels of R. D. Blackmore, Sabine Baring-Gould, William Black, Hall Caine, and 'Q'; in the historical

novels of Kingsley, Walter Besant, Robert Buchanan, Conan Doyle, Stanley Weyman, and Andrew Lang; and in the Stevensonian novels of adventure by Rider Haggard, Neil Munro, Morley Roberts, Ford Madox Ford, and John Masefield. But, the author continues,

l'aventure peut se dérouler dans le domaine des faits; elle est alors un rappel direct de sensations et d'émotions vécues; mais elle peut aussi se déployer dans le domaine moral; et elle entraîne alors une exploration plus libre, plus approfondie qu'il n'est usuel des sentiments et des actes (p. 54).

This preoccupation with moral criticism is illustrated in the work of Lucas Malet, Arnold Bennett, Somerset Maugham, J. D. Beresford, Oliver Onions, Gilbert Cannan, Compton Mackenzie, and Hugh Walpole. The author finds social criticism in the novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward, Walter Besant, Richard Whiteing, and in the feminist novels of Grant Allen, Olive Schreiner, and May Sinclair. Some writers, like Mrs. Oliphant, Charlotte Yonge, and George MacDonald, pursued adventure in the field of the transcendental, the abstract, and the supernatural; others, like Anthony Hope, J. K. Jerome, Barry Pain, and E. F. Benson, in the field of what Mme Cazamian calls 'l'irréalisme'.

The last three parts of the book — about 400 pages — are taken up by a painstaking analysis of the impact of the spirit of adventure on the great English novelists of the period. Part Two, 'L'esprit d'aventure à travers le monde', is devoted to Stevenson, Conrad, and Kipling. Stevenson, the novelist, is allotted forty-four pages. Yet, after Mme Cazamian's eulogies, one is tempted to ask, with Max Beerbohm, whether Stevenson was not an essayist by birth, a teller of tales by accident. Mme Cazamian's method may be illustrated from her treatment of Conrad in Chapter IV. This forty-one page chapter may almost be called a monograph on Conrad. It is also one of the most illuminating of the whole book. The material is first ranged under the conventional headings of *La Vie*, *L'Œuvre*, and *La Personnalité*. Then Conrad's life is discussed under the following sub-headings: 'Les antinomies du caractère et de la destinée'; 'Enfance'; 'Vocation maritime'; 'Carrière littéraire et mariage'. The nature of Mme Cazamian's analysis of his work may be gauged from the themes round which she groups it: 'La Malaise', 'Les Décivilisés', 'Nature ennemie', 'Conspirations et complots', 'Mer et marins', 'Art et technique'. Finally, Conrad the Man is considered from the point of view of 'L'empreinte Polonaise', 'L'âme Britannique', 'Pessimisme', and 'Anti-intellectualisme et idéalisme'. It is this rigid organization of her material along traditional lines that enables the author to outline her subject with a few bold strokes and to fill in the open spaces with significant detail. It is this same structure which accounts for the architectural, even monolithic, quality of her work, without, however, lessening its readability. Within the framework adopted, Mme Cazamian undertakes many engrossing analyses of plots, often allowing the novelists to reveal themselves by apt quotations in excellent French, either translated by herself or taken from existing French

translations. Of course the severely scholastic system to which the author is harnessed prescribes that the objects of her study shall be endlessly dissected. Sometimes, indeed, it seems that this anatomization has been carried to extremes. Thus in the section on 'Mer et marins' Conrad's description of the sea is studied from the point of view of colour, sound, the sky, the stars, the wind, etc. But in most cases the inevitable tedium which such a Ph.D. thesis treatment tends to induce in the reader is quickly dispelled by the close interlinking of the thought in the successive paragraphs and by the broad sweep of the author's style, which is warm, compelling, and colourful, without ever losing anything of its lucidity. Her comparisons especially are often illuminating by their conciseness. The following passage concerns Stevenson and Conrad :

Les livres de Stevenson laissent une impression de netteté, de lumière et d'allégresse, malgré le caractère souvent dramatique ou même macabre de leur sujet; le détachement de soi, l'insouciant héroïsme qu'il se plaît à dépeindre, leur donnent une valeur tonique, soutenue par la pureté, la vivacité, l'éclat de son style. L'horizon de Conrad au contraire est sombre; la destinée de ses personnages se déroule parmi de lourds orages; s'ils n'y périssent pas misérablement, c'est pour survivre au naufrage de leurs illusions; ses récits sont touffus, obscurs, présentés sur un mode indirect, enveloppés d'un commentaire méditatif, passionné, véhément (p. 128-129).

The contrast between these two authors has never been worded more suggestively. Mme Cazamian's bold generalizations are equally striking. I select for quotation two representative ones, both on Kipling :

Deux courants se mêlent dans ses hérédités et ses premières expériences; le premier tend à faire de lui un moraliste et un homme d'action; le second, un artiste et un visionnaire. Il fut l'un et l'autre, à sa façon (p. 171).

L'autorité de Kipling comme interprète de l'Inde toutefois est fort contestée. S'il en a passionnément interrogé le visage, à bien des égards, il n'en a pas pénétré l'âme (p. 193).

Part Three, 'L'esprit d'aventure dans la critique morale et sociale', deals with Meredith, Galsworthy, and Wells. The inclusion of Meredith, the bulk of whose work appeared between 1850 and 1880, is justified by the plea that, as Ernest Baker said, he 'reviewed the present in the light of the future, as befitted the apostle of spiritual evolution'. Meredith's last four novels — *Diana of the Crossways*, *One of Our Conquerors*, *Lord Ormont and His Aminta*, and *The Amazing Marriage* — are the only ones that fall within the period discussed by Mme Cazamian. They are considered from various angles: moral and social criticism, feminism, and philosophy and religion. A few quotations will suffice to summarize her evaluation of Meredith :

Ses portraits de femmes ont une rare variété; ils forment une brillante galerie dont peu de romanciers offrent l'équivalent (p. 243) ... Il a consacré toute sa vigueur mentale et son exubérance d'imagination à définir, défendre et mettre en pratique un genre qui jamais ne fut populaire: le roman philosophique (p. 251) ... Entre le réalisme et l'idéalisme — qu'il qualifie de sordide ou d'écœurant à travers mille figures de style — il a établi un équilibre; grâce à la 'Muse Comique' et à la 'Philosophie', il a voulu se tenir

à égale distance de l'un et de l'autre (p. 253) ... Aux moments critiques du récit, le dialogue, soudain abrupt, les notations directes, les mots, les gestes révélateurs y gagnent une portée, une force poignante et un magnétisme quasi Shakespeariens ... Jusqu'à James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Lawrence, Aldous Huxley et les disciples de la psychanalyse, la littérature romanesque n'a guère dépassé les audaces de sa pensée ou de sa technique (p. 254).

Mme Cazamian's treatment is by no means uniform. Almost every chapter is organized differently. Thus in her treatment of the work of Galsworthy she adopts a different method from the one used in her discussion of Conrad. Here it is the novels themselves that provide her with the necessary clues: *The Island Pharisees*: les Préjugés de Classe; *The Man of Property*: la Bourgeoisie d'Affaires; *The Freelanders*: le Problème Rural; *Fraternity*: les Intellectuels. Each section contains elaborate analyses of the novels in question.

One of the longest and most searching chapters is the one on Wells. G. A. Connes, in his *La Pensée de H. G. Wells* (1926; Mme Cazamian wrongly gives the date as 1925), had tried to establish the relations between the doctrines of Wells and the scientific and philosophical ideas of all times. Mme Cazamian, more precisely, sets out to treat 'les théories du romancier et leur évolution en les reliant aux manifestations diverses et successives de la pensée contemporaine' (p. 293). She first deals with his science fiction and with what she calls his 'apostolat socialiste'. After 1900 Wells's mind took a more deterministic turn. In his Royal Institution lecture on *The Discovery of the Future* (1902) he said that the future was as definite, immutable, inevitable, and knowable as the past. The sections on Wells's 'prophéties pragmatistes', on his realistic and constructive novels, on the sources and limits of his feminism, and on his Messianism are equally interesting. Mme Cazamian's final assessment of Wells as an artist is worth quoting:

Sa verve familière n'est pas sans vulgarité; il y a de la lourdeur dans ses enthousiasmes et son ironie. Son style spontané, chaleureux, imagé, est généralement d'une texture lâche et rugueuse (p. 347-348).

It is good to be reminded of the fact that Wells's fundamental effort, as he saw it, was to change the world, not to create beauty. He was, in his own words, a journalist who refused to play the artist.

In Part Four, 'L'esprit d'aventure dans la vie spirituelle', the author discusses the religious novels of Olive Schreiner, R. H. Benson, Ayscough, Chesterton, Shorthouse, Richard Jefferies, W. H. Hudson, and others, and the *conteurs irréalistes*: Henry James, Walter de la Mare, Lewis Carroll, James Barrie, Algernon Blackwood, E. M. Forster, Lord Dunsany, James Stephens, and G. W. Russell ('A.E.'). In the chapter on the religious novel the sub-heading 'romans catholiques' is used in a somewhat unorthodox sense, since it is meant to include the work of such diverse novelists as Mrs. Humphry Ward and J. H. Shorthouse, G. K. Chesterton and Compton Mackenzie. Both Chesterton and Shorthouse are allotted a separate sub-

chapter. Mme Cazamian agrees with Paul Elmer More in considering *John Inglesant* the greatest religious novel of English literature, and with Rebecca West in calling *The Turn of the Screw* the finest ghost story in the world — a title, she thinks, it may dispute with Walter de la Mare's *The Return*.

To the reader of to-day the rather remote world revived in these pages tends to assume a degree of integration which it almost certainly lacked. This impression is strengthened by the fact that more than half of Mme Cazamian's book is devoted to the work of those outstanding novelists of the period, Stevenson, Conrad, Kipling, Meredith, Galsworthy, and Wells, who seem to brush shoulders at the most unexpected points of their careers. For instance, Galsworthy on his return from the Samoan Islands, where he had hoped to see Stevenson, travelled on a vessel on which Conrad was the second in command. Wells argued interminably with Henry James and Joseph Conrad. The necessary corrective to such an unjustifiable generalization may be found in the first and last chapters, which provide the reader with the right perspective.

Mme Cazamian's book is refreshingly free from the harsh jargon and damnatory phrases of much modern literary criticism. Her approach is sane and scholarly, and she manages to put her case in what may be called a time-honoured terminology. Some of her critical judgments, if not original, are certainly helpful. Though there is abundant proof that she is aware of recent developments in literary history and scholarship, she seems to be less familiar with the achievements of the best of modern criticism. The bibliography, it is true, contains two books by Dr. F. R. Leavis; but it is slightly disconcerting to find his name in the company of critics like Frank Harris, Richard Le Gallienne (who, on p. 230, is referred to as 'cet excellent et délicat critique'), and Robert Lynd ('ce critique pénétrant', p. 372). One's impression that Mme Cazamian is better acquainted with the older critics than with the more recent ones is strengthened by the fact that there is only one (inaccurate) reference to the work of Dr. Leavis in the body of the book (and none at all, for that matter, to any of the modern American critics), whereas references to Robert Lynd, Frank Harris, and Richard Le Gallienne abound.

Generally speaking, the first chapter of the eleven-page bibliography at the end of the book does not seem to be quite up-to-date. Of the seventy-nine titles listed under 'Le mouvement de la pensée' only two are later than 1942. In the chapter on the development of the novel I missed *The Novel and the World's Dilemma* by E. B. Burgum (1947), and in the chapter on Meredith Sir Osbert Sitwell's presidential address to the English Association on *The Novels of George Meredith* (1947). Walter F. Wright's *Art and Substance in George Meredith: A Study in Narrative* (1953) probably appeared too late to be included. The bibliographies of the other individual authors prove to be equally selective; and it would be easy to point out such important omissions as J. A. Steuart, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Man and Writer* (1924); Edward Crankshaw, *Joseph Conrad:*

Some Aspects of the Art of the Novel (1936); and C. Hilton Brown, *Rudyard Kipling: A New Appreciation* (1945), or to suggest more recent critical studies. Rather surprisingly there are no books mentioned on Henry James. Characteristic of Mme Cazamian's bibliographical remissness is the way she deals with the title of one of Shorthouse's novels, *The Little Schoolmaster Mark*. This title is quoted in four different versions, none of which is correct. The title of Wyndham Lewis's *Time and Western Man* (which, incidentally, was not published in 1908, but in 1927) is misquoted twice (p. 22, 48). Apart from the usual crop of misprints it is especially annoying to find misspellings of well-known names and titles, such as Cunningham Graham (p. 49, 165, 168), Sabin Baring-Gould (p. 50), D. Blackmore (p. 50, for R. D. Blackmore), Le Fann (p. 76, for Le Fanu), *The Purple Land that England Last* (p. 409), *Peter Pan in Kensington Garden* (p. 447, 485), *Stories Tots told Me* (p. 462), A. M. Whitehead (p. 472, for A. N. Whitehead), B. Russel (p. 478, for Bertrand Russell), R. Liddel (p. 479, for Robert Liddell, whose *A Treatise on the Novel* appeared in 1947, not in 1953), F. Swimerton (p. 480, for Frank Swinnerton, the correct title of whose book is *The Georgian Literary Scene*), *A Room with View* (p. 486), G. Russel (p. 487, for George William Russell), Edward Plunklet (for Plunkett) Lord Dunsany (p. 490). The reference to Baker's *History of the English Novel* on p. 230 is wrong; the passage quoted is from vol. VIII. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch died in 1944, not in 1941, as stated on p. 50. There are many other minor inaccuracies of this type. In the index it is awkward to find names of authors like Dawson, Pearson, and Walker unidentified by their initials. Mme Cazamian's trick of quoting titles of English books in one place in French, in another in English, is also irritating.

Of course these and similar slips do not seriously detract from the intrinsic value of Mme Cazamian's study, which must be the result of more than half a lifetime of reading, assessing, and discrimination. She is to be accorded the highest praise for the Gallic insight and almost Germanic thoroughness with which she has elucidated the doctrines of action and adventure in the English novel between 1880 and 1914. Her book is a remarkable performance, more remarkable, perhaps, for the masterly integration of a vast number of more or less well-known facts and opinions than for the presentation of altogether new material. Nothing, one feels, has been missed, though occasionally one would have wished for more strict evaluation. A well-ordered storehouse of exact information, apt analytic exposition, and bold synthesis, Mme Cazamian's book provides ample suggestion for scores of perceptive essays. It deserves to take rank among the great and indispensable studies on the history of the English novel.

T. S. Eliot's Four Quartets. A Commentary. By C. A. BODELSEN. (Copenhagen University Publications Fund.) Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1958. 128 pp. Price 15 kr.

In his preface, Professor Bodelsen tells us that his object is 'modest, and even pedestrian, viz. to help the ordinary reader or student to an understanding of the poems by trying to explain, passage by passage, what are the poet's thoughts and argument, and what are the references of the symbols by which he expresses them'; but he need not have apologized for adding to the literature on Eliot's *Quartets*: his commentary is one of the most helpful as well as most engaging to date. Professor Bodelsen's main quality is his modesty; none but superficial readers will be deceived by the simplicity of his exposé. He explains the main ideas and symbols developed in each movement, and thus elucidates all the important problems; then he discusses individual lines in footnotes after each chapter. He helps his readers to follow the argument and to relate the parts to the central problem, but rightly leaves out of the discussion such literary echoes as are 'merely literary curiosities'. (While rightly distinguishing between echoes that add something to the context from those that do not, Prof. Bodelsen should not suggest, as he does p. 15, that echoes of which Eliot may have been unaware do not matter.)

His first two chapters (Eliot's Poetic Technique, *The Four Quartets*), he says, 'address themselves solely to the common reader, and not to specialists, who will find little there that is new to them'. To present in a few pages, and so clearly, the main aspects of Eliot's technique and conception of poetry is, however, no mean achievement. What Professor Bodelsen says about 'the raid on the inarticulate', particularly, reveals his understanding of the poet's use of language, and should be recommended to all students of literature, and of language; he presents these problems in such a way as to make the reader's approach to Eliot's poetry easier without distorting his views by over-simplification. Chapter II deals with the musical analogy, the general structure and the current themes and symbols of the *Four Quartets*, and is a very helpful introduction to the commentary. My only objection is that Professor Bodelsen does not sufficiently emphasize one point, as the common reader may not grasp what is implied in the analysis. In his last paragraph, he refers to Eliot's theodicy as another aspect of the problem of time; it might have been useful to say that the theme of redemption is central: to 'redeem the time' is to discover the true relation between the phenomenal world and the absolute, between the chaos of appearances and eternal order; to discover the intersection of time and timelessness, when 'the impossible union / Of spheres of existence is actual' (*D.S.V.*), that is Incarnation. In Eliot's early work, as Professor Bodelsen rightly stresses, 'contemporary civilization is presented as a chaos of disparate elements', and the metaphors are of such a nature as to emphasize disparity; in the *Quartets* the 'chaotic forces are presented as containing the seeds of their opposites', and the main symbols are

ambivalent: the opposites are reconciled and the central paradox is illuminated. The paradox of 'the Word within the world' dominates several earlier poems; in the *Quartets* it is the paradox of the wounded surgeon, or of the dove breaking the air with flame of incandescent terror. After accepting the paradox, the protagonist can say: 'See, now, they vanish, / The faces and the places, ... To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern', and he can repeat the words of the mystic: 'Sin is Behovely, but / All shall be well, and / All manner of things shall be well'; he can accept the world of appearances as the one through which the divine purpose is being worked out, for 'only through time time is conquered'.

Professor Bodelsen's commentary does help his readers to understand the poems better; in his interpretation of *Burnt Norton*, in particular, he clarifies several points about which scholars still disagree. I hesitate, therefore, to question some of his interpretations and would rather suggest the following points for further consideration.

P. 39, *BN* I, ll. 6-8: Prof. Bodelsen rejects Preston's interpretation, but I do not see quite clearly what he means. Would he agree that: 'What might have been remains an abstraction, i.e. a perpetual possibility (in relation to the pattern perpetually rearranging itself); it belongs to the world of speculation, not to the actual world of what has been; but the world of speculation is no less real than the other'?

P. 43, *BN* I, ll. 14/15: 'My words echo / Thus, in your mind' seems to him to have little meaning if referring to the reader. Do not the poet's words echo in the reader's mind, calling up memories of things only half descried, hints and guesses not followed at the time?

P. 43, *BN* I, l. 23: 'There they were, dignified, invisible': they = the protagonist and his companion? Yet, the words are echoed in l. 30: 'There they were as our guests, accepted and accepting,' i.e. the children; and the bird has said (l. 19) 'find them, / Round the corner', i.e. presumably the might-have-beens, i.e. the children; only later do they stand behind the protagonist round the pool, then disappear in the foliage when the cloud passes. If 'we and they' move in a formal pattern (l. 31), might not the children be described as 'dignified'?

P. 45, Notes to *BN*, I, l. 28: 'the unseen eyebeam crossed' = unseen by the children? or rather: the eyebeams of the children? cf. *The Hollow Men*.

P. 48, *BN* II, ll. 1/2: I cannot see that this passage deals with old age and experience. The axle-tree clotted in the mud seems to me like the still point of the turning world (the axle-tree does not rotate); the image, like the following ones in this passage, figures the relation between time and timelessness, i.e. expresses the content of the experience of Movement I.

P. 51, Notes to *BN* II, l. 21: Eliot does not stress *there* in his recorded reading, hence probably means: the dance is the only reality, meaning: the only one we can apprehend, but in which we can also apprehend the still point ('only through time time is conquered').

P. 53, Notes to *BN* III, l. 1: 'disaffection' = alienation, disconnection, but *not* 'detachment'.

P. 55, *BN* V: The 'co-existence' means more than that the poem is recreated whenever it is read or heard again. The poem reaches out of time, it *is* (art as absolute, since the image clearly derives from Keats's urn), it belongs to timelessness.

P. 64, Notes to *EC* I, ll. 49/50: 'I am here / Or there, or elsewhere', cf. 'here and there does not matter'. Man is here or there (in time) or elsewhere (out of time as well as in time).

P. 76, *EC* IV, st. 3: the lines mean, on one level, that 'if we do well, we shall die of Adam's paternal care, i.e. sin', but also, and this is more important: 'if we do well (not in the millionaire's sense!), we shall die, i.e. be cured, through God's paternal care that prevents us everywhere'. Eliot's use of 'prevent' seems intended to telescope the two

meanings: Adam's sin preventing us from being healthy, God's grace 'preventing' us everywhere. The use of the archaic sense of 'prevent' suggests 'prevenient grace'.

P. 77, Notes to EC IV, ll. 1/2: 'ply' and 'question' hardly suggest tenderness.

P. 77, Notes to EC IV, l. 7: The idea of the Church losing its hold on the modern world has nothing to do in the context, and the image of the 'dying nurse', though consistent with the other imagery, strikes me as a bad 'pun'.

P. 80 EC V, ll. 21-25: the stress is rather on the preparation, the humble waiting (cf. DS V 'And the rest is prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action'), Wordsworth's unheralded moments of intimation being opposed to the Christian's life of prayer, as the isolated individual is opposed to the individual taking his place in the order of tradition.

P. 97, DS IV: To me, the chapel bell summons worshippers to the morning angelus, probably because the worried women of DS I were lying awake, 'between midnight and dawn, before the morning watch', when the bell clanged, and because of the warning in Mark XIII associated with the first movement: 'Watch ye therefore . . . lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping'.

P. 107, LG II, ll. 3/4: funeral pyre? the image is of words dying in the air.

P. 119, LG IV. The military rhythm of st. 1, but not of st. 2, suggests *processional* hymns of the fighting Christians, such as 'Onward Christian soldiers'.

May I add that Professor Bodelsen's commentary has proved to be the most helpful 'guide to T. S. Eliot' for students? My own experience this year has shown me that after reading it, students have been able to probe deeper into the problems presented by Eliot and, as a consequence, to grasp more fully the structure and development of the poem.

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

Sprache und Literatur Englands und Amerikas. Lehrgangsvorträge der Akademie Comburg. In Gemeinschaft mit A. Heidelberger, H. Metzger und G. Müller-Schwefe herausgegeben von CARL AUGUST WEBER. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1952. viii + 200 pp. DM. 16.—.

Id. Zweiter Band. Herausgegeben von CARL AUGUST WEBER in Gemeinschaft mit Rudolf Haas und Hermann Metzger. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1956. 164 pp. DM 10.—.

Id. Dritter Band. *Die wissenschaftliche Erschliessung der Prosa.* In Gemeinschaft mit Hermann Metzger herausgegeben von GERHARD MÜLLER-SCHWEFE. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1959. 166 pp. Geh. DM. 15.—.

The first of these volumes appeared eight years ago, and an apology is due for our failure to provide an earlier announcement. It contained, among others, papers by Otto Funke on 'Neue Sprachforschung, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des modernen Englisch', by H. Galinsky on 'Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten des amerikanischen und britischen English in der neueren Forschung', and by C. A. Weber on 'Die neue Entwicklung der Literaturwissenschaft in der Anglistik'. There was only one paper in English; the second volume contains four, among them all the three lectures on American

literature. There is nothing on American English this time, but there are more studies of concrete literary subjects: Clemen on *Richard III*, Esch on T. S. Eliot as Critic, two American Fulbright professors on Dreiser and Hemingway. The linguistic contributions to Volume II are of unequal value. Von Lindheim's paper on 'Neue Ausdrucksmittel im Englischen als Ersatz der Flexion' suffers from an anthropomorphism that one had thought of as an 'überwundenen Standpunkt' ('In beiden Fällen setzt sich die Sprache rücksichtslos über jahrhundertealte grammatische Prinzipien hinweg, um ihre Ausdrucksfähigkeit zu vermehren und zu differenzieren'). A comparative study by Schmidt-Hidding of such words as *culture* — *Kultur*, *pathetic* — *pathetisch*, leans too heavily on the meaning 'gracious urbanity of manners' in the former case, and leaves out of account the current meaning 'exciting pity or sadness' in the latter. Leisi's paper on the study of the English vocabulary deals with a subject treated more at length in his book *Das Heutige Englisch*, which I reviewed in *E. S.* Oct. 1955. Special mention should be made of Tillyard's paper on Reality and Fantasy in Elizabethan Literature, and of Lüdeke's survey of American Life and its Literary Expression since the Civil War.

All these papers were read at meetings of school and university teachers of English due to the initiative of the late Professor C. A. Weber. He died shortly after the second Conference. The 1956 volume is dedicated to his memory.

The appearance of a third volume of the Comburg lectures speaks well for the viability of the conferences at which they were delivered. Our personal preference goes to those by Edgar Mertner on the novelists among the Angry Young Men, and by Rudolf Sühnel on Melville's *Billy Budd*. Very readable is also Straumann's discussion of the factors that determine the success of a new novel (the passage about J. G. Cozzens' *By Love Possessed* was worked out in an article in the August 1959 number of *E. S.*). Müller-Schwefe's paper 'Der Roman als dichterische Metapher' deals with a more theoretical aspect of the novel. Thackeray and Dickens are the subjects of lectures by Schubel and Viebrock respectively. The former seems to take Thackeray's half rueful conversion to the didactic task of the novelist ('I have got to believe in the business') too seriously when he describes it as a 'grundsätzliche Meinungswandel'; besides, there is a minor comedy of errors when he assigns Charlotte Brontë's eagle to Fielding instead of to Thackeray. Viebrock, in an otherwise good analysis of the beginning of a story by Dickens describing the departure of a railway-train from a half-dark platform, seems to assume unnecessarily the presence of grammatical 'Unbestimmtheit' and ambiguity in the first and last of the following sentences: 'Lamp waved. Signal lights ahead already changing. Shriek from engine. Train gone.' — while I doubt if he is right in stating that owing to 'einem der englischen Intonation innewohnenden Systemzwang' it takes no longer to say 'Signal lights ahead already changing' than 'Lamp waved.'¹ Hans Marchand classifies recent American additions to the vocabulary of the language. The first paper, by Herbert Davis, tells of recent developments in the study of Swift and Johnson.

In strong contrast to the more or less philosophically tinged lectures by the German contributors stands a stream-lined survey of Stylistic Devices

¹ On Dickens's use of language see now Randolph Quirk's inaugural lecture, *Charles Dickens and Appropriate Language*, University of Durham, 1959.

and Levels of Speech in the Works of Hemingway by Raleigh Morgan, Jr. The following sentences would have deserved a place in Harold B. Allen's recent *Readings in Applied English Linguistics*: 'I am convinced that the methodology of linguistics, evaluating data according to formal and distributional criteria, affords a universal basis for the objective analysis of a literary work.' — 'Linguistic science hopes someday to achieve a more refined methodology with respect to stylistic matters and when it does, it will have achieved its well-deserved right to analyze the totality of discourse.' Though Mr Morgan does not say so, this kind of research will no doubt be perpetrated with the help of an electronic computer. O brave new world!

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Airship, Aeroplane, Aircraft. Studies in the History of Terms for Aircraft in English. By SVANTE STUBELIUS. (Gothenburg Studies in English, ed. Frank Behre, Vol. VII.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1958. xii + 342 pp. Sw. Kr. 25.

The latest volume of the Gothenburg Studies in English presents an exhaustive historical analysis of a small group of semantically related words: terms for aircraft in English. The development of this specialised vocabulary is traced in the greatest possible detail from the earliest days of speculation on the possibility of flight by man down to the year 1911. Terms for aircraft first appear in English texts around 1600, though the linguistic material is sparse until the short outburst of popular interest in the first balloon ascents of the 1780s (Johnson's letters of 1783-4 are full of balloons). The first two thirds of the nineteenth century provide some fine aeronautical terms, such as *aeromotive*, *pneumatic vessel* and *aerial steam carriage*, but it is the period of intense experimentation from the founding of the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain in 1866 down to 1911 which has provided the author with the bulk of his material. During this period, which includes the successful experiments with Count Zeppelin's airships and the first achievement of power-driven heavier-than-air flight by the Wright brothers (1903), the development of the vocabulary is as rapid and continuous as that of the machines. The author's documentation for the period from 1911 down to 1958 has not been so full, though notice is taken of the principal developments. The study is thus, as the author tells us, 'mainly focused on the earlier, formative period, and from that period a large number of expressions are included which are now obsolete and which illustrate how the current vocabulary crystallized out of a welter of tentative names applied to aircraft'.

The author's interest in these words is first of all semasiological, and the material is arranged not by chapters but in a series of twenty or more articles or sections, varying in length from one to seventy-five pages, each dealing with a word or group of words related by form or association; first come the different nautical words that have been adapted to the new science of aviation (*flying ship, aircraft, aeronef, airliner, etc.*), and then the five main words with the element *-plane*. There are also sections on the principal combining elements (*helico-, dirigible, -plane, etc.*), on German *Luftschiff*, French *Navire Aérien* and Latin *Navis*. The whole is preceded by an admirable, short chronological survey of the aeronautical vocabulary as it is revealed. The work is thus in outline one of extended lexicography, and it has all the advantages and disadvantages of the lexicographical method. By thus ordering his material, the author is able to give us a neat chronological survey of the history and semantic development of each of the major words, with lavish quotations conveniently arranged. But on the other hand problems of polysemy, foreign influence, grammatical treatment of terms and discussion of relationships between different groups have to be relegated to the end of appropriate sections. Thus a great deal of cross-reference is needed — we find, for instance, that the major entries for *Torpedo Craft* and *War Vessel* appear in the section dealing with names of warships, though there are sections elsewhere dealing with *Craft* and *Vessel*; the provision of an index would have been helpful here.

This is a long and extremely thoroughly documented study, and its value lies in the painstaking industry and great care with which it has been carried out. The author has read an enormous amount of aviation literature in the course of his researches — technical publications, popular magazines, novels, newspapers and even patent specifications. From the impressive mass of information gathered he has been able to show how totally inadequate and often misleading standard reference works, including OED and OEDS, can be on such technical terms of recent origin: he is able to reject conclusively, for instance, the belief that English *airship* was formed on the model of the German *Luftschiff*; we are shown how 'The statement that *aircraft* is only rarely used to denote one aircraft has never in the history of the word been true'. This selection and range of material has also enabled the author to illustrate the interaction of popular and official usage — for instance, the great influence of the *Daily Mail* on aeronautical vocabulary between the years 1906 and 1911. Where one word has gone down in favour of another (e.g., *dirigible* for *airship*, and *aeroplane* for *aircraft*), the author's researches have brought to light a striking number of comments on the status of the words, illustrating contemporary feeling about them. Thus we find Skeat being criticised in the magazine *Flight* (21 Oct. 1911) for preferring *air-plane* to *aeroplane*: 'The opinion of this learned Professor of Anglo-Saxon always commands respect and attention, but we fear "aeroplane" is too firmly established now to be ousted'. It was too firmly established, except in America,

where, however, we learn to our surprise that Orville Wright preferred the form *aeroplane* right until his death in 1948.

The formation and usage of words needed in the vernacular for new or newly popularised sciences has been the subject of discussion by the learned at least since the sixteenth century, and clearly a great number of detailed studies such as this would be possible and useful today: one thinks of the vocabulary of motoring, or the rapidly developing 'atom(ic)' vocabulary. We are indeed promised a further volume by the same author, again in the sphere of aeronautics, on *Balloon, Flying-Machine, Helicopter*. Aeronautics is a new science, yet past its initial stage, it is highly technical, yet of popular interest, it is clearly defined, and in a state of rapid development. It thus provides an ideal subject for this kind of study: the words dealt with are not only of interest in themselves, but their growth can also tell us much about the pattern of vocabulary development in other fields of technical English.

For this reason it seems a pity that the author has had to set his terminal date for this volume as early as 1911. By so doing he has been able to make his study definitive down to that date, and indeed he gives us a great deal of information on the years since. It is perhaps unreasonable to ask for more: but with two world wars fought in the air between then and now it is hard to resist a wish that the enormous impact of more recent popular interest in flying might have been brought more firmly within the scope of the work. We might also wish that in so extensive a discussion of so limited a vocabulary we were told more about words that are related but happen not to be names for aircraft: has the British preference for the word *aircraft* anything to do with the official titles *aircraft(s)man*, *aircraft(s)-woman*, *aircraft mechanic*, etc.?; what about the proper names of aircraft, *Flying Fortress*, *Stratocruiser*, etc., and *Zeppelin*, which was certainly used as a class noun and abbreviated *Zepp*?; in the discussion of French influence on terms for aircraft in the early years some reference to the history of other borrowings from the French (*fuselage*, *nacelle*, *aileron*) would have been helpful; so also with *nacelle* (< L. *navicella*) and *pilot* in the discussion of nautical terms.

Some score of misprints and misquotations have been noted, and the following corrections may be recorded here: p. 39, *crate* for *aircraft* does not only occur in American slang — it is a common slang term in British English, and Partridge (D.S.U.E.) dates it as early as 1916; p. 124, the second note of referent should read 'general' not 'aeroplane'; pp. 302 and 315, the monoplane is not the only existing aeroplane type — in this part of England at least — and the word *biplane* is still current.

Southampton.

N. E. OSSELTON.

Current Literature, 1958

I. Prose, Poetry and Drama

Taken all in all, the year 1958 was less disappointing than many that preceded it, and in the field of the novel particularly, if nothing really memorable was produced, there were a number of works of sufficient merit and interest to suggest that we may be on the verge of a period of fresh vitality in this branch of letters. Foremost amongst them was Angus Wilson's *The Middle Age of Mrs Eliot* (Secker & Warburg, 18/—), which depicts the struggle of a middle-aged, middle-class woman to start a new life, stand on her own feet, and adapt herself to her changed circumstances after the sudden and tragic death of her husband, a successful barrister who had seemed to have a promising and brilliant future before him. Hitherto Mrs Eliot had been something of a social figure, very much dependent upon her husband, and never taking the world very seriously; now she is thrown upon her own resources and she does not find her new position an easy one. In the end she succeeds in adapting herself to her new world, but not without a good deal of pain to herself and trouble to others. The difficulties in which she finds herself bring out many sides of her character that would never have been suspected before — some rather petty, others more admirable, some even heroic, but all in the circumstances understandable. The main figures in the story are few, for in its essentials it is a study of this one central character, who is skilfully portrayed. But, one wonders, has it any wider significance? Is it anything more than a well written, very readable story of a woman who, because of changed conditions, is forced to reconcile herself to a new kind of existence? If so disposed we might read it as an allegory of the eclipse of the middle class during the past few decades, with Mrs Eliot as a symbol of that class, diminished in prestige and economic security, seeking to adjust itself to the conditions of the mid-twentieth century and the age of the common man. But whether or not we accept this interpretation (which may be reading more into the novel than the author intended) the book is certainly a significant one.

Alfred Duggan is not one of the best known of present-day novelists, but he has produced a number of well written works of historical fiction which have been favourably received and have marked him out as a craftsman of no mean ability in this sphere. In *Three's Company* (Faber, 15/—) he takes the story of the triumvirate, consisting of Antony, Octavius and Lepidus, which controlled Rome after the death of Julius Caesar, and tells it from the point of view of its least distinguished (and historically least important) member, Lepidus. The atmosphere of political intrigue and the conflict of personal interests is well sustained, and there is a whole panorama of characters, but it is Lepidus who consistently holds the centre of the stage. A little blunt intellectually, and politically not too experienced, he is in many ways a character whom we can respect

despite his shortcomings, for he is at least the most honest of the three. A liberal-minded Roman, with a desire to change things slowly and to preserve the best from the days of the republic, he collaborates with those more wily than himself, whom he distrusts and despises, in the hope of becoming a moderating influence; but in the end he falls a victim to those who accepted his services while it served their ends to do so, but who all along saw him as a stumbling-block to their ambitions.

The style is clear, easy, quiet and controlled. There is plenty of action in the book, for the story moves quickly and inevitably from one crisis to another and then on to its climax; but always at the bottom of it is the conflict of personalities and of ideals; and not the least interesting aspect is its applicability to our own times.

When Kingsley Amis published *Lucky Jim* a few years ago its success must have surprised even himself, though the attention it attracted was probably due at least as much to the topicality of the subject as to any literary merits it possessed. To say this, of course, is not to imply that the latter were non-existent. Mr Amis's third novel, *I Like It Here* (Gollancz, 13/6) is, one must confess, rather disappointing. The popular identification of Jim Dixon of the first novel with his creator may or may not have been well founded; there are certain general and superficial resemblances between Mr Amis and the hero of the present work (both, for instance, are writers, and both have travelled in Portugal) but there is no need to suppose that one is merely a mask for the other. Garnet Bowen has achieved only a moderate success as a novelist, but he has been much publicised, has been 'taken up' by an American magazine, and is well on the way to becoming a literary and social 'lion'. He goes to Portugal on behalf of a publisher to try and track down the author of a manuscript which has been submitted to them in the name of a writer who there is every reason to believe is no longer living, though the original object of the tour is allowed quietly to recede into the background and to become merely a kind of peg on which to hang a series of rather disconnected episodes and a very slender plot. The novel is essentially picaresque in type; there is abundance of incident, in many different localities, and a wealth of characters. As those who are familiar with Mr. Amis's earlier works might expect, he does not shy away from the sordid, the unedifying and the rough-and-tumble; nor does he disguise his boredom with the more civilized, normal and respectable. (Has this become something of a pose which he feels it incumbent upon him to maintain?) There is some really good character portrayal, though chiefly amongst the minor figures, but taken as a whole we have found the novel, short as it is, rather laboured and tedious. For his patience with, and his tolerance and charity towards, erring humanity we can have nothing but esteem for Mr Amis; for his refusal to adopt the superior attitude, and his willingness to accept men and women as he finds them, without expecting or demanding 'nobility' or 'seriousness' of them, we can give him our respect; but we cannot approve of his 'cocking a snook' at culture and refinement whenever he gets the chance. It seems forced,

affected, cheap, and a little insincere. Or are we taking the novel too seriously?

Along with Kingsley Amis it has become fashionable to group John Wain, though actually the two never had a great deal in common beyond the fact that in their early days they were both regarded as 'angry young men.' Mr Wain's third novel, *The Contenders* (Macmillan, 13/6), which, rather ironically in view of Mr Maugham's outspoken strictures on this school, gained the Somerset Maugham award for 1958, is written in a lively, and at times even a 'slick' kind of style. Its plot is somewhat conventional and its characters not altogether convincing. Two school friends from the Midlands are ambitious, each in his own way, to achieve success in life. One, Peter Lamb, becomes a painter, the other, Ned Roper, a business magnate. Roper steals Lamb's wife, a certain Myra Chetwynd, who had previously been an artist's model, and later marries her, Lamb himself ultimately becoming reconciled to the situation. The story is narrated by a rather undistinguished journalist, Joe (or Clarence) Shaw, who himself marries Lamb's model Pepina, an attractive Italian woman. We may, if we choose, regard the story as a dramatisation of the rivalry and conflict between two basically different temperaments, and an exposure, if not a condemnation, of a civilization which places a high value on success and so tends to bring out some of the less pleasant characteristics in human nature, but we can never quite believe in the authenticity of the characters through which this thesis is worked out. On the whole we prefer Mr Wain the critic to Mr Wain the novelist.

Graham Greene's latest book *Our Man in Havana* (Heinemann, 15/—) should perhaps not be judged as a novel, since its author classifies it as 'an entertainment'; and it is certainly entertaining. It would therefore be unfair to complain of its lack of probability, and of the rather unconvincing nature of some of the situations and characters. Suffice it to say that, once the basis is accepted, Mr Greene may be acclaimed for having brought off superbly what he set out to do. Summarised briefly, the story is that of a certain James Wormald, ostensibly a seller of vacuum cleaners, who becomes a secret service agent. He practises deception on an ever-growing scale, sends home fictitious reports, is finally found out, and then, just when he expects to get into serious trouble, is given a new post and recommended for a decoration — and all this to save the face of the authorities at home. Of course, there are all kinds of complicating factors, such as Wormald's high-spirited daughter Molly and his secretary Miss Jackson (the latter perhaps the best drawn character in the whole book) but they all enter into the main thread of the story. *Our Man in Havana* is a book that can be read with enjoyment, though it is very unlike Mr Greene's earlier work. Satirical it may be, but it is more of an extravaganza than a satire.

In Iris Murdoch's fourth novel *The Bell* (Chatto & Windus, 15/—) we get the juxtaposition of two ideal worlds, one stable and the other unstable, and therefore by its very nature doomed to disintegration. The

stable one is a Benedictine abbey, where the nuns lead a life of austerity, detached from the outer world, but calm and assured within their own minds and spirits. The other is a Utopian community of philosophical idealists which has established itself in an old country mansion not far from the convent; but there is no real cohesion about this group; they are all idealists, but different kinds of idealists, and their idealism is soon defeated and rendered ineffective by their individual weaknesses and idiosyncrasies. The final disintegration centres upon the installation of a new bell at the abbey, to replace an earlier one that is found in the lake close by, where, it is said, it was hurled by the curse of a mediaeval bishop. The study of the inanity and futility of this rather 'cranky' set of dreamers is carried out with much skill, and reveals a good deal of insight into human nature and human problems. The only thing we find rather baffling is, what exactly is the meaning of it? Symbolic it obviously is, but what is symbolised? The assertion of the *Times Literary Supplement* that this novel 'places her [Iris Murdoch] without doubt in the first rank of British novelists working today' is perhaps rather extravagant, but the book is nevertheless a remarkable one. The author has many of the qualities which make for great achievement in the realm of the novel, if only she were not quite so tantalisingly obscure about her central idea. Or is it we who are not perceptive enough?

In *The Conscience of the Rich* (Macmillan, 15/—) C. P. Snow gives us a further instalment of his novel sequence 'Strangers and Brothers'. It is the seventh of that series, though, as the writer explains in a prefatory note, it should actually come second. Lewis Eliot is again, of course, at the centre of it, and all the events are seen through his eyes. The hero is a young Jewish barrister in London, just before the days of Munich, who tries desperately to break away from what he feels is the tyranny of his birth, his faith and his family connexions. As a result he comes into violent conflict with his wealthy father. The struggle involves a good deal of bitterness and heart-searching on both sides, and though we may feel like siding with the son, we cannot help having a good deal of sympathy for the father too. Indeed, there is a sincerity, an understanding and an honesty of presentation about all the characters that makes the story a study of the complexities of human nature on the one hand and of ideals and loyalties on the other. Though the book is part of a larger scheme, like the others in the series it can be read independently and is complete in itself.

The 1930's seem so far off now that it is difficult for us to put ourselves back there mentally and recapture the atmosphere, the interests and the values of those days. In his novel *Young People* (Macmillan, 16/—) William Cooper re-creates at least one aspect of them by introducing us to a group of students at a university college in the Midlands at a time when class distinctions are breaking down, when long-established traditions are being challenged, and when the younger generation are impatient with the world and the ways of their elders. Significantly, the

story opens with the suspension of one of the students for breaking college rules and smuggling drink into the common room, and ends with the divorce of another who has married early in life, fancies himself as a social figure, has very advanced ideas on the subjects of sex and marriage, and spends his life, as he puts it, 'pursuing the unattainable'. All these young people take themselves very seriously and are well versed — or imagine they are — in the latest theories on psychology, education, morals, sociology, and almost everything under the sun. And yet one detects behind this façade of assurance a sense of bewilderment and uncertainty. The story is very loosely knit, but it is well written and the characters are convincingly drawn. They are of many different types, but there is not an angry young man (or young woman) amongst them. That phenomenon was the discovery of a later age.

Ernest Raymond's *The City and the Dream* (Cassell, 16/—) is the last of a series of sixteen novels, the first of which appeared twenty-three years ago, which attempts to portray the changing London scene over the past half-century. It is set in Clerkenwell and the vicinity of St. Paul's, where John Kenrick Betterkin, the tenant of a two-roomed attic, dreams of writing a romance of the city as it was in days gone by, for to him the present is an epitome of the past. He is a benevolent, kindly person, and if he is something of a visionary living in the ideal land of his imagination, he has a real interest in the lives of the men and women around him. Particularly is he anxious to do all he can to help a sister whom he has taken under his care after her release from Holloway prison. He finds the demands of life and the demands of a career dedicated to writing not always compatible, but his book is finally finished and is a great success, after it has been rejected by several publishers to whom he sent the manuscript. The magnitude of the success and the author's reception of it are perhaps a little over-drawn, but Mr Raymond tells his story well and sustains the reader's attention throughout.

One thinks of William Faulkner primarily as a novelist (he received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1954 and a year later won the American National Book Award for the best work of fiction published during the preceding twelve months), but he has also written many short stories, though a number of them have been out of print for some years. His *Collected Stories, Volume I* (Chatto & Windus, 15/—) contains fifteen tales, as varied in subject as in treatment, but all combining humour (sometimes somewhat sardonic) with a sense of the heroic in ordinary, average human nature. Our own impression is that Mr Faulkner's characteristic talent shows itself to the greatest advantage in the short story, and that many of these tales will be remembered when some of his novels have ceased to be talked about. The series, the publishers tell us, is to be completed in three volumes. We look forward to the appearance of the next two.

When future historians and critics come to the task of selecting the most significant writers from the English literary scene during the first

half of the present century, Charles Williams, who died in 1945, will almost certainly stand high in the list. Those who know his work will not need to be told that it was characterised by a dignity of style, a precision in the use of words, a deep reflectiveness and a reverence for the human and spiritual values which so often seemed to be denied in the contemporary world — even in the contemporary world of art and letters. At his death he left uncollected a number of essays contributed to various periodicals, many of which expressed his deepest convictions and contained important statements of his ideas. These have now been assembled by Anne Ridler under the title *The Image of the City and Other Essays* (O.U.P., 25/—); and a rich harvest they make. The title of the volume is taken from an essay published in *The Dublin Review* of July 1946, in which Charles Williams discusses the vision of the Heavenly City as it has found expression in the English poets from the sixteenth century onwards. Mrs Ridler has grouped the essays under six heads: those on literary subjects (mainly, though not exclusively, on poetry), those dealing with the Incarnation, in its widest sense, those concerned more directly with the City or some aspect of it, those on pardon and justice, those which treat of religion as a 'way', and finally those concerned with the Arthurian legend, while at the end of the book there is a series of collects composed for a marriage. These last, it must be confessed, do not reveal the writer at his best: the language is often clumsy and the ideas vague and nebulous, as though the author were trying to express he did not quite know what. Against the book as a whole, however, this charge cannot be levelled. Here we see the many sides of Williams's interests, and yet come to realise that amongst them all there was a unity, for it is really the conception of the City that binds them together. Anne Ridler's long introduction gives us a biographical sketch, an impression of Williams's character and personality, and an assessment of his work as a poet, playwright, novelist and critic. This is certainly an important volume.

Another of the outstanding collections of essays of the year is Richard Church's *A Country Window* (Heinemann, 16/—). It contains no less than sixty-six of his weekly contributions to *Truth*, and there is not one that we would wish away. All are brief, and they cover a diversity of subjects, from reflections on driving through fog on Romney Marsh, to village craftsmen, potato lifting, a wet June, and the birds of Kent. Mr Church is pre-eminently a countryman, and a south-countryman at that, so he naturally feels a kinship with Edward Thomas and W. H. Hudson. He is also a poet, and both the poet and the countryman are reflected in these essays. From the window of the converted Kentish oasthouse which he has made his home he looks out upon hop gardens and cherry orchards, or across the wide stretches of the Weald, and as the seasons follow one another he sees with the poet's eye the changing face of the countryside. He talks to the villagers and listens to their stories of the changes that have taken place in village life over the last half-century; he chats with the farmers and finds them convinced that there must be

something strange about a person who can spend his life writing books; he is visited on Christmas Eve by a party of carol singers; and to end the book he takes an old and devoted servant, now retired, down to Dover, to see her off to her native Italy. From first to last this is a delightful collection of essays; and needless to say, the prose style is impeccable in its lucidity, ease and simplicity. By now one has learned always to expect that from Mr. Church.

Worthy of notice too is R. H. Mottram's *Vanities and Verities* (Hutchinson, 21/—), a collection of informal, reflective and personal essays on his native city of Norwich, on books and authors, on his own past life, and on his religion and philosophy. The concluding essay is a pleasantly discursive discussion of English hymns (with some American ones), based upon those contained in the *Hymns of Worship* used at the Octagon Chapel, of which he has been a life-long member, as were several generations of his family before him. Now in his middle seventies, Mr Mottram, quite understandably, writes with a touch of nostalgia, but his interest is always in life, people and all that pertains to them, and his outlook is essentially charitable and optimistic. He makes no claim to being profound; but then neither did most of the great essayists of the past. And, moreover, the subjects with which he deals, and the mood in which he approaches them, do not call for profundity.

In poetry the year was more notable for collected editions or for selections from earlier works than for new verse, though there were one or two exceptions. *Ten Poems* by Padraic Colum (Dublin, The Dolmen Press, 10/6) takes us back to the poet's boyhood in Ireland (he has for many years now been living in the United States) and treats of the simple daily sights and experiences as remembered over a period of about half a century. It is a slight volume, of but twenty-three pages, characterised by a subdued note of regret and melancholy for 'the years that the locust hath eaten'; but for all that, the poet does recapture something of the simple wonderment and innocence of early childhood, which sees the strange and the marvellous in the commonplace. Carrying us back as they do to a world so different from the one with which we have become familiar, these verses seem like echoes from a long-forgotten past.

The first piece in *The Triumph of the Muse, and Other Poems* by John Heath-Stubbs (O.U.P., 12/6) opens with the line 'Disdain, my muse, the language of the age', and that is a fair commentary on the style of the verses in this small volume. Mr Heath-Stubbs writes on a variety of topics, some drawn from the English countryside, some from the town, and other from the East, while there are several translations from the Greek Anthology. All show a mastery of diction, a directness of expression, a vein of gentle irony, but above all a sense of form. The title-piece (a longer poem than the rest, in six cantos and an epilogue) is printed last in the book. It is an allegory, in the form of a vision, in which the poet, after some doubts and misgivings, receives assurance from the Muse that

poetry may still be a living force if only poets will be loyal to their trust. The present poet has been loyal to his, with the result that we can read his verses with delight, sharing his vision and participating in his experiences.

Not many people in Britain will know the work of James K. Baxter, one of the younger generation of New Zealand poets. *In Fires of No Return* (O.U.P., 12/6) contains a selection of his most representative poems up to date. Many, of course, are set against the background of the New Zealand scene. Most of them deal with people or places; all are marked by a tenderness and sympathy for humanity, a deep appreciation of the beauties of nature, and a craving for the simplicities and the simple values of life. This is the first collection of James K. Baxter's works to be published outside his own country. He seems to be a talented poet, of whom more will probably be heard in the not too distant future.

Andrew Young's *Out of the World and Back* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 12/6) is a revised version of his earlier poem *Into Hades*, followed by a new one, *A Traveller in Time*, in which the mind of the poet travels back over the centuries to discover the springs of the ancient pagan religions, and in due course the beginnings of Christianity itself. Suffused by a haunting if somewhat elusive mysticism, the work contains passages of remarkable writing which hold one by their sheer imaginativeness and their striking imagery, but the poem as a whole is a little puzzling. Even after several readings we feel that there is something behind it that we have never really fathomed.

Michael Roberts, who died in 1948 at the early age of forty-six, was a man of many parts. Trained as a scientist, he came later to devote his life to theology, philosophy and literature. As a poet he was not prolific, and yet in a sense it was in his poetry that he most fully expressed himself. His *Collected Poems* (Faber, 18/—), gathered by his widow, Janet Roberts, from earlier volumes and unpublished manuscripts, reveal him as a writer of rare sensibility, austere, unromantic, placid, yet fired with the vision of the ideal. A little aloof and detached from life and the world, he can see to the heart of both. Many of his poems are concerned with mountains; and here, one feels, is the symbol of his position as a poet. In an age when idealism was difficult to hold and when cynicism and barbarity were rife, he retained his faith in man and in the liberal human values. 'His poems are one with his life.' So writes his widow in the concluding sentence of a lengthy introduction which is partly biographical, partly critical. The position of Michael Roberts amongst the poets of his generation it is yet too early to determine, but he was certainly not amongst the least of them.

George Rosetrevor Hamilton, too, has always been a poet who had something to say that was worth saying, and who could say it with clarity, dignity and precision. His *Collected Poems* (Heinemann, 21/—) begins with verses enshrining memories of his childhood, and then, after that, the poems are arranged in chronological order. Sir George is another

of those dedicated spirits who, in an age when so much of literature bears marks of pessimism, cynicism or bewilderment, have always maintained a faith in life, man and the human spirit, and this volume is a welcome addition to our bookshelf of modern poets.

The only notable anthology to appear during the year under review was *Modern Verse in English, 1900-1950*, edited, with introductions on British and American verse, by David Cecil and Allen Tate (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 25/—). The American section, for which Allen Tate is responsible, introduces us to a number of poets and poems not hitherto known on this side of the Atlantic, although of course the more familiar names are there also. Lord David Cecil's selection of British poems has been criticised by many reviewers for its conservative tendency and for the paucity of works by recent writers, but even if it re-traverses ground that is already familiar, this much at least can be said of it, that every piece included is worthy of its place.

Attention should also be drawn to *The Industrial Muse. The Industrial Revolution in English Poetry*, Compiled by Jeremy Warburg (O.U.P., 15/—), a collection of poems, or extracts from poems, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, which deal in one way or another with the effects of the Industrial Revolution upon English life and thought. Many well-known names are here, and so are some less-known ones, while all kinds of moods and points of view are represented. Not all the pieces included can by any stretching of the term be called great or even notable poetry, a fact which the compiler is ready to admit (some indeed are little more than doggerel); but this is the first anthology of its kind, and if it does nothing else it at least succeeds in showing us that the concern of poets with the industrial side of English life is no recent thing, though, as Mr Warburg points out in his introduction, it is only during the present century that poets have become aware that verse which is born of an industrialised civilisation, and reflects its problems and its values, demands an imagery of its own. Earlier poets who wrote of machines, railways, factories and the life of the new industrial towns, at whatever level and in whatever spirit, did so in the traditional style and imagery of the pre-industrial age, partly no doubt because it seemed 'natural' to them, but principally because they viewed industrialism from a distance; it had not yet permeated their own lives and become part of their daily environment.

We must feel grateful to Mr Warburg for compiling this anthology; and yet there is something rather depressing about it, for not only is much of the material included decidedly mediocre, but a reading of it leaves us with a feeling that industrialism and poetry are not really compatible, or at least so far all attempts to reconcile them have been unsuccessful.

So far as plays are concerned the year has not been a particularly outstanding one. *The Antiphon*, by Djuna Barnes (Faber, 18/—) is written as a poetic drama, but it is difficult to think of its being acted.

To begin with, the language, condensed, intense, almost epigrammatic and characterised by conceits, is far from the language of either everyday life or normal literary expression. In its total effect it is impressive, even majestic, but it is obscure, sometimes to the point of being almost incomprehensible. Then the characters are not so much actual human beings as ideas or symbols presented in human form; and at least two of them — Augusta and her daughter Miranda — represent different aspects of a single personality. Even the theme is difficult to determine; it seems to be the tragedy inherent in the very fact of human existence; that the sins of the fathers (and of the mothers) are visited upon the children in a rather different sense from the Biblical one, and that it always must be so in the very nature of things. Such a situation calls for human sympathy and understanding, but we can do very little about it. It is a fact we must accept.

The setting of the play is Burley Hall, a former college for chantry priests, in the year 1940. It was the childhood home of Augusta Burley Hobbs, and finding herself back there after her husband's death, she is confronted by her children, whose lives she has helped to shape. A good deal of serious discussion, of accusation and counter-accusation takes place, until Augusta, her mind distraught, kills both her daughter Miranda and herself. There is a sense of confusion about the drama which leaves one bewildered and wondering what it is all about. (Perhaps that is the impression it was meant to leave.) But despite its obscurity there is, as we have said, an impressiveness and grandeur in much of the verse. In short, the merits of the work are poetic rather than dramatic.

The 'other plays' included in *Helen in Egypt and Other Plays* by John Heath-Stubbs (O.U.P., 12/-) are *The Harrowing of Hell* and *The Talking Ass*. The title-piece, *Helen in Egypt*, is a verse drama which presents us with a middle-aged Helen who has lost that beauty for which in her younger days she was renowned. She is encountered by Menelaus, on a visit to Egypt with a party of Greek travellers, but an Egyptian magician conjures up for him a phantom Helen having all the beauty that the real one has lost. Menelaus has to make his choice, and he chooses the woman of flesh and blood in preference to the superficially more attractive phantom, whereupon Pharoah again calls magic to his aid and restores to the middle-aged Helen her youthful beauty. The verse moves gracefully, and suits the theme, though the play is perhaps one for reading rather than for acting. Of the other two, *The Talking Ass* (the basis of which is the Biblical story of Balaam's ass) the author describes as 'a lyrical, comical, liturgical farce, a topical joke with a pantomime donkey', yet beneath the joke there is a seriousness of intention. *The Harrowing of Hell* was written for performance in church in place of a sermon, and is something of the modern equivalent of a mediaeval mystery play. There is a short preface by the author in which he discusses the three plays and offers hints and suggestions for their production.

Christopher Fry's play *The Firstborn* (a study and treatment of the

character of Moses), first published in 1946 and presented at the Edinburgh Festival two years later, has now appeared in a third edition (O.U.P., 9/6), with certain alterations made in the text for the presentation in New York in April 1958 and subsequently at Tel Aviv on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the state of Israel. We should also notice Noel Coward's *Play Parade V* (Heinemann, 25/—), which contains *Blithe Spirit*, *Peace in Our Time*, *Quadrille*, *Relative Values* and *Pacific 1860*, *The Collected Plays of Arthur Miller* (The Cresset Press, 25/—), and *The Plays of William Douglas Home* (Heinemann, 35/—), containing *Now Barabbas*, *The Chiltern Hundreds*, *The Thistle and the Rose*, *The Bad Samaritan* and *The Reluctant Débutante*. Each of the volumes is prefaced by an introduction by the author.

Finally, during 1958 Penguin Books added to their list five volumes by G. K. Chesterton (*Essays and Poems*, *The Flying Inn*, *The Innocence of Father Brown*, *The Incredulity of Father Brown*, and *The Man Who Was Thursday*, at 2/6 each volume) and five by Hilaire Belloc (*Collected Verse*, *The Cruise of the 'Nona'*, *Selected Essays*, *Selected Cautionary Verses*, all at 2/6 each, and *The Path to Rome*, 3/6), as well as *A House and Its Head* by Ivy Compton-Burnett (2/6) and W. H. Auden. *Poems Selected by Himself* (3/6).

The obituary for the year includes Gerald Bullett (Jan. 3), H. M. Tomlinson (Feb. 5), Charles Morgan (Feb. 6), Alfred Noyes (June 28), Harold Brighouse (July 26), F. Tennyson Jesse (Aug. 6), Louis Golding (Aug. 9), L. A. G. Strong (Aug. 17), Lennox Robinson (Oct. 14), Rose Macaulay (Oct. 30) and Sir John Squire, better known as J. C. Squire (Dec. 20).

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XXXVIII

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XL, No. 6, December 1959

117. The N.E.D. defines *ought* (s.v. III.5) as 'the general verb to express duty or obligation of any kind; strictly used of moral obligation, but also with various weaker shades of meaning, expressing what is befitting, proper, correct, advisable...'¹. With respect to *should*, in as far as it is synonymous with *ought*, the same dictionary contents itself with declaring that it occurs

¹ We are, naturally, not concerned here with *ought* and *should* to denote what may be confidently expected: *My wife ought to be back at any moment now; The book should appeal to all lovers of poetry.*

in statements of duty, obligation or propriety (*s.v. shall*, 18). Diverse as these meanings are, they do not cover some quite common uses, even if interpreted in a liberal way. Thus *You should have seen his face* or *My wife ought to hear this joke* cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to express duty, obligation or any of the other things mentioned. It is perhaps more apposite to speak in such cases of a desideratum. When grouped with a verb-stem, *should* and *ought* refer to present time (*You should be off now*), to the future (*You ought to tell your father*) or to all time (*Criticism should be fair*). When grouped with a perfect verb-stem ('perfect infinitive') they refer to past time, in which case the desideratum is from the very nature of the case represented as no longer realizable (*She should have seen a doctor earlier*).

With respect to the difference in meaning between *should* and *ought* there is a refreshing diversity of opinion. Jespersen (MnEGr. IV, 9,5) and Deutschbein (System § 49.4a) hold that *ought* is 'a little stronger' than *should*, a view which, as we found on enquiry, is shared by many of those who have ever given any thought to the matter.² Poutsma on the other hand is not so sure about that. He thought he had noticed that when the two verbs are used successively in one and the same sentence there is a tendency for *ought* to come first, from which he concluded that *should* was perhaps felt by the speaker to convey a stronger pressure than *ought* (Gr. of Late Mn. Eng., 2nd ed., Vol. I, § 43, p. 75). The remark seems to be founded on faulty observation, for the word-order is as often as not the other way about: *But you should, you ought to; it's your duty* (Wells, *Wife of Sir Isaac Harman*, p. 54). To make confusion worse confounded, finally, the N.E.D. in a note to *shall*, 18, boldly equates the two and briefly states that *should* = *ought to*. In the face of all this conflicting evidence Poutsma gives the problem up as a bad job and frankly confesses he has not been able to discern any appreciable semantic difference between the two verbs (*l.c.*).

Yet there is one. Dr. Maria Schubiger, Basle, puts the matter in a nutshell by saying that *should* is subjective, *ought* objective. Dr. F. T. Wood, although not actually using these terms, is of the same opinion. He works out the point so clearly and convincingly that we may be pardoned for quoting him in full:

Quite frequently *should* and *ought to* appear to be interchangeable, but there are some cases where they obviously are not. We could not use *ought to* in place of *should* in the Victorian saying *Children should be seen, not heard*, and it would seem strange to use it in the proverb *People who live in glass houses should not throw stones*. On the other hand *He ought to be ashamed of himself* could scarcely be changed to *He should be ashamed of himself*. If two words or expressions mean exactly the same, it would seem logical to infer that they could be interchanged in all circumstances, except possibly where considerations of euphony, rhythm or familiarity enter in. If they cannot, then we may ask ourselves whether, even in those cases where interchange seems possible, we are really saying the same thing when we use one as when we use the other.

² It may be due to the fact that the vowel of *should* is often reduced or elided in quick speech (*/æd, /d/*), whereas that of *ought* is not subject to gradation.

So far as *should* and *ought to* are concerned I think the answer is that we are not. *Ought to* is much stronger and more imperative than *should*, and I suggest that the reason for the difference is that *should* merely expresses the speaker's view of the facts or situation and is therefore merely the expression of a personal opinion, whereas *ought to* relates the obligation to what is thought of as some kind of law (moral, social, physical, etc.), which has its force and validity irrespective of any particular person's view or opinion. *Though I say it as shouldn't* is a stock expression, used half humorously (as the unidiomatic *as* suggests), half apologetically, by a person who has said something he feels should have been left to others to say, since it amounts to praise of himself. If someone complains of tiredness in the morning, we might say to him, 'You shouldn't stay up so late' (that is merely our own view of the matter), but if we feel that late hours are likely to undermine his health, we should then tell him, 'You ought not to stay up so late'.

And one other point. *Ought to* is, of course, an old past tense of the verb *owe*. Hence it suggests a duty or an obligation which we owe, and neglect of which constitutes a transgression of the rules of health. *We ought to invite the Joneses*: failure to do so would be a transgression of the rules of hospitality or of common courtesy. Consequently *should* is generally used in instructing a person in what is expected of him according to accepted rules or practices (e.g. in books on etiquette) so as not to embarrass him by making him feel that his ignorance is almost a transgression of social conventions.

So far Dr. Wood, to whom we once more owe a debt of gratitude for clearing up a point that so far seems to have baffled all grammarians and lexicographers. One remark can perhaps still be made. *Ought*, it seems to us, when referring to an ethical desideratum, tends to be restricted to cases where some actual moral imperfection in a particular person is censured, whereas *should* merely refers to what the speaker thinks generally, so to say theoretically, desirable. Thus *we should not tell falsehoods* is an admirable sentiment to which all of us, no doubt, will nod a pious assent. We can safely do so, because the sentence does not suggest anything with regard to our own practical conduct: it is no more than what the speaker, for one, thinks advisable on moral grounds. It is something like a weakened down categorical imperative such as we find in the Ten Commandments: *Thou shalt not steal* does not imply that we steal. *We ought not to tell falsehoods* on the other hand is used when, variously, we deprecate a suggestion made to us that we should lie about some matter, have caught out another person in a lie, want to dissuade him from his announced intention to lie, or some such thing. Similarly *Married people should not spy upon one another* states a moral desideratum in a general way, without any reference to the actual practice of any particular person, whereas *You ought not to spy upon your wife* would be used when the person addressed is actually doing that and is being censured for it, or when he is suspected of it by the speaker, has announced his intention to do it, etc. *Ought* — when referring to morality — therefore implies something with regard to the behaviour of the person(s) in question; it conveys the impression that his, her or their actual practice in life falls short of the ideal. Hence, as Dr. Wood remarks, we say *You ought to be ashamed of yourself*: the person addressed has actually done something discreditable. Hence also *We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not*

to have done. And hence, lastly, *Children should be seen, not heard*; no alternative *ought to* is possible here, because it would suggest that in actual point of fact children are not seen, which is a manifest absurdity.

118. The question was prompted by the remark of a student of ours to the effect that he did not see why the genitive in *my last week's article* should be called classifying. As both Dr. Schubiger and Dr. Wood point out, the group with the genitive implies that the article is one of a series, that it appears weekly, or at any rate forms a regular feature of the paper or periodical in question, whereas *my article of last week* suggests an incidental contribution. Dr. Wood aptly compares *my article of last week* with *my letter of July 17th*.

119. Correspondents do not seem to have understood the question. What we meant was: why *King's Counsel*, without a plural *-s*? This calls for some elucidation, since the noun is used in a plural function, as is proved beyond all doubt by 'one of the highest paid ...'.

It is, of course, well-known that the barristers engaged in the conduct of a case, both for plaintiff and for defendant, or in penal cases, for accused and the Crown, are collectively called *counsel*, distinguished as the leading counsel and the junior counsel, the latter being one or more persons. The quotation, however, is remarkable in that it shows — if, at least, it is not a misprint or a solecism on the part of the author — that the noun stem, hence the form without *-s*, is also used in a plural function when all the members of the fraternity collectively are meant, even when not acting as legal advisers in any particular case at law. If the use illustrated is grammatically correct, which we are prepared to accept, it would put the noun *counsel* on a par with such a word as *people* in *I know that people will talk*.

A new set of questions will be published in the April number.

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

Changing Currents in Anglo-Saxon Studies. An Inaugural Lecture by DOROTHY WHITELOCK, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1958. 32 pp. Price 3s. 6d. net.

This is a very valuable *Forschungsbericht* on the state of Anglo-Saxon studies to-day. As Dr Whitelock puts it, the developments of the last decades 'have been mainly in one direction: towards a fuller appreciation of the greatness of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, a realisation of its influence abroad, and an increased knowledge of the extent of its survival beyond the Norman Conquest'. In opposition to the often disparaging views of Anglo-

Saxon achievements taken by older writers, 'in the present generation the detailed studies of historians, archaeologists, students of art and literature, palaeographers, students of charters and coins, have converged in bringing together an ever-increasing mass of evidence which has placed the favourable view beyond the reach of controversy'.

The bibliographical notes add greatly to the usefulness of this publication. One only wonders why, of the three editors of *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, only the English editor is mentioned, and how such a misprint as 'its full mead of appreciation' could have escaped the proof-readers of the Cambridge University Press. — Z.

The English Syntactical Type *One the Best Man* and its Occurrence in other Germanic Languages. By TAUNO F. MUSTANOJA. (*Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, XX, 5, 1958.) 55 pp.

This is an important contribution to the study of older English and common-Germanic syntax. The construction discussed has been found in English, High and Low German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages. Its English representative is paraphrased by 'the very best man'. Dr. Mustanoja also calls attention to the American use of *one* in such a sentence as *This was one day Gloria had no reason to be morbid* discussed in *English Studies* XXII (1940) 199-200. — Z.

THOMAS DEKKER, *Le Jour de Fête des Cordonniers (The Shoemakers Holiday) suivi de L'Abécédaire des Benêts (The Guls Hornbook)*. Introduction, Traduction et Notes par J. LOISEAU. (Collection Bilingue des Classiques Etrangers.) Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1957.

This is the second publication of Thomas Dekker's best known play in an English-French edition within two years (cf. *English Studies*, Vol. XXXVII, 1956, p. 288). This seems to be too much of a good thing, especially so because the late Prof. Koszul's excellent edition — which could be and has been used by M. Loiseau — is not surpassed by the present one. I must, however, add at once that M. Loiseau gives a splendid Introduction; notably his passages on the atmosphere and the characters of the play are very lucid and illuminating. On the other hand, his exposition on pp. 41 and 42 in defence of Dekker's neglect of the unities seems to me a little too French. His biography of Thomas Dekker, much longer than Koszul's, is very good and shows in an eminent way how Dekker collaborated with many other writers.

The translation does not possess — as M. Loiseau states himself — the elegance of Koszul's. He wants it to be an instrument for students, but then I fail to understand why his notes are so much less instructive and extensive than those of the first translation. (Eight pages against twenty-eight!)

I noted only a few mistakes, two of which are mentioned here: 'Dekker' on p. 47, l. 23 should be 'Deloney', and on p. 81, l. 12, *Linc.* is omitted.

I assume the addition of *The Guls Hornbook* is mainly for the sake of filling up this volume. It has its value, though, as being the first French translation of this booklet. On p. 323 the numbering of the notes goes wrong. The same happens with the numbering in the text on p. 282, l. 28, where an additional '100' should be inserted.

Rolduc.

A. H. CHR. MEERTENS.

Periodicals Received

Modern Fiction Studies. V, 3. Autumn 1959. Stephen Crane Number. J. B. Colvert, Structure and Theme in Stephen Crane's Fiction. — J. T. Cox, The Imagery of "The Red Badge of Courage". — E. Solomon, The Structure of "The Red Badge of Courage". — Th. A. Gullason, The Significance of "Wounds in the Rain". — P. Buitenhuis, The Essentials of Life: "The Open Boat" as Existentialist Fiction. — R. W. Stallman, Crane's "Maggie": A Reassessment. — H. N. Maclean, The Two Worlds of "The Blue Hotel". — R. F. Gleckner, Stephen Crane and the Wonder of Man's Conceit. — M. Beebe and Th. A. Gullason, Criticism of Stephen Crane: A Selected Checklist with an Index to Studies of Separate Works.

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New Light on the English Actors in the Netherlands, c. 1590 - c. 1660¹

In the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century several English companies of strolling actors roamed the Continent from Leyden to Warsaw and Riga, and from Copenhagen and Stockholm to Strassburg, Innsbruck, and Graz. Occasionally they wandered as far south as Paris, Madrid, or even Italy.² Apart from a kind of variety show, consisting of dance, juggling, mime, and music, they offered the public adaptations of plays by such contemporary English dramatists as Kyd, Peele, Greene, Chettle, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Dekker, Massinger, and Thomas Heywood. A German version of the plays and jigs acted by the English companies appeared at Leipzig in 1620 under the title *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*.³

Of the few contemporary accounts of these strolling players that have come down to us the most authoritative is a passage from Fynes Moryson's

¹ The following article is to be taken as a preliminary study of a subject with which it is proposed to deal fully in a monograph to be published shortly by the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leyden. The gathering of part of the material used in this article was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.). I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the generous assistance of Mr. Noel Blakiston, Assistant Keeper directing the Search Department of the Public Record Office, London; Mr. B. van 't Hoff, Keeper of the General Archives at The Hague; M. C. Tihon, Keeper of the General Archives at Brussels; Mr. W. T. H. Oldewelt, Archivist of the city of Amsterdam; Mr. H. M. Mensonides, Archivist of the city of The Hague; Mr. R. van Royen and Miss A. J. Versprille, Archivists of the city of Leyden; Mr. L. E. Brakke, Archivist of the city of Veere; Mrs. M. M. Doornink-Hoogenraad, Archivist of the city of Zutphen; Mr. H. J. M. van Rooij, Archivist of the Godshuizen, 's-Hertogenbosch; and Dr. A. J. Veenendaal, Director of the Bureau der Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis at The Hague. It is a pleasure also to record my indebtedness to Professor T. A. Birrell, Nijmegen, for drawing my attention to possible English source material; to the Keepers of the Netherlands Provincial Archives, who have been most kind and helpful; and to the City Archivists of Aalst, Alkmaar, Amersfoort, Antwerp, Arnhem, Bergen op Zoom, Breda, Brielle, Bruges, Brussels, Delft, Deventer, Dordrecht, Dunkirk, Franeker, Frankfort on the Main, Gouda, Groningen, Haarlem, Harderwijk, Harlingen, Heemstede, Hellevoetsluis, 's-Hertogenbosch, Leeuwarden, Liège, Lille, Louvain, Maastricht, Mechlin, Middelburg, Naarden, Nieuwpoort, Nijmegen, Ostend, Rijswijk, Roermond, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Sneek, Utrecht, Flushing, Wijk bij Duurstede, Zierikzee, Zwolle, to all of whom I am obliged for many courtesies.

² E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, p. 292-294.

³ Reprinted 1624. Cf. Gustaf Fredén, 'A propos du théâtre anglais en Allemagne: L'auteur inconnu des "Comédies et tragédies anglaises" de 1620', *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, VIII (1928), 420-432, and *Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Stockholm, 1939) by the same author. See also R. Freudenstein, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord: Shakespeare's 'Hamlet' auf der Wanderbühne des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1958).

Itinerary, printed in 1903. After being educated at Cambridge, Fynes Moryson travelled extensively on the Continent of Europe, in Palestine, and in Asia Minor. In September 1592, he visited the Frankfort fair, where Robert Browne and his company gave *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and some of Marlowe's plays. This is how he summarizes his impressions:

Germany hath some fewe wandering Comeydians, more deseruing pitty then prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth they make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse then witty ... So as I remember that when some of our cast dispised Stage players came out of England into Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage, yet the Germans, not vnderstanding a worde they sayde, both men and wemen, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and Action, rather than heare them, speaking English which they vnderstoode not, and pronowncing peeces and Patches of English playes, which my selfe and some English men there present could not heare without great wearysomenes. Yea my selfe Comming from Franckford in the Company of some cheefe marchants Dutch and Flemish, heard them often bragg of the good marktett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players.⁴

We have a contemporary German account of the representations of the English comedians at the same fair in a letter written by Balthasar Paumgartner the Younger, an inhabitant of Nuremberg, to his wife on 13 September 1592:

Die englischen Komödianten haben eine herrliche gute Musika und sind so perfekt mit Springen, Tanzen, dergleichen ich noch nie gehört, noch gesehen hab.

Apparently Paumgartner was more deeply impressed by the music and the vaulting of the clowns between and in the acts than by the play itself, the language of which he probably did not understand. He also notes that the members of the company, which numbered from ten to twelve players, were 'köstlich herrlich und wohl gekleidet'.⁵

In view of these more or less conflicting judgments it is well to realize that many of the players of these 'stragling broken Companyes', as Fynes Moryson calls them (p. 476), were members of reputable acting companies in England.⁶ Some of them were Shakespeare's fellows.⁷ Thus Robert Browne, perhaps the best-known and the most successful of all the Elizabethan actors who travelled abroad, and Richard Jones were members

⁴ *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary. Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the 16th Century.* With an Introduction and an Account of Fynes Moryson's Career by Charles Hughes (London, 1903), p. 304.

⁵ E. Mentzel, *Das alte Frankfurter Schauspielhaus und seine Vorgeschichte* (Frankfort on the Main, 1902), p. 21.

⁶ For fresh details about the English career of some of the actors discussed in this paper cf. the author's 'Some Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart Actors and Musicians', *E.S.*, XL (1959), 33-41.

⁷ The actors of the period were decently learned, sober, and responsible men, who formed an industrious body of citizens. As servants of a great nobleman and later of the King himself they had an enviable status. Some of them were men of means and served the community in ecclesiastical or civil offices. Cf. S. L. Bethell, 'Shakespeare's Actors', *R.E.S.*, n. s. I (1950), 193-205.

of the Earl of Worcester's troupe in 1582/3, and patentees of the Children of the Queen's Revels Company at Whitefriars in 1610. From 1594 to 1602 Richard Jones was associated with the Admiral's Company; he joined the Earl of Pembroke's men in 1597. William Kempe, one of the most famous of Elizabethan clowns, probably emerged as one of Leicester's men in the Low Countries during 1585/6; by 6 May 1593 he belonged to Strange's men; on 15 March 1595 he served as joint-payee with Burbage and Shakespeare for plays given by the Chamberlain's men at Court in December 1594; he and Thomas Heywood served as payees for a Court performance by Worcester's men on 3 January 1602. Kempe also occurs in the list of 'The Names of the Principall Actors in all these Playes', prefixed to the First Folio Shakespeare of 1623. Thomas Pope was a Chamberlain's man and one of the original shareholders in the Globe organization as of 11 February 1599; his name also appears in the actor-list of the Shakespearean F₁. Robert Reynolds, known in Germany under the clown-name of Pickleherring, was a member of Queen Anne's Company in June 1616 and in June 1617. Finally George Jolly, one of the most capable of the later English actor-managers on the Continent during the Protectorate, became an important manager in England after the Restoration.⁸ Heywood's reference to the strolling actors at Amsterdam as a 'well knowne company of our English comedians'⁹ is another proof that actors of reputation were members of these companies.

After a trickle of stray publications of material from local archives, the first scholar of note to call attention to the English companies of strolling actors on the Continent was the German poet, novelist, and critic Johann Ludwig Tieck. In his *Deutsches Theater*, published in 1817, he refers to them in these words:

Als in London die Theater blühten und selbst im Auslande beruehmt waren, gingen zuweilen Schauspielertruppen nach den Niederlanden, um dort zu spielen, und ohngefahr um das Jahr 1600 (vielleicht einige Jahre fruher), treffen wir in Deutschland wandernde Schauspieler an, die unter dem Titel der Englischen Comoedianten herum reisen, um unsern Landsleuten eine, wenn auch nur schwache Vorstellung, von der Hoehe der englischen Poesie und von der Vortrefflichkeit der dortigen Schauspielkunst zu geben.¹⁰

Tieck's interest in the older English drama and in the influence of the English strolling actors on the German theatre encouraged German and other scholars in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century to investigate the subject more thoroughly. The first somewhat rambling, though well-documented account of the literary records and remains of the English comedians, occurs in Albert Cohn's

⁸ For this part of Jolly's career cf. J. L. Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 167 seq.; Bernard M. Wagner, 'George Jolly at Norwich', *R.E.S.*, VI (1930), 449-452; and Sybil Rosenfeld, *Strolling Players & Drama in the Provinces, 1660-1765* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 35-38.

⁹ Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* [1612], ed. J. P. Collier, Shakespeare Society (London, 1841), p. 58.

¹⁰ Ludwig [sic] Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* (Berlin, 1817), I, p. xxiii.

Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1865). This was followed by Julius Tittmann, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1880), W. Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1889), and Johannes Bolte, *Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten und ihrer Nachfolger in Deutschland, Holland und Skandinavien* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1893). Both Cohn and Tittmann print a number of the plays, while Bolte's work deals with the jigs. The last product of this first wave of German interest in the subject is E. Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1903), in which the wanderings and the repertoire of the various troupes are traced. The next thirty years were a period of consolidation, in which the results of German scholarship were incorporated in such alphabetical surveys as the list of actors in the second volume of Sir Edmund Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*, and, more fully, in Nungezer's *Dictionary of Actors*.¹¹ Among the more recent continental studies in this field the following are outstanding: Anna Baesecke, *Das Schauspiel der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Halle, 1935); Gustaf Fredén, *Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Stockholm, 1939); and Ernest Leopold Stahl, *Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater* (Stuttgart, 1947).

Much of the information used by these scholars had been made available in periodicals like the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, *Notes and Queries*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Jahrbücher der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, the *Deutsche Rundschau*, the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, the *Century Magazine*, *Euphoriön*, the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, the *Modern Language Review*, the (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Review of English Studies*, in the numerous published histories of the national and local theatres on the Continent,¹² and in a number of special

¹¹ Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642*, Cornell Studies in English XIII (New Haven, Conn., 1929).

¹² The principal of these are E. Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main von ihren Anfängen bis zur Eröffnung des städtischen Komödienhauses* (Frankfort on the Main, 1882), and *Das alte Frankfurter Schauspielhaus und seine Vorgeschichte* (Frankfort on the Main, 1902); W. G. F. A. van Sorgen, *De Tooneelspeelkunst in Utrecht en de Utrechtsche Schouwburg* (The Hague, 1885); Prosper Claeys, *Histoire du Théâtre à Gand*, 3 vols. (Ghent, 1892); Johannes Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, herausgegeben von Berthold Litzmann, XII (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1895); J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Tooneel in Nederland*, 2 vols. (Groningen, 1904-1908); E. F. Kossmann, *Das niederländische Faustspiel des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* ("De Hellevaart van Dr. Joan Faustus") (The Hague, 1910); E. F. Kossmann, *Nieuwe Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Tooneel in de 17e en 18e Eeuw* (The Hague, 1915); Carl Niessen, *Dramatische Darstellungen in Köln, 1526-1700* (Cologne, 1917); Gerda Grosz, 'Das Danziger Theater in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Danziger Barockdichtung*, herausgegeben von Heinz Kindermann (Leipzig, 1939), p. 266-323. Henri Liebrecht's *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Bruxelles au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1923), and Lionel Renieu

studies. Much material has also been garnered from published and unpublished dramatic records, wills, and the London parochial registers.¹³ The best survey to date of the available information regarding the younger generation of itinerant actors on the Continent is to be found in the second volume of Bentley's *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*.¹⁴ During the last eleven years the American scholar Harry R. Hoppe has made some notable contributions to the subject.¹⁵ The purpose of the present study is to review the known facts about the English actors and musicians in the Northern and Southern Netherlands and to add to them wherever possible.

A mere look at the maps published by Herz¹⁶ reveals the interesting fact that all the English companies entered Europe via the Low Countries. This was first noted by Tieck in the passage from his *Deutsches Theater* quoted above. The Lord Admiral's passport, issued to Robert Browne and his company on 10 February 1591, and addressed to the States-General of the Netherlands,¹⁷ clearly proves that, in this case at least, Germany was the ultimate goal of their travels, and that Zeeland, Holland and Friesland were visited only *en passant*. It also proves that on their way to Germany they practised their 'qualitez en fait de musique, agilitez et joeuz de comedies, tragedies et histoires pour s'entretenir et fournir a leurs despenses en leur dict voyage'.¹⁸ Obviously the prospect of a long-term employment at one of the courts of the art-loving German princes must have acted as a powerful stimulus on these players to try their fortunes in that country. However this may be, the fact remains that the Netherlands were the first country on the Continent to undergo the impact of the new English drama. In the late sixteenth century the Low Countries were certainly more theatre-minded than Germany, probably owing to the activities of the *Rederijkers*. This may explain the readiness with which Dutch actors entered into partnership with the English strolling players. However, the main reason why English actors operating in Germany frequently called themselves 'niederländische Comedianten' is the fact that on their route to Germany they had all passed through the Low Countries, where they often acted with considerable success.¹⁹

[anagrammatic pseudonym of Lionel Wiener]'s *Histoire des Théâtres de Bruxelles depuis leur origine jusqu'à ce jour*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1928) contain a few passing references only.

¹³ For a list of special studies and published records cf. Nungezer, p. 405-438; Chambers, I, p. xv-xli; and Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players*, I (Oxford, 1941), p. xi-xx.

¹⁴ Oxford, 1941. Vols. III, IV and V were published at Oxford in 1956, under the subtitle *Plays and Playwrights*.

¹⁵ 'English Actors at Ghent in the Seventeenth Century', *R.E.S.*, XXV (1949), 305-321; 'George Jolly at Bruges, 1648', *R.E.S.*, N. s. V (1954), 265-268; 'English Acting Companies at the Court of Brussels in the Seventeenth Century', *R.E.S.*, N. s. VI (1955), 26-33.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* The maps are inserted between p. 136 and 137.

¹⁷ First printed in L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, *'sGravenhaagsche Bijzonderheden* (The Hague, 1857), I, p. 41-42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁹ Cf. Herbert Junkers, *Niederländische Schauspieler und niederländisches Schauspiel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland* (The Hague, 1936), *passim*.

The first troupe of English players to visit the Netherlands²⁰ came over with the Earl of Leicester, and gave a half dramatic, half acrobatic show of *The Forces of Hercules* at Utrecht on 23 April 1586. Leicester's company included one Will who, in a letter of Sir Philip Sidney to Sir Francis Walsingham, written from Utrecht on 24 March 1586, is referred to as 'Wil, my lord of Lester's jesting player'. This elusive 'Will' has been identified with William Johnson, who was one of Leicester's men in 1572/4; with William Kempe, the famous Elizabethan clown and instrumentalist; and, more recently, with Robert Wilson, who had been associated with Leicester's players since 1572.²¹

The continental career of Robert Browne begins with a visit to Leyden where, on 7 October 1590, he and his fellows are recorded as having performed before the Burgomasters and corporation of this city *verscheyden comedien ende historien, mitsgaders... verscheyden sprongen* (divers comedies and histories, besides... divers leaps), for which they were paid fifteen guilders.²² As we have seen, Robert Browne appears as a member of the Earl of Worcester's troupe as early as 1582/3. On 3 January 1589 he was concerned in a transfer to Edward Alleyn by Richard Jones of his share in a stock of theatrical goods held jointly with Edward and John Alleyn and Browne. He soon became one of the most prominent of the English actors on the Continent (Nungezer, p. 60-61). It is not known why Robert Browne went abroad in 1590. I venture to put forward the suggestion that he left England after getting himself into trouble by slaying a fellow-actor in a brawl. Quarrels among London actors were a familiar feature of the theatrical history of the time. Thus Ben Jonson killed the actor Gabriel Spencer in a duel fought in London on 12 September 1598.

²⁰ Previous knowledge on the subject of the English actors in the Netherlands is summarized in the chapter on *De Engelsche Comedianten in Nederland en hun invloed op het Nederlandsche Tooneel* in Kossmann, *N. B.*, p. 141-149.

²¹ For the Utrecht performance of 1586 cf. P. Fijn van Draat, 'Graaf Leicester die te Utrecht het feest van St. George viert, 23 April 1586', *Maandblad van "Oud-Utrecht"*, V (1930), 2-6 (cf. also 12-14 and 81-83), and especially R. C. Bald, 'Leicester's Men in the Low Countries', *R.E.S.*, XIX (1943), 395-397, who believes that the 'jesting player' was William Kempe. See also H. S. D. Mithal, 'Will, My Lord of Leicester's Jestng Player', *Notes and Queries*, October 1958, 427-429, who thinks it most probable that 'Will' of Sir Philip Sidney's letter was Robert Wilson, and *ibid.*, March 1959, 112. *The Forces of Hercules* has not been identified. Thurston Dart ('English Music and Musicians in 17th-Century Holland' in *Kongress-Bericht Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Utrecht 1952*, Amsterdam, G. Alsbach & Co., 1953, p. 139-145) suggests that it was probably performed to the widely current Italian mime-tune 'Le forze d'Ercole', which is found in many sources including BM. MSS. Royal Appendix 59-62. Cf. also Rolf Soellner, 'The Madness of Hercules and the Elizabethans', *Comparative Literature*, X (1958), 309-324.

²² Leyden Archives, *Tresoriersrekening 1590* (Secret, arch. 1575-1851, No. 2961), f. 463; inaccurately printed in *De Navorscher*, VIII (1858), 7, and in J. H. van Lennep, 'English Comedians in the Netherlands', *Notes and Queries*, 8 January 1859, 36. I am indebted to Mr. R. van Royen, Archivist of the city of Leyden, for calling my attention to another document in the Leyden Record Office, *Ordonnantieboek B* (Secret, arch. 1575-1851, No. 3734), f. 97, relating to the same performance.

That the travelling companies took with them their London habit of brawling in taverns is proved by the fact that in 1597 Thomas Sackville had a quarrel with another English player, Edward Wakefield, in a Brunswick tavern. However, the slight indication we have to go upon in the case of Robert Browne makes it impossible to do more than make a mere conjecture. On 12 August 1590 one Robert Browne, of London, was granted a pardon for killing John Bray in a fight.²³ He may have been our actor, whose wife and children are known to have lived in Shoreditch, London, in 1593 (Nungezer, p. 61). Though I find no notice of a John Bray, an Anthony Bray is recorded in a list of twenty-eight players at Norwich on 10 March 1635 (Bentley, II, p. 388).

On 10 February 1591 Robert Browne, John Bradstreet, Thomas Sackville, and Richard Jones obtained a passport, in which the Lord Admiral Charles Howard requested the States-General of the Netherlands to grant them safe-conduct on their journey through the provinces of Zeeland, Holland, and Friesland (van den Bergh, I, p. 41-42). Sir Edmund Chambers (II, p. 138, 274) conjectures that it is not necessary to infer that the travellers were in 1591 the Lord Admiral's servants, since presumably he gave this passport in his official capacity as warden of the high seas, not in that of their lord. With this I cannot agree. Chambers bases his conjecture on the inaccurate version of the passport printed by Cohn (p. xxviii-xxix). The original text, preserved at The Hague and printed by van den Bergh, expressly states that the players in question were Howard's 'joueurs et serviteurs'. This statement throws a little additional light on the theatrical careers of Robert Browne, Bradstreet, Sackville, and Richard Jones. It establishes beyond doubt that these actors were all members of the Admiral's Company on 10 February 1591.

The same *Muisickers und Historispeelders* (musicians and actors of history plays), accompanied by a hitherto unidentified Everhart Sauss, were at Arnhem in 1592, carrying a licence from Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau.²⁴ The next recorded appearance of English actors in the Netherlands is at Utrecht, on 10 February 1594, when the Dutch antiquarian and genealogist Arend van Buchell records in his diary: 'Angli histriones hic agunt'.²⁵

Three years later unnamed English comedians are traced at Groningen, Utrecht, and Franeker. On 21 April 1597 a number of English players,

²³ C. S. P., Dom., Eliz., 1581-1590, p. 685. Cf. also the inquisition *post mortem* on the death of John Bray, 33 Eliz., in the P. R. O., London (Chancery Series, II, vol. 228, No. 73).

²⁴ G. van Hasselt, *Arnhemsche Oudheden* (Arnhem, 1803), I, p. 244, prints Bradstreet's name as 'Johan Bradsdret'. The account in question in the archives of the *Gelderse Rekenkamer* at Arnhem, however, reads: 'Johan Bradsdrat'. In the same account the name 'Sauss' may perhaps be read as 'Sanss'. In 1592 there were actors named Bernhardt Sandt (who visited Nuremberg in April 1600) and James Sands, but there is not sufficient evidence to identify Everhart Sauss (or Sanss) with either of these.

²⁵ *Diarium van Arend van Buchell*, ed. G. Brom and L. A. van Langeraad, *Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap*, 3rd Series, No. 21 (Amsterdam, 1907), p. 360.

who claimed to be in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse, acted at Groningen for about a fortnight, to the great satisfaction of the authorities of that city.²⁶ On 31 July 1597 the town council of Utrecht treated an English troupe to eight quarts of French wine for having played at the town-hall.²⁷ The pay-warrant preserved in the Franeker archives, dated 25 October 1597, may refer to the same actors.²⁸ Incidentally this warrant reveals the interesting fact that the English troupe also performed before the undergraduates of this small university town.

English comedians played at Groningen again before the magistrates on 13 October 1601.²⁹ In or about the same year an English company, under the leadership of one John Kemp, acted at Amsterdam.³⁰ The Nijmegen city accounts, *sub* 13 June 1602, record a payment of three guilders to an unnamed troupe of English *speelluijden* (musicians, or, less likely, actors).³¹ Two years later a certain Jan Woodtss (John Woods) appeared with a troupe of English players at Leyden. On 30 September 1604 the Council of this city gave him and his company permission to play at the approaching fair *zeecker eerlick camerspel* (certain decent pieces) for the amusement of the people.³² Perhaps the Leyden Jan Woodtss may be identified with the 'John Woode of Beeche Lane London', one of the defendants in Markham's suit on 21 May 1623 (Bentley, II, p. 625).

Eleven years ago Harry R. Hoppe drew attention to the fact that almost nothing has come to light about the visits of English actors to the Spanish Netherlands. 'Yet', he argues, 'Englishmen travelling to the Continent would probably pass through this region more often than any other, since it was accessible by the shortest Channel crossing. Because it was a great commercial crossroads, one of the wealthiest regions of Europe, and a country whose inhabitants had long been known for their love of festivals and entertainments of all sorts, English players would have good reason

²⁶ Cf. the certificate issued to the players by the Burgomasters and Town Council of Groningen, Groningen Archives, *Rechterlijke Archieven IIIb* 3, f. 244^v, printed by H. O. Feith in 'Eenige Comedianten te Groningen in 1597', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, inzonderheid van de Provincie Groningen*, II (1865), p. 162, and J. A. Worp, 'Engelsche Tooneelspelers op het Vasteland in de 16de en 17de Eeuw', *Nederlandsch Museum*, 2nd Series, III, 1 (1886), 65-113, *passim*.

²⁷ J. J. Dodt van Flensburg in *Archief voor Kerkelijke en Wereldsche Geschiedenissen, inzonderheid van Utrecht*, III (1843), 271, and W. D. V., 'English Comedians in the Netherlands', *Notes and Queries*, 29 January 1853, 114.

²⁸ Franeker Archives, No. 348. Cf. W. B. S. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker* (Leeuwarden, 1878), I, p. 290.

²⁹ Groningen Archives, *Rechterlijke Archieven IIIa* 7. Cf. J. A. Feith, 'Wandelingen door het oude Groningen, XI: Het Raad- en Wijnhuis', in *Groningsche Volksalmanak voor het Jaar 1901* (Groningen, 1900), p. 143.

³⁰ Johannes Bolte, 'Englische Komödianten in Münster und Ulm', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXVI (1900), 274.

³¹ Accounts for the year 1602, No. 807, f. 119^r.

³² Leyden Archives, *Gerechtsdagboek F* (Secret. arch. 1575-1851, No. 9254), f. 5^v. Cf. *De Navorscher*, *Bijblad*, III (1853), xl, and Elsevier and Constanter, 'English Comedians in the Netherlands', *Notes and Queries*, 9 April 1853, 360-361.

to include it in their continental circuits.' ('Ghent', 305). Acting upon this suggestion I undertook a systematic combing of the published histories of the theatre of the cities in Belgium and Northern France. This search more than fulfilled my expectations by supplying information about the appearance of five English entertainers at Lille (Rijsel) in Northern France. Lille lies on the great road from Calais to Germany. Under the Burgundian rule the city enjoyed great prosperity. Its merchants were at the head of the London Hansa, and Philip the Good made it his residence. The visits of the English actors to Lille are recorded in Léon Lefebvre's *Histoire du Théâtre de Lille de ses origines à nos jours* (5 vols., Lille, 1901-1907), a book which has escaped the attention of historians of the English drama. In presenting the information relating to these actors I shall first set down the entries as they appear in Lefebvre, and then add a brief commentary.

The first record of English players at Lille occurs in the *Comptes de la Bourse commune* for the year 1603:

A Robert Brame, Jehan Gruson, Robert Le Batteur et consors, la somme de vingt quatre livres paris³³ pour avoir joué dinstrumens, et fait exhibition de quelques commedies en presence de Messieurs.³⁴

There can be no doubt that Robert Brame and Jehan Gruson (Jean Grugeon) are phonetic spellings of Robert Browne and John Green, two of the most important English actors on the Continent. In the same way Robert Le Batteur stands for Robert Ledbetter, who was an Admiral's man in 1597, when he played Pedro in *Frederick and Basilea*. He is not otherwise known except on the Continent, where he appears as a member of Browne's company at Frankfort in 1599, 1601, and 1606 (Nungezer, p. 235). Browne is recorded at Nuremberg in February 1603 and at Frankfort for the Easter fair of 1603 (*ibid.*, p. 62). From Frankfort he may have proceeded westwards and included Lille in his wanderings. So far the first recorded appearance of John Green on the Continent was at Strassburg in June 1606. His visit to Lille in 1603 now enables us to antedate his first recorded appearance on the Continent by three years. It also enables us to confirm Green's own statement in the dedication of *Nobody and Somebody*, about 1608, that he had been in France (Chambers, II, p. 294). Lille had become a French town in 1312. With the rest of Flanders it passed from the dukes of Burgundy to Austria and then to Spain. After the death of Philip IV of Spain Lille was restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. The appearance of Robert Browne, John Green, and Robert Ledbetter at Lille

³³ The addition *parisis* was used to distinguish *livres* struck at Paris, which were worth one-fourth more than those struck at Tours (*livres tournois*).

³⁴ Lefebvre, I, p. 135. On p. 131 the author refers to these same actors as Georges Brame, Jean Grugeon, and Robert Le Batteur. Jehan Gruson does not occur in the index (which is far from accurate), though Jean Grugeon does, with the addition *hautbois* (oboe). Georges Brame must be a *lapsus calami* for Robert Brame.

in 1603 is the first evidence we have of visits of English actors to Northern France. A thorough examination of the municipal archives of the southern portion of the old county of Flanders might yield further information with regard to their wanderings.

The next mention of (unnamed) English actors at Lille is in the accounts for the first half of the fiscal year 1604:

Reçu 88 l. 1 s. des comédiens anglais ...; payé aux sergents pour avoir perçu, pendant huit jours, le droit aux comédies anglaises 6 l.

Comptes de la Bourse commune, 1er sem. 1604 (Lefebvre, I, p. 136).

At Lille one of the conditions for the authorization by the magistrates of performances was that the entertainers contributed a fourth or fifth of the receipts to the *Bourse commune* for the relief of the poor. The money was collected by special gatherers: 'Des sergents se tenaient près de la porte, une boîte en mains, chacun y mettait le prix de sa place. On prélevait sur la recette la part de la Bourse commune, fixée au denier 4 ou 5 (le quart ou le cinquième), quelquefois plus, le reste était laissé aux comédiens; ou bien ceux-ci payaient une somme convenue pour l'établissement hospitalier indiqué dans l'autorisation du magistrat. Plus tard une représentation spéciale, dont le produit total restait affecté aux pauvres, remplaça la taxe accoutumée' (Lefebvre, I, p. 135).

I am inclined to believe that the unnamed group which acted at Lille in the first half of 1604 was the company that performed at Ghent in the week of mid-Lent 1604, i.e., between Sunday the 14th and Saturday the 20th.³⁵ It also seems reasonable to identify this company with the band led by Robert Browne, which played at the Harvest fair at Frankfort on the Main in 1604. As we have seen, Browne had been at Lille in 1603. As we shall see below, he was again at Lille in 1605. It is plausible, therefore, to assume that he may have been there in 1604.

A year later there was again an English company at Lille:

Payé 4 l. 10 s. pour avoir aidé à recevoir le quart des pauvres 'a l'encontre des joueurs anglois qui ont exhibé des comédies.'

Comptes de la Bourse commune, 1er sem. 1605 (Lefebvre, I, p. 137.)

The Lille accounts for the same fiscal year contain another interesting entry:

A Robert Obron, 10 florins 'pour avoir, avecq ses confrères, le jour d'hier [veille de la Toussaint] exhibé par devant Messieurs une commedie pour preuve de leur industrie en fait de pareille exhibition qu'ilz pretendoient faire au peuple de ceste ville.'

Comptes de la Bourse commune, 1er sem. 1605 (Lefebvre, I, p. 137).

³⁵ For the Ghent performance cf. Hoppe, 'Ghent', 308-309. I cannot agree with Hoppe when he says that the company which, in September 1603, acted before the French court at Fontainebleau may have been Robert Browne's company. Hoppe apparently bases his assumption on an article by Frances A. Yates, 'English Actors in Paris during the Lifetime of Shakespeare', *R.E.S.*, I (1925), 392-403. However, the evidence adduced by her is inconclusive.

It is obvious that in this as well as in the 1603 appearance we have to do with a sort of qualifying performance before the city councillors, perhaps in connection with the traditional banquet on All Saints' Day (cf. Lefebvre, I, p. 136). As in Ghent, it was the custom for entertainers visiting Lille to give a demonstration of their talents before the city councillors, their families, and invited friends, before offering their wares to the general public. For this initial performance the entertainers were reimbursed from the city treasury (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 306). It cannot be doubted that Robert Obron stands for Robert Browne, 'der alte Komödiant' of Frankfort fame. Lefebvre failed to see that the Robert Brame of 1603 and the Robert Obron of 1605 were one and the same person. He did not even realize that Robert Brame (Obron), Jehan Gruson (Jean Grugeon), and Robert Le Batteur were English. The appearance of Robert Browne at Lille on 31 October 1605 throws a little more light on the wanderings of this prominent English actor between 1603 and May 1606, when he is again recorded at Frankfort.

In the Lille records for the year 1606 there occur three references to English actors and musicians. Here follow the extracts as printed by Lefebvre (I, p. 137):

Aux commediens anglois au nombre de quatorze quy ont, le VIIIe jour de juing seize cens et six, exhibez en la maison eschevinale en presencē de Messrs du magistrat, comedie avec resonan[ces] de pluis[eu]rs instrumens musicaux, la somme de xv l.

Comptes de la Ville, année 1606, f. 464.

A Franchois Joans, joueur d'instrumens anglois, la somme de douze livres paris is que Messrs luy ont accordee pour luy et ses compaignons avoir joue et touche de diverses sortes dinstrumens melodieux, avecq accord de les exhiber au pœuple.

Comptes de la Ville, année 1606, f. 470.

Reçu 18 l. 1 s. pour comédies et 53 l. 11 s. de ceux qui allaient voir jouer 'certains anglois'; payé 9 l. aux six sergents occupés à collecter le droit aux comédiens anglais.

Comptes de la Bourse commune, 2er sem. 1606.

The second entry reveals the name of a hitherto unknown English musician, Francis Jones. I have been unable to discover anything further about him. His name does not appear in Chambers's, Nungezer's, or Bentley's lists. He may have been a relative of one of the half dozen Joneses in the profession about that time. There is even a slight possibility that he was the well-known actor Richard Jones who, as I mentioned before, visited Arnhem in 1592 and who, in 1623, was a 'musician' in the service of Philip Julius, Duke of Wolgast (Bentley, II, p. 487). The French clerk may have mistaken his Christian name for Franchois.

The next record of English actors in the Northern Netherlands is at Leyden on 6 January 1605, when John Spencer and his comedians and musicians were permitted to act *opten groten hoff onder de bibliotecque* (in the great court under the library) for the space of a fortnight.³⁶ They

³⁶ Leyden Archives, *Gerechtsdagboek F* (Secret, arch. 1575-1851, No. 9254), f. 40^v-41. Cf. *De Navorscher, Bijblad*, III (1853), xl-xli, and Elsevier and Constanter, *loc. cit.*, 361.

were provided with a recommendation, dated 10 August 1604, from the Elector of Brandenburg, whose servants they apparently were, and confirmed by the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, Maurice, Prince of Orange Nassau, in the following December. John Spencer was one of the most conspicuous managers of English companies on the Continent in the reign of James I. Cohn (p. lxxviii) supposes that he had been obliged to leave his native country because of his attachment to the Catholic Church. His stage name was Hans Stockfisch.

It was probably the same Brandenburg comedians who, after having acted at the fair at The Hague for about a fortnight, were prohibited by the *Hof van Holland* (Court of Holland) from continuing their performances. The resolution in question is dated 10 May 1605.³⁷ It should be remembered that the *Hof van Holland* was a provincial court of justice which exercised special authority over the government centre, Binnenhof and Buitenhof, at The Hague.

According to a hitherto unnoticed entry in the Leyden *Burgemeestersdagboek B* for the year 1605 certain unidentified English comedians were licensed to perform in *de falide baghijnenkerck* during the October fair of that year, provided they gave twelve guilders to the Leyden poor.³⁸

English actors are again recorded at The Hague on 8 June 1606 and on 23 and 27 April 1607.³⁹ But in 1608 the Court of Holland issued a special proclamation prohibiting all kinds of dramatic and other representations at The Hague as scandalous and injurious to the community (van den Bergh, I, p. 21; Cohn, p. lxxxii). On 18 November of the same year the authorities of the city of Leyden allowed Willem Pedel (William Peadle), the dancer, acrobat, and pantomimist, to exhibit in the church of the Bagijnhof *verscheide fraeye ende eerlicke spelen mettet lichaem, sonder eenige woorden te gebruycken* (various beautiful and chaste performances with his body, without using any words).⁴⁰ The Leyden magistrates stipulated that half of the profits should go to the poor orphans and that the receipts should be collected by a person appointed by the trustees of the orphanage. It should be noted that the latter arrangement is similar to the one in force at Lille at about the same time. William Peadle's

³⁷ General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Hof van Holland*, No. 278: Notulen en Resoluties 1602-1608, f. 133; printed by Cohn, p. lxxix. Cf. also General Archives, The Hague, No. 6129: *Repertorium op de Resoluties van het Hof van Holland*, C f. 87.

³⁸ Leyden Archives, *Burgemeestersdagboek B* (Secret. arch. 1575-1851, No. 639), f. 54^v, dated 30 September 1605. The 'falide baghijnenkerck' was the chapel of the beguines wearing a *falie* or hooded cloak or veil. Between 1575 and 1581 the university of Leyden was established in it. Since 1591 the university library has been housed in the upper story of this chapel, which at the present moment still forms part of the library store-rooms.

³⁹ General Archives, The Hague, *loc. cit.*, f. 177, 211, 212; printed by Cohn, p. lxxxi. Cf. also General Archives, The Hague, No. 6129: *Repertorium op de Resoluties van het Hof van Holland*, C f. 87^v.

⁴⁰ Leyden Archives, *Gerechtsdagboek G* (Secret. arch. 1575-1851, No. 9255), f. 14-14^v. Cf. *De Navorscher*, III (1853), 17; W. D. V., *loc. cit.*, 114; Cohn, p. lxxxiii.

Leyden visit is the earliest-known fact in the career of this popular dancer and acrobat, who was in Germany in 1614 and 1615, and who is found in the English records as late as 1629 (Chambers, II, p. 291, 332; Nungezer, p. 270-271; Bentley, II, p. 522). By 1610 the Court of Holland seemed to have relented somewhat, for on 24 September of that year they permitted an unnamed English company to play at The Hague for four days; on 29 September this permission was extended for a further period of eight days.⁴¹

The next two appearances of English actors in the Netherlands are completely unrecorded in the literature on the subject. On 1 June 1610 certain English comedians were authorized to act at the Leyden summer fair for a few days.⁴² It is reasonable to conjecture that they were the same as those who, on 17 August of the same year, got permission to play in the Nijstadtskerck at Zutphen during the fair.⁴³

The following entry from the extracts from the city accounts of Flushing, now published for the first time, probably refers to the Flushing poet Gideon Morris:

Bet[aald] aen Gideon Morris over verschoten gelt, dat hij gedaan heeft aen eenige goederen doen men de commedie speelde van den moort van de Coninck van Vranckrijk £ 23:19:6.⁴⁴

Gideon Morris may have been a member of the Flushing *Rederijkerskamer* 'Blaeu Acolye'. He was the author of a poem on the Twelve Years' Truce entitled *Een cleyn poetelick tractaet, betreffende des vreedts en oorloghs vruchten* (1607), and the translator of the *Méditations sur Job* by the French orator and philosopher, Guillaume du Vair.⁴⁵ Though, as a descendant of a Scots family, he would have been interested in English-speaking actors, there is no evidence to show that *The Murder of the King of France* was performed by Englishmen.

The city of Ghent appears to have been very receptive to all kinds of wandering players. Shortly after the commencement of Lent in 1611 a company of English actors, who had just finished playing at Héverlé near Louvain, arrived at Ghent. They bore with them a letter of recommendation from Charles-Gérard, Duke of Aremberg, to the Ghent city councillors. From this letter, dated 18 February 1611, it appears that they had performed twelve or thirteen comedies at the Duke's château at Héverlé during several previous Lenten seasons. On 25 February Charles Maes, Bishop of Ghent, sent a letter of protest to the city

⁴¹ General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Hof van Holland*, No. 279: Notulen en Resoluties 1608-1617, f. 84; printed by Cohn, p. lxxxiv. Cf. also General Archives, The Hague, No. 6129: *Repertorium op de Resoluties van het Hof van Holland*, C f. 88.

⁴² Leyden Archives, *Burgemeestersdagboek B* (Secret. arch. 1575-1851, No. 639), f. 102.

⁴³ Zutphen Archives, *Resolutieboeken van de Magistraat*.

⁴⁴ Flushing Archives, *Uittreksels uit de Stadsrekeningen*, 1 May 1610-30 April 1611.

⁴⁵ P. J. Meertens, *Letterkundig Leven in Zeeland in de zestiende en de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw*, *Verhandelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, XLVIII, 1 (Amsterdam, 1943), p. 158.

councillors, requesting them to prohibit the troupe from playing during Lent. Probably the councillors ignored the Bishop's protest and permitted the company to perform (Liebrecht, p. 13; Hoppe, 'Ghent', 309-311). We know that in the year 1612, or shortly before, there were English actors in Brussels. Thomas Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors* (1612), speaks of an English company as in the pay of the Cardinal and Archduke Albert, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.⁴⁶ They may have been the same players who acted at Aremberg's château at Héverlé and who applied for permission to perform at Ghent in 1611. According to Claeys (I, p. 183) the English comedians returned to Ghent in October of the same year.

On 9 October 1612 certain English actors once more obtained permission from the Court of Holland to play at The Hague for fourteen days.⁴⁷ It is impossible to identify them with John Spencer's troupe, because Spencer was then in the service of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg (Cohn, p. lxxxiv-lxxxvii). Scheurleer's statement that Spencer travelled in the Netherlands in 1612 with a company of nineteen actors and sixteen musicians is erroneous.⁴⁸

A certain Thomaes Berghel, *gheboren van Inghelant*, is recorded in the Ghent city accounts for 1612-1613 as having been awarded 16s. 8d. for the display 'of his skill with pike and rapier' (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 311-312). Hoppe cannot identify him, but I think he is the same as the Thomas Borel, *anglois*, whom we shall encounter at Lille in 1614.

John Grim (John Green) makes his first appearance at Utrecht on 15 November 1613 when, at the recommendation of General Cecil, he and his troupe are licensed to play there (van Sorgen, p. 14-15, 78). It is reasonable to identify them with the English players who acted at Zutphen a few days before. The following entry in the *Resolutieboeken* of the Zutphen magistrate, dated 10 November 1613, provides evidence for this hitherto unrecorded visit:

Opt aavermalige end volfoldige versueck d'Engelsche comedianten vergunnet alhier t'ageren.

Though it has been suggested that in the Leyden Archives there appear several requests of English comedians to perform there in 1614,⁴⁹ no trace of them has been found. The *Burgemeestersdagboek B* for this year records the names of a number of Englishmen and Scotchmen to whom passports were issued, but none of them are actors.

Heywood's reference to the English company in the service of the

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 60, quoted Cohn, p. xc. Cohn's (and Liebrecht's) conjecture that the Cardinal's men may have been the same players who applied for permission to act at Leyden in 1614, is entirely unfounded.

⁴⁷ General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Hof van Holland*, No. 279: Notulen en Resoluties 1608-1617, f. 157; printed by Cohn, p. lxxxix. Cf. also General Archives, The Hague, No. 6129: *Repertorium op de Resoluties van het Hof van Holland*, C f. 88^v.

⁴⁸ D. F. Scheurleer, *Het Muziekleven van Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw* (The Hague, *n. d.*), p. 23.

⁴⁹ W. D. V., *loc. cit.*, 114; *De Navorscher*, III (1853), 17.

Archduke and the Cardinal at Brussels proves that English actors were well-known in the Spanish Netherlands in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The first direct evidence of the appearance of English strolling players at Brussels is a payment in the Spanish account books, preserved in the General Archives at Brussels, and unearthed by Hoppe. According to this warrant a company of English players performed a comedy before the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella, probably before 13 February 1614. It may have been John Spencer's troupe, which played at the Frankfort Easter fair. More likely it was John Green's company, which had been at Utrecht, and probably at Zutphen, a few months earlier (Hoppe, 'Brussels', 27-28).

The city accounts at Lille for the year 1614 record the payment of 10 livres parisis to Thomas Borel, Englishman, for the display of his 'admirable skill in handling pikes':

A Thomas Borel, anglois . . . x l. p. . . pour avoir en presence de Mrs. montré l'experience et la dexterite admirable quil at au jeu de la picque.

Comptes de la Ville, année 1614 (Lefebvre, I, p. 139).

This entry, like the other entries quoted from the Lille archives, has escaped the attention of historians of the English stage. Though the name Borel resembles nothing among the actors' names listed by Chambers, Nungezer, or Bentley, it is reasonable to identify our Thomas Borel with Thomaes Berghel, the English fencer, who displayed his skill with pike and rapier at Ghent in 1612-1613. In its present forms the name does not sound very English, and Hoppe, at the suggestion of Professor R. C. Bald, thinks that Berghel may represent the English name Burkhill ('Ghent', 312). Having searched the dramatic records in vain for reference to a Borel, Berghel, or Burkhill, I venture to put forward another suggestion for what it is worth. The *Account-Book of the Revels, 1584-1585* mentions a certain Thomas Birchall, who was employed as 'wierdrawer' for seven days and two nights during the 'Chrystmas Twelftyde & Shrouvetyde' revels.⁵⁰ Is it possible that our Thoma[e]s Borel (Berghel) was the son of Thomas Birchall, the wiredrawer? In that case his father's early association with the stage may have influenced the son's choice of a theatrical career. However this may be, the name Birchall would seem to be at least as plausible a guess as Burkhill. In the light of the spelling 'Borel', Barrel and Burrell are other possibilities. These names are comparatively frequent in contemporary records, but I have been unable to connect the bearers of either of them with our fencer.

On 12 June of the same year Jacques Lerecque, *Inghelsman*, displayed the baiting of bears, bull, lion, and wolf by dogs at Ghent. Two months later, in August 1614, Thomaes Barret, *Ynghelsman*, was paid 16s. for

⁵⁰ Albert Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, vol. 21 (Louvain, 1908), p. 366.

his display of 'skill in handling pikes and other kinds of weapons' in the same city (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 311-312). Neither of these entertainers are identifiable. Of course Lerecque may be a phonetic spelling of a name like Lerwick, or Lark, but the bearers of these names in the records I examined do not conform to the description of a bear-ward. Though there is no Thomas Barret in the profession, we know a John Barrett and a Walter Barrett, both of them contemporary strolling actors in England (Bentley, II, p. 359). In the published records I found three more or less likely references to a Thomas Barret[t], which I print for what they are worth:

7 Decembris

Thomas Barret son of Richard Barret Late of Tinbighe in the county of Pembrok gent deceased. Hath putt him self an apprentice to Anthony Gilman citizen and Stacioner of London for the terme of Seven yerres from the feast of Th[e]anunciacon of our Lady [25 March] 1601:43 *Regin[a]e* ij^o vjd.⁵¹

Feb. 27, 1604. Grant to John Streat, in reversion after Thomas Barrett, of the place of a 'Child of the Leash'.⁵²

Sept. 27, 1614. Grant to Thos. Barrett of the office of Gamekeeper at Nonsuch, co. Bucks, for life.⁵³

The Ghent accounts for 1616-1617 record *sub* 1 March 1617 a payment of £2 made to Robert Hartsius, Hendrick Griffin, and Jan Waters, *Inghelsche commedianten*, for the exhibition of their sport and of horse jumping. The company numbered eighteen players (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 312-313; 'Brussels', 28). Robert Hartsius and Hendrick Griffin may be identified with Robert Archer (Arzschar, Ertzer) and Heinrich Greum, who are both known from the German records (Cohn, p. lxxxviii; Herz, p. 47, 52, 53; Chambers, II, p. 291). It is possible that Hendrick Griffin was the same Griffin who acted the part of Athanasia in *Frederick and Basilea*, presented by the Admiral's Company in June 1597 (Nungezer, p. 166; Hoppe, 'Ghent', 313). John Waters was probably the same Waters who is recorded at The Hague in the spring of the next year (*vide infra*). A certain Thomas Waters appears as a member of the Children of Paul's in October 1607.⁵⁴ John Waters may have been related to him.

We may surmise, with Hoppe ('Brussels', 28-29), that the unnamed troupe that acted before the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella at their palace in Brussels, and/or their summer-residence at Tervueren, in the summer of 1617, was the Archer-Griffin-Waters combination.

On 17 October 1617 the Leyden City Treasurer was authorized to pay 36 guilders to a certain Jan Jorden, English musician, for having entertained

⁵¹ *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1875-1877; Birmingham, 1894), II, p. 258.

⁵² Docquet, C. S. P., *Dom.*, James I, 1603-1610, p. 83.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1611-1618, p. 253; Grant Book, p. 146.

⁵⁴ Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2, 1926), p. 112.

the magistrates at dinner. The entry in question is here published for the first time :

Ordonnantie verleent opte voorseijde Thresorier ordinaris te betalen aen mr. Jan Jorden den Engelsman musijcijn de somme van sessendertich gulden te 40 grooten tstuck (*thirty-six guilders of forty groats apiece*) hem toegevoucht tot sijn subsidie ende onderhout in plaetse van vereeringe van dat hij extraordinarie de heeren vanden gerechte op haere maeltijd mit sijn const heeft vereert.

hier de voorseijte 36.⁵⁵

Jan Jorden must have been highly valued as an artist, since he received more than double the fee granted to Browne's troupe in 1590. In view of this it is all the more surprising that no other record of this musician has come to light.

That there were more English musicians in Holland about that time may be deduced from an item in the Oldenbarnevelt papers preserved in the General Archives at The Hague. The item, which has escaped the vigilance of historians of English music, records the payment of £2 8s. to the English musicians (or actors?) who entertained Oldenbarnevelt and his companions on their journey from Vianen to The Hague about 26 March 1616 :

Betaelt voor de voorn. heeren aen de Engelsche speelluyden 2£ 8s.⁵⁶

It is curious that so little should have come to light about the appearance of English actors at Amsterdam in these years. One might have expected that, before visiting other places, they would have directed their steps to this mighty trading centre. The Resolutions of the City Council (*Vroedschapsresoluties*) from 1590 to 1610 and the City Accounts (*Stadsrekeningen*) do not contain a single reference to them. Yet there is some evidence that they performed at Amsterdam about this time. We have seen that shortly after 1600 an English company under John Kemp acted at Amsterdam, and that Heywood, writing about the year 1608, refers to the appearance of English comedians in that city, where they performed *The Four Sons of Aymoun* (*loc. cit.*, p. 58). That English players were known in Amsterdam at the beginning of the seventeenth century is proved by a laudatory reference to their natural and spontaneous acting in G. A. Bredero's drama *Moortje* (iii, 4), which was written in 1615. I can now supply some documentary evidence for the appearance of English actors at Amsterdam before 1615. In an act passed by the Notary W. Benninck, and dated 11 December 1613, mention is made of the *Kaatsbaan* (Fives-Court) near the Regulierspoort, 'alwaer deur eenige Engelschen een comédie gespeelt werde'.⁵⁷ From the same Notarial

⁵⁵ Leyden Archives, *Ordonnantieboek G* (Secret. arch. 1575-1851, No. 3758), f. 27^v.

⁵⁶ General Archives, The Hague, *Holland* 2611 f.

⁵⁷ Amsterdam Archives, *Notariële Archieven*, No. 336, f. 238. It is a pleasure to record my indebtedness to Mr. W. T. H. Oldewelt, Archivist of the city of Amsterdam, for having called my attention to this deed.

Archives it appears that in October 1623, after the autumn fair, English comedians acted 'inden Ban (*jurisdiction*) van Diemen' near Amsterdam.⁵⁸

During the years 1618-1620 English players can be traced at The Hague and Utrecht. Waters and John Studle *cum sociis* requested and received (*sub* 2 May 1618) permission from the magistrates of The Hague to perform there (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 *n.* 2; *N.B.*, p. 142). Waters may be identified with the John Waters who, as we have seen, acted at Ghent on 1 March 1617. Hoppe ('Brussels', 29) believes that the name Studle, which does not appear in Chambers's, Nungezer's, or Bentley's actor-lists, may be a Dutch phonetic transcript of Stutville, because a George Stutville is known as a player in England. I think it more likely that it represents Studle or Studley, a name not unknown in contemporary English records. Thus the Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London, mention one John Studtle, 'bever maker', whose son John was buried in the churchyard on 20 September 1641.⁵⁹ John Studley was also the name of the Elizabethan translator of Seneca's *Medea* and *Agamemnon*.

On 11 January 1619 certain unidentified English comedians were ordered to give a command performance before the city authorities at Utrecht at three o'clock in the afternoon.⁶⁰ Hoppe's conjecture ('Brussels', 29) that they may have been the Waters-Griffin-Archer-Studle company is entirely unfounded.

Following the outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War, John Green, one of the best known of all the English travelling actors of this period, probably withdrew from Germany in 1620, via Cologne and Utrecht, which he had first visited in 1613. On 17 July 1620 the City Council of Utrecht granted permission to the Comedians of His Serene Highness, the Elector of Brandenburg, directed by 'Mr. Johan Grijen', to act *veele schoone soe well stichtelijke als recreative commedien* (many beautiful comedies, both edifying and diverting) at the summer fair.⁶¹ Two months later, on 16 September 1620, another travelling company of English actors, who styled themselves servants of the Duke of Brunswick, presented themselves at The Hague (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 *n.* 2; *N.B.*, p. 142).

The next appearance of John Green is at Ghent on 19 April 1624, when he and his company played a comedy before the aldermen. About a year later, on 10 May 1625, Thomaes Rogiers, *Inghelsche commediant*, and his company presented 'a certain representation and comedy' to the aldermen of that city (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 313-314). Of Thomas Rogers no previous

⁵⁸ Act passed on 28 October 1623 by the Notary Nicolaes Jacobs, *Notariële Archieven*, No. 387, f. 170.

⁵⁹ Vol. IV: Burials. *Publications of the Harleian Society*, Registers — vol. XLI, ed. Willoughby A. Littledale (London, 1912), p. 221. The fact that John Studtle was a beaver-maker does not exclude the possibility that he may have been our actor. Thus John Shank, sr., the King's man, describes himself in his will as 'one of his Ma^{ty}: servants the Players, and Cittizen and weaver of London' (Bentley, II, p. 646).

⁶⁰ Van Sorgen, p. 78. Cf. Utrecht Archives, *Vroedschapsnotulen*, 11 January 1619.

⁶¹ Utrecht Archives, Cat. II, No. 121, *Vroedschapsnotulen*, 17 July 1620. Cf. van Sorgen, p. 17.

record has come to light. There were two other Rogerses in the profession, an Edward and a William, who are both recorded (Nungezer, p. 303-304; Bentley, II, p. 553-554). In 1664 a Thomas Rogers in the parish of Whitechapel was granted a licence to use a shovelboard by the Deputy Clerk Comptroller of the Revels.⁶² He cannot with certainty be identified with our actor.

At this point it is interesting to record the names of three English *stadsspeellieden* (town musicians), who were employed at Amsterdam in 1626: Richard Swift, Eduard Hancock, and Robbert Tindal (Scheurleer, p. 40). But, as far as I know, they never belonged to a travelling company.

According to Hoppe ('Ghent', 314), William Morley, the bearer of an English-sounding name even though not so denominated, presented a 'certain action and recreation' to the aldermen at Ghent on or before 13 August 1629. Hoppe conjectures that we have here to do with a leader of a small group of acrobats and dancers. However, I am inclined to believe that this William Morley was the lutanist who is referred to in the *Merchant Taylors' Accounts*, ix, for the year 1606-1607. In the account of the four stewards 'elected to make preparation of a Dynner for the [Kyng] entertayning of the Kings Maty, the Queene and Prynce, &c.' we read:

To them that plaid on the Lute ... To Willm Morley for himself x1s, & for Roþt Kenn'sly x1s { iiij^{li}.⁶³

English comedians played at The Hague and Utrecht again in the years 1629-1630. On 30 April 1629 the Magistrates of The Hague granted them permission to act at the fair, for which they had to pay thirty guilders to the Orphan Asylum. On 23 May, and again on 24 December of the same year, the permission was renewed, and at the same time the Fives-Court (*Kaatsbaan*) in the present Hoflaan was assigned to their use (van den Bergh, I, p. 21; Cohn, p. xcviij). On 20 July 1630 the City Council of Utrecht authorized the Burgomasters to appoint to the English comedians a suitable stand at the annual fair.⁶⁴

The next English company to play in the Netherlands was the troupe of Robert Reynolds, which acted at The Hague on 9 January 1632 (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 n. 2; *N.B.*, p. 142). For Robert Reynolds more information is available than for most other English actors in the Netherlands. We have seen that in June 1616 and in June 1617 he appeared as a member of Queen Anne's Company. The *Middlesex County Records* name him and his wife Jane in an indictment for non-attendance at church in 1616 and in 1617. By 1616 he had begun an acting career in Germany,

⁶² *Collection of Papers ... Relating to the Office of Master of the Revels*, British Museum Add. MSS, Add. 19,256, f. 88.

⁶³ *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London 1485-1640*, ed. Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon (*Collections*, vol. III, The Malone Society, 1954), p. 173.

⁶⁴ Van Sorgen, p. 79. Cf. Utrecht Archives, *Vroedschapsnotulen*, 20 July 1630.

where he made a great reputation under the clown-name of Pickleherring. In the earlier years he performed in the companies of Robert Browne and John Green, but in 1627 he seems to have taken over the leadership of Green's troupe (Nungezer, p. 295-296; Bentley, II, p. 543). Nothing, however, is known of him between the autumn of 1628 and the spring of 1631. In their request to the Frankfort authorities for permission to play at the 1628 autumn fair Reynolds and his actors stated that this would be the last performance in Germany before they returned to England. Herz (p. 54-55) doubts the sincerity of their intention, since the next record we have of Reynolds and his troupe is at Cologne on 28 April 1631. The two *Licences to pass beyond Seas* printed below offer the first evidence that in the intervening years Robert Reynolds may have resided in the Netherlands:

Secundo Julii 1629

Jane Reinolds 29 yeeres old wife of Robert Reinolds resident in Utricht and her servaunt margerie Lloyd 22 yeeres old.

xvij^o octobris 1629

Jane Reinolds, 29 yeeres: wife of Robert Reinolds, resident at the Hage: with her sertes named Elizabeth Hughes. 25 yeeres. George Hill. 17 yeeres old, Celas Tarrant 14 yeeres old. & John Flowerday, 13 yeeres old.⁶⁵

It is a reasonable surmise that the Robert Reinolds referred to in these records was Reynolds, the player, since we know from the *Middlesex County Records* that his wife's name was Jane.⁶⁶ If my identification is correct, Bentley's conjecture (II, p. 543) that the 'Robert Reignouldes' who married Margery Powell in St. James's Clerkenwell in 1626 was our actor loses much of its validity.

From the Utrecht archives it appears that certain English noblemen garrisoned in that city performed comedies and tragedies at the *Segelhuys* on 23 December 1633. However, on 6 January 1634 the permission to act was withdrawn upon a complaint made by the local clergy.⁶⁷

On 13 December 1636 'Sr. Robbert Reynolts, Meester van de Engelsche Commedianten' and 'Edward Pudsie, Engelsche Commediant', are recorded at Amsterdam (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 n. 2). Chambers, Nungezer, and Bentley are silent about this Amsterdam visit. Edward Pudsey is known as the leader of an English troupe at Strassburg in 1628, and appears with Robert Reynolds's company in Germany during 1640 (Herz, p. 54-55). He may be the Edward Pudsie whose commonplace book contains many Shakespearean quotations (Chambers, II, p. 335).

A deposition made on 21 May 1638 before the Leyden Notary C. D. van

⁶⁵ P. R. O., London, E 157/14: *Licences to pass beyond Seas*.

⁶⁶ Cf. the author's 'Some Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart Actors and Musicians', *E.S.*, XL (1959), 34-41.

⁶⁷ The two resolutions of the City Council (*Vroedschapsresoluties*) are printed in Kossmann, *N. B.*, p. 147-148.

Grotelande concerning a quarrel between a Dutchman and a Pole in the *Engelsche Comedie* on the Doelachtergracht establishes the existence of a special English theatre in that city.⁶⁸ On 23 October of the following year Ariaen van [den] Berch, Paulus Pirson, Jan Botler, and Jan Pajjn rented theatrical costumes from Isaac van Bochoven [Boekhoven], a well-known Dutch player at The Hague.⁶⁹ Adriaan van den Bergh and Pauwels Pierson are known as members of Dutch travelling companies (Kossmann, *N.F.* and *N.B.*, *passim*). Jan Botler may have been English. Though the Notary Walterus Rietraet spelled his name Botler, the appearer's signature clearly reads Jan butler. I have been unable to find any information on a John Butler, player, in English records. Jan Pajjn was probably English. In this notarial act he signs himself Johane Pajjne; in a later one Jan Peijn (*vide infra*). Both spellings would be acceptable Dutch phonetic transcripts of the English name John Payne. Neither Payne nor Butler is listed by Nungezer or Bentley. Though I find no notice of a John Payne, a Robert Payne was a patentee for the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Second Blackfriars on 4 February 1604.⁷⁰ Our actor may have been a relative.

On 24 March 1643 Barnart Mum van Swartsteyn, Captain of a company of Cuirassiers of Prince William at The Hague, made a contract with Thomas Tritscher, Rithard Thran, Christenar Jacke, Eduart Callier, and Hendrick Jacke, English *speelluyden*, to perform at a place to be appointed by him.⁷¹ Of these musicians (or actors?) I have come upon no further information.

The Civil War and the closing of the theatres in England must have driven many actors to the Continent. We find evidence of this, among other things, in the fact that, after the outbreak of hostilities, some of these actors seem to have settled in the Low Countries for the time being. Thus, from November 1644 till about February 1645, there resided at The Hague a company of English players subsidized by the Stadtholder, Prince Frederick Henry.⁷² One of the documents in an action brought before the Court of Holland by a certain Vincent Wodroff, an English shoemaker, against the members of the company records the names of five of them: Jeremias (Jeremy) Kite, William Cooch (Cooke), Thomas Loffday (Love-

⁶⁸ Leyden Archives, *Notarieel Archief*, No. 324, Act No. 51.

⁶⁹ The Hague Archives, *Notarieel Archief*, No. 163, f. 188. Hoppe ('Brussels', 30) wrongly gives Bochoven's Christian name as Johannes.

⁷⁰ Nungezer, p. 269. It is curious to find a Johan Pajjne, clerk (*Clerck*), mentioned in an act passed before the Notary Samuel Keun at The Hague on 18 January 1646 (The Hague Archives, *Notarieel Archief*, No. 191, f. 274). However, it is impossible to identify this Johan Pajjne, who signs himself Jan Pajjne, with our actor, since the two signatures are entirely different.

⁷¹ Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 n. 2. In the original act, passed before the Notary L. Rietraet, Rithard Thran is referred to as Ritsart Schrens; Thomas Tritscher signed his mark.

⁷² General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Nassause Domeinraad*, No. 736: Ordonnantieboek 1641-1647, 6 February 1645, f. 289^v.

day), Eduard Schottuel (Edward Shatterell), Nathan Peet and his son.⁷³ It is the only record we have of this company in the Netherlands. Apart from this list, we do not seem to have any definite English references to Jeremy Kite outside the parish registers (Bentley, II, p. 493-494). William Cooke may be identified with the minor player who was for a time a member of Prince Charles's (II) Company. Thomas Loveday and Edward Shatterell became members of Killigrew's King's Company after the Restoration.⁷⁴ Nungezer and Bentley offer no further information about Nathan Peet, the last-named actor, but I venture to suggest that he is to be identified with the Nathan Speede, *Engels Commediant*, who, on 30 October 1644, signed a deed at The Hague by which he bound himself to pay 118 Carolus guilders to Jo^a [i.e. Jane] Sijburch Jones, widow of the late 'Robbert Reijns'. From this deed it appears that Nathan Speede had borrowed from this lady a set of costumes which he and his fellow-actors wanted to use in a performance before the Princess Royal on 31 October 1644.⁷⁵ If my identification is correct, it will do away with the ghost of Nathan Peet, which has haunted historians of the English stage since van den Bergh conjured it up more than a century ago.

So far the last known record of Robert Reynolds is of 11 July 1640, when he is mentioned in a letter from the Elector George William, granting safe-conduct to certain players in Germany (Herz, p. 55). The hitherto unknown document in the Hague archives cited above proves that Robert Reynolds was dead in 1644, and that his widow Jo^a Sijburch Jones then lived at The Hague, where she kept in close touch with the English company of which Nathan Speede was a member. A notarial act, dated 21 March 1649, further proves that by this time Robert Reynolds's widow had married Jacob Stalpert, an innkeeper at The Hague; in this document she is referred to as 'Sijburch van Sonsbeek, die wed^e (widow) was van Robbert Reynolts.'⁷⁶

The year 1645 also saw English players at Utrecht, Leyden, Groningen, and Franeker. On 8 July 1645 Willem van Roo (William Roe) and his *Engelsche Commedianten* requested permission to act *diversche singuliere ende deftige tragediën van oude geschiedenissen* (various strange and noble tragedies of old histories) during the annual fair at Utrecht. The document expressly states that William Roe and his comedians were English, but that they lived within the city of Utrecht (van Sorgen, p. 75). Of William Roe it is known that he was a player with Robert Reynolds's company in Germany in 1640. After his visit to Utrecht he acted in Germany and Austria (Herz, p. 55, 56, 58). On 21 October 1645 Jan

⁷³ General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Hof van Holland*: Register van Dingtalen, No. 25, 11 January 1645. Cf. also van den Bergh, I, p. 21-22; J. H. van Lennep, 'English Comedians in the Netherlands', *Notes and Queries*, 21 January 1860, 48-49; and Cohn, p. xcix-c.

⁷⁴ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 269.

⁷⁵ The Hague Archives, *Notarieel Archief*, No. 203, f. 125.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 213, f. 37.

Peijn and Jan Batist hired stage-clothes from Mr. Aldert Jacobsz de Vrient, landlord at Leyden. The costumes were to be returned on Shrove-Tuesday.⁷⁷ Though the notarial act describes them as 'Engels commedianten', Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh was a well-known Dutch actor-manager, whose subsequent wanderings took him as far as Hamburg, Lübeck, Stockholm, Riga, and Reval. He was buried at The Hague on 2 January 1697 (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 101-121; *N.B.*, p. 3-6).

A notarial act passed at Leyden on 10 June 1645 mentions a Guiliam Ingeeram, actor. He may be identified with the G. Ingeeram who, on 27 February 1657, was a witness of the baptism of van Fornenbergh's son Reynier (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 103; *N.B.*, p. 151). Judging from his name, Guiliam Ingeeram (William Ingram?) may have been English.

From the proceedings of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church at Groningen it appears that the city authorities had prohibited certain English comedians from acting at Groningen in October 1645.⁷⁸ After this repulse the same actors may have tried their luck in the little university town of Franeker, for in November of the same year an itinerant company of fourteen English actors, provided with many excellent testimonials, asked the Senate of the university permission to perform their plays under the gallery of the Franeker Academy (*petiverunt porticum Academiae, ut in ea ad lucernas agerent comoedias, tragaedias et pastorales suas de argumentis veteris seculi historiae*). But in spite of the Magistrate's consent, the Senate would have nothing to do with the acting of plays in the university building because, by attending these 'frivolities', the professors might set a bad example to their students (Boeles, I, 290). Though Hoppe ('Brussels', 31) conjectures that the English comedians recorded at Groningen and Franeker in 1645 were the Payne-van Fornenbergh company, it is not unlikely that they may have been the company of William Roe, or the Kite-Cooke-Loveday-Shatterell-Speede group referred to above.

On 20 March 1646 we find John Payne at Amsterdam, where he signed a partnership agreement, by which William Roe and a number of Dutch players bound themselves to wander about with him for the duration of one year.⁷⁹ However, the company seems to have broken up that very year, for in a contract dated 8 December 1646 the two Englishmen

⁷⁷ Leyden Archives, *Notarieel Archief*, No. 752, Act 80, passed by the Notary A. J. Raven. The act is dated 21, not 31 October, as Hoppe ('Brussels', 30) states on the authority of Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104.

⁷⁸ The document is dated 22 October 1645. Cf. S. D. van Veen, 'Iets naar aanleiding van de comediën te Groningen in de 17de eeuw', in *Groningsche Volksalmanak voor het Jaar 1894* (Groningen, 1893), p. 56-80, especially p. 60-61.

⁷⁹ Amsterdam Archives, *Notariële Archieven*, No. 1637, f. 647 and 647^v, Act passed before the Notary Claes van Zanten. In the act John Payne signs himself Johane Paijne, as he had done in the 1639 Hague act cited above. The act does not restrict their wanderings to 'the towns and villages of Holland', as Hoppe ('Brussels', 31) says. The actual words are 'in sodanige landschappen, plaetsen en steden als het de voorz. Johannes Peijn cum sociis sal gelieven en geraden duncken'.

are no longer mentioned (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104-105). The next we hear of William Roe is that he went via Cologne to Dresden, where he arrived in September 1646 (Herz, p. 56). From 1648 to 1651 he travelled with John Wayde, Gideon Gellius (Giles?), and Robert Casse in Germany and Austria.⁸⁰

On 11 April 1646 an unnamed company of English comedians is recorded at The Hague (Kossmann, *N.F.*, p. 104 n. 2). Possibly it was George Jolly's mixed Dutch and English company, which allegedly acted at Breda during this year (*vide infra*). Somewhat more probably it was the group formed by John Payne at Amsterdam in March 1646.

Immediately after the Treaty of Westphalia, by which the Thirty Years' War was brought to an end, George Jolly appeared on the Continent as one of the most capable and progressive of the English actor-managers of this period. At the end of April 1648 Jolly's band of fourteen actors arrived at Cologne. They had come by way of the Netherlands, stopping at Bruges. It is reasonable to identify the 'nederlandsche commedianten' who visited Bruges between January and September 1648 with George Jolly's mixed troupe of Dutch and English players ('George Jolly', 265-268), though it is equally possible that they were John Wayde's company which, as we shall see, had performed at the archducal court at Brussels about 8 February of that year. Moreover, Wayde probably knew Bruges from an earlier visit in the spring of 1647. This appears from a statement made by William Roe at Cologne in April 1647. Acting as spokesman of the Roe-Wayde-Gellius-Casse group, he declared that they had arrived at Cologne 'mit groszen Unkosten aus England nach Brügge in Flandern' (Creizenach, p. xii).

From 1648 until 1660 George Jolly can be traced in Germany, where he is known in the records as Georg Jolliphus, George (Georgius) Jeliphus (Jeliphur), Joris Jolifus (Jollifous, Jolifass), Jores Jolives, and Joseph Jori.⁸¹ Hotson thinks it possible that Jolly had left England several years before 1648 to avoid the war and to try his fortune abroad. He thinks Jolly may well have been one of the Prince of Wales's company of English actors in Paris which, in November 1646, was reported dissolved for want of pay (*op. cit.*, p. 167-168). However this may be, in 1646 a 'Mr. Joris cum suis, comedianten' is reported as heading a troupe that played at Breda.⁸² Though Junkers does not seem to realize that the Jolifus of the German records is the well-known actor-manager George Jolly, he conjectures that the Breda Mr. Joris may be identified with the German Jolifus.⁸³ Of course the Breda visitors may have been George

⁸⁰ Albert Cohn, 'Englische Komödianten in Köln (1592-1656)', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXI (1886), 29-30.

⁸¹ Cf. e.g. Cohn, p. cii-ciii; Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main, passim*; Herz, p. 58-62; Niessen, p. 98-103. Gerda Grosz, p. 301-302, mentions a hitherto unrecorded appearance of George Jolly at Danzig in 1650.

⁸² Worp, II, p. 39. I do not know what Worp's statement is based on; there is no trace of a Mr. Joris in the Breda Archives.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

Jolly's mixed Dutch and English company. That Jolly had been in the Netherlands before 1649 appears from a statement made by him at Cologne early in 1649 'that his troupe had played in England, the Low Countries, and Germany' (Hotson, p. 169).

An entry in the Spanish account book of the Archduke Leopold William of Austria, Governor General of the Spanish Netherlands, preserved in the General Archives at Brussels, proves that about 8 February 1648 an unnamed English company of actors performed at the court of the Archduke in that city. They may perhaps be identified with the 'pack of Players from France ... to help away the time spent formerly in Martiall actions', who were reported as arriving at The Hague on 6 March 1648 (N.S.). Hotson (p. 168) supposes them to have been George Jolly's company, but Hoppe ('Brussels', 29-31) argues that this is unlikely: when Jolly arrived at Cologne that spring he declared (29 April) that his company had come from England via Bruges, the opposite direction from France. Moreover, Hoppe reasons: 'If Jolly had played at the court in Brussels, he would surely, because of the greater "prestige value", have stressed it, probably instead of mentioning Bruges, in his request to the Cologne town council' ('George Jolly', 267). Hoppe further argues that it might have been a company containing or headed by John Payne after his separation from Roe, or a company containing or headed by Roe before he joined John Wayde and his comrades. Or finally, it might have been Wayde's troupe, probably with Roe as a principal member. In the light of the available information Hoppe ('Brussels', 31-32) inclines to this last possibility.

I am now in a position to prove that the February 1648 company at Brussels was Wayde's. Liebrecht expressly states that 'le 8 février 1648, il [i.e., the Archduke] donne 50 patacons à des comédiens anglais, qui reviennent en janvier 1650, sous la direction de Joannes Wayt'.⁸⁴ This appears from an entry in the *Dépenses de la Cour de l'Archiduc Léopold-Guillaume*, preserved in the General Archives at Brussels, and overlooked by Hoppe.⁸⁵ That John Wayde was no longer very young when he performed at Brussels in 1648, is clear from the following documents, dated 22 June 1617, which I found among the *Acts of the Privy Council*. They merit reproduction for more than one reason.

A letter to the Erle of Suffolke, Lord Highe Treasurer of England.

Whereas George Vincent, servant to the Prince of Poland, hath made provision here of certeyne necessities for the use of the Prince his master and for the King and Queene of Poland, vizt: 36 paire of silke stockinges, black and coloured, and 15 paire of gloves, and thereupon hath made humble suite unto us that hee might have leave to transport them custome free. These are therefore to pray your Lordship to give order to the searchers and other officers of the porte of London to licence the sayd Geo[rge] Vincent to transporte those things above mentioned without paying any custome or impost for them. And this shall be unto your Lordship a sufficient warrant. Ut ante.

⁸⁴ Liebrecht, p. 17. Cf. also Renieu, I, p. 143. A *patacon* was a Portuguese and Spanish silver coin, worth, in the seventeenth century, about 4s. 8d. English.

⁸⁵ *Cartulaires et Manuscrits*, No. 1374, f. 16^v.

A passe for the sayd Geo[rge] Vincent to goe over to the Prince of Poland, and to carry over with him to the sayd Prince his master these musitians, Richard Jones, Wm. Corkin, Donatus O'Chaine, Thomas White, Wm. Jackson, Tho. Sutton, Valentine Flood and John Wayd.
Ut supra.⁸⁶

These documents throw additional light on the career of one or two well-known English actors and musicians. Thus they enable us to correct Bentley's statement (II, p. 486) that, between 1610 and 1623, Richard Jones is heard of only in Germany. So far the only information we had about Valentine Flood was that he was a musician at Berlin in 1627, and at Danzig from 1634 to 1637 (Bolte, *Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten*, p. 3). We now know that in 1617 he was in the service of the Prince of Poland. John Wayde probably held a minor position in this company, since he is mentioned last.

On 2 November 1649, about three months before his Brussels visit, Johann Weide (John Wayde) is recorded at Cologne, together with William Roe and Gideon Gellius. On 10 November 1650 he is mentioned in a letter from the Emperor Ferdinand III asking safe-conduct for Johann Waide, Wilhelmb Roe, Gedeon Gellius, and Robert Casse and their company of English comedians. In the following year, on 3 April 1651, the same troupe is again at Cologne.⁸⁷ In the *Licences to pass beyond Seas*, preserved in the Public Record Office, London, I found a reference to a certain John Wade:

May the 1th [sic] 1637

The examination of John: Wade of Yarmouth in Norff aged 30 yeares is desirous to passe into Holland to See the Contrey and to Retorne as Sone as Conveniently he may.⁸⁸

If the John Wade in this licence is to be identified with the John Wayd of the passport issued by the Privy Council, it means that in 1617 he was a boy of ten only. But this is mere conjecture, and must remain so, unless further documentary evidence is brought to light. Of William Corkin, Donatus O'Chaine, Thomas White, William Jackson, and Thomas Sutton I have come upon no further information. The passport printed above offers the first evidence of their existence.

It is possible that the English comedians to whom William II, Stadtholder of the United Netherlands, ordered 500 Carolus guilders to be paid on 8 August 1648⁸⁹ were George Jolly's troupe, as on 22 June Jolly had been ordered to cease playing at Cologne. It may have been on one of his visits to the Northern Netherlands that Jolly met his future wife. Her

⁸⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1616-1617*, ed. J. V. Lyle (London, 1927), p. 267.

⁸⁷ Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. c-ci, and 'Englische Komödianten in Köln (1592-1656)', 29-30.

⁸⁸ P. R. O., London, E 157/21; printed in Charles Boardman Jewson, *Transcript of Three Registers of Passengers from Great Yarmouth to Holland and New England 1637-1639* (Norfolk Record Society, 1954), No. 126.

⁸⁹ General Archives, The Hague, *Archief Nassause Domeinraad*, No. 737: *Ordonnantieboek 1647-1650*, 8 August 1648, f. 82X.

name is preserved in an entry in the baptismal books of St. Sebald, Nuremberg :

29 Dez. 1659. Georgius Jeliphus von Chelse in Midllsex bey Londen ein Comoediant. Maria di Roy von Utrecht in Holland.⁹⁰

The name of the child follows. Maria di Roy may have been related to William Roe who, as we have seen, lived at Utrecht in 1645.

A pay warrant in the Leopold William account book, dated 27 January 1650, proves that John Wayde and his company again performed at the archducal court at Brussels early in 1650 (Hoppe, 'Brussels', 32-33).

The penultimate visit of English entertainers to be recorded in the Ghent city accounts is that of an unnamed troupe of rope-dancers (*coordedansers*) in Lent of 1651. They were paid 24s. for their first performance by warrant dated 22 March (Hoppe, 'Ghent', 319).

The last indubitable mention of English actors in the Northern Netherlands is in the Resolutions of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church at Dordrecht, *sub* 10 October 1656. From this document it appears that the comedians had posted handbills on the city-gates with information about their plays. The members of the Consistory were annoyed at this and took steps to bar the players.⁹¹ The comedians may have come to Dordrecht in order to perform before the gentlemen of the English Court of Merchant Adventurers, which had been established in that city on 29 November 1655.⁹²

It cannot be proved that the company of Eduward Daph, which was prohibited from acting at Amersfoort on 6 May 1661, was an English troupe.⁹³

The final reference to English actors at Ghent is, in the words of Hoppe ('Ghent', 319), perhaps the most tantalizing of all. By a warrant dated 1 February 1663 the 'Commedianten van den Coninck van Inghelandt' were paid £4 for their introductory performance before the aldermen. There is indeed a slight possibility that this troupe may have been the one known in London as the King's Company, or that it may have been George Jolly's company. But the evidence for this view brought forward by Hoppe is inconclusive and even conflicting.

We have seen that, in the course of time, the English companies in the Netherlands were reinforced by native players. As a result of this development English was partly or wholly dropped and replaced by Dutch. Thus, by the middle of the seventeenth century, mixed companies of Dutch and English actors are known as touring the Low Countries and styling

⁹⁰ J. A. Worp, 'Hollandsche of Engelsche Tooneelspelers te Neurenberg?', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, XXIX (1910), 261-262.

⁹¹ Dordrecht Archives, *Resoluties van de Kerkeraad 1656-1664* (Archief Kerkeraad, No. 15), f. 5^v. Cf. *De Navorscher*, III (1853), 17.

⁹² Cf. J. L. van Dalen, *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht* (Dordrecht, 1931, 1933), I, p. 333-336.

⁹³ Amersfoort Archives, *Resolutieboeken*.

themselves as 'Engelsche commedianten', and sometimes as 'Nederlandsche', 'Nederduitsche', or 'Hollandsche commedianten', according to the reception either designation might win them ('George Jolly', 266, 268). After 1650 the wandering English troupes on the Continent gradually merged into the various national theatres.

Nijmegen.

J. G. RIEWALD.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Punctuation Theory

The controversy over Shakespearian punctuation started by Percy Simpson's sturdy little monograph in 1911¹ has shed considerable light on Elizabethan pointing. We also know something about punctuation systems prior to Shakespeare. Walter J. Ong, S. J., in a study relating grammatical treatises of the classical-medieval tradition as far back as the fourth century to sixteenth and seventeenth century punctuation theory,² has sketched in admirably the antecedents of Elizabethan practice; but nobody, so far, has devoted equally close attention to modern times. We have, it would seem, only the rather one-sided impression that eighteenth (and even nineteenth) century pointing, ideally and practically, was based on a 'desire to reveal the precise grammatical structure of every sentence'.³ Professor Charles C. Fries, examining a number of grammars dated from 1589 to 1900, has found that 'the structural basis of placing the points of punctuation appears without exception'.⁴

The present inquiry attempts to evaluate this idea of a strict, syntactically based punctuation between 1700 and 1900 by taking into account a fair number of grammars, spellers, rhetoric and pointing treatises, and other miscellaneous sources of the period. What emerges is, I think, a surprisingly complex and lively picture of pointing theory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Theory here, the going notions of the day, may not tell us all that we desire to know about punctuation in use, of course. But theory surely *illuminates* usage. It would appear difficult to understand the subtle stopping of poets like Browning or Arnold,⁵ for example,

¹ *Shakespearian Punctuation* (Oxford, 1911).

² 'Historical Backgrounds of Elizabethan and Jacobean Punctuation Theory', *PMLA*, LIX (1944), 349-360.

³ Reginald Skelton, *Modern English Punctuation* (2nd ed.; London, 1949), p. 162.

⁴ 'Shakespearian Punctuation', *University of Michigan Publications: Language and Literature*, Vol. I, *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne* (New York, 1925), p. 84.

⁵ Browning's punctuation in the dramatic monologue is often highly rhetorical and original. His system, insofar as it is new, seems to have developed to suit the purposes of this genre. Matthew Arnold's apparent obsession with punctuation remains unexplained. See, e.g., C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1950), p. v.

without at least some idea of the conflicting theories of punctuation that prevailed during their formative years.

I

For commonly accepted notions of pointing in the early seventeenth-century one is led to the grammar of Brightland (1711); it is one of the first 'popular' grammars of the century, appearing in eight editions by 1759, and it contains a punctuation section never appreciably altered. Speaking of the common marks, Brightland says:

The Use of these Points, Pauses, or Stops, is not only to give a proper Time for Breathing; but to avoid Obscurity, and Confusion of the Sence in the joining Words together in a Sentence.⁶

Then he states a single comma rule:

After a *Comma* always follows something else which depends upon that which is separated from it by a *Comma*; as,

*If Pulse of Verse a Nation's Temper shows,
In Keen Iambics English meter flows.*⁷

The treatment is worth careful note. What is arresting is not perhaps the evidence of a grammarian's lingering infatuation with elocutionary pointing, or a system which would designate 'Time for Breathing', because this basis can be traced through the last century in treatises like those of Daines (1640) and Cooper (1687).⁸ Nor is it surprising to find a crude but clear syntactical element present; Mr. Fries and others have indicated we would find that. What is striking is to find these two contrasting theories of punctuation voiced at the same time. In view of what we have thought was a 'desire to reveal the precise grammatical structure of every sentence' in the eighteenth century, we might, at any rate, expect the elocutionary element quickly to die out after Brightland. But this is not so. The grammars of Isaac Watts (1721), Barker (1733), Lowth (1762), Buchanan (1762), Burn (1766), Perry (1774), Sheridan (1780), Coote (1788) and Lindley Murray (1795),⁹ to name a representative few, all refer to such a basis. As we find in Harrison:

⁶ [John Brightland] *A Grammar of the English Tongue* (London, 1711), p. 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

⁸ Cf. *Simon Daines' Orthoepeia Anglicana*, heraus. von M. Rösler und R. Brotanek ('Neudrucke Frühneuenglischer Grammatiken', 3; Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1908), p. 71, and C. Cooper, *The English Teacher* (London, 1687), p. 114.

⁹ I. Watts, *The Art of Reading and Writing English* (London, 1721), p. 39.

Isaac Barker, *An English Grammar* (York [1733]), p. 30.

[Robert Lowth] *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (London, 1762), p. 154.

[James Buchanan] *The British Grammar* (London, 1762), p. 49.

John Burn, *A Practical Grammar of the English Language* (Glasgow, 1766), p. 181.

W. Perry, 'Rudiments of English Grammar', *The Man of Business and Gentleman's Assistant* (Edinburgh, 1774), p. 49.

Points are used in writing for a double purpose, and have respect both to *grammar* and to *elocution*.¹⁰

In fact the elocutionary basis, far from dying out, receives what may be its most elaborate explanation as late as 1771 in James Burrow's *De Usu et Ratione Interpungendi*:

THE GENERAL IDEA of *Pointing* seems to include nothing more than MARKING down upon Paper, by different Signs or Notations, the *respective* PAUSES which actually were or ought to be made in *pronouncing* the Words written or printed; together with like *Hints* for a different *Modulation of Voice*, where a just Pronunciation would require it . . . Some people indeed speak rapidly; some slowly; some make many Pauses; some, fewer; some, longer; some, shorter: But this makes no Difference with regard to the *Facility of Pointing*; because the PROPORTION between the Pauses will not be thereby altered; and the whole affair of Pointing is to *mark those Proportions* upon Paper, conformably to the Pauses really made and the Proportion really observed between them in actual Pronunciation.¹¹

It is even true that a few writers, such as Thomas Dyche (1710),¹² the author of *Some Rules for Speaking and Action* (1716), Burrow (1771), Brittain (1788) and Burr (1797),¹³ seem to recognize no foundation for punctuation *but* the elocutionary one; yet these are exceptions. In the majority of cases the breath-pause theory appears side-by-side, often in the same sentence, with the syntactical. Johnson's *Dictionary* tells us that a comma is the 'point which notes the distinction of clauses, and order of construction in the sentence', but that a colon is a 'point [:] used to mark a pause greater than that of a comma, and less than that of a period. Its use is not very exactly fixed . . .'¹⁴ Likewise Sheridan, another lexicographer and a grammarian more interested in punctuation than Dr. Johnson was, permits the syntactical comma definition and the elocutionary colon one to stand in the same volume of his own dictionary (1780).¹⁵ Well into the next century punctuation rules applying to oral expression on the one hand and sentence structure on the other appear on the same pages of instructional tracts:

Thomas Sheridan, *A General Dictionary . . . to which is Prefixed a Rhetorical Grammar* (London, 1780), [I], 45.

Charles Coote, *Elements of the Grammar of the English Language* (London, 1788), p. 260.

L. Murray, *English Grammar* (York, 1795), p. 159.

¹⁰ R[alph] Harrison, *Institutes of English Grammar* (6th ed.; London, 1794), pp. 98-9.
¹¹ (London, 1771), pp. 8, 9.

¹² Tho. Dyche, *A Guide to the English Tongue* (2nd ed.; London, 1710), pp. 104-5. Cf. also definitions of the points in Thomas Dyche and William Pardon, *A New General English Dictionary* (London, 1740).

¹³ [Anon.] *Some Rules for Speaking and Action* (3rd ed.; 1716), p. 25. Not contained in 2nd ed. (1716).

Burrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

Lewis Brittain, *Rudiments of English Grammar* (Louvain, 1788), pp. 141-2.

Jonathan Burr, *A Compendium . . .* (Boston, 1797), p. 47.

¹⁴ *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755), I, arts. 'Comma', 'Colon'.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, arts. 'Comma', 'Colon'. Cf. also pp. 45-9 for Sheridan's treatment of punctuation.

Rules for Punctuation &c.

2. The voice must almost always be elevated at a comma.
4. The *Semicolon* is used to distinguish the different members or parts of a sentence...
5. In general a *semicolon* demands a depression or cadence of the voice.
17. The *Parenthesis* requires a pause equal in duration of a semicolon; and the words contained therein, must be pronounced in a lower tone than the foregoing part of the sentence; at the end of which, the voice should be elevated as at a comma, and the following part of the sentence begun in the same tone as the former.¹⁶

That there could be two such differing sets of guides to pointing usage without the utmost confusion is not observed in a significant treatise until about 1780. Confusion itself was widely recognized. Printers, whose task it was to commit manuscripts to the press with one sort of punctuation or another, had little time for the niceties of paradoxical theory and simply recognized anarchy. Luckombe in *The History and Art of Printing* (1771) knows that for all the commotion over pointing, 'no rules of a prevailing authority have been ... established', and punctuation is one more all too human endeavor 'that has nothing but fancy and humour for its authority and foundation'.¹⁷ Chambers can make no sense of the common definition of the comma for his *Cyclopaedia* and finds deceptive 'difficulty in pointing ... In effect, there is scarce any thing in the province of the grammarians so little fixed and ascertained as this. The rules usually laid down are impertinent, dark, and deficient; and the practice, at present, perfectly capricious, authors varying not only from one another, but from themselves too'.¹⁸ Bishop Lowth will propose few rules in his authoritative treatise: 'the doctrine of Punctuation must needs be very imperfect'.¹⁹ Buchanan of *The British Grammar* warns that 'pointing a Discourse is a Province beyond the Capacities of mere Youth',²⁰ and Noah Webster vouches in 1785 that the 'characters we use as stops are extremely arbitrary',²¹ and in 1807:

I have never examined any author, whose use of the points is either accurate or uniform...²²

Only late in the century was the true nature of the difficulty brought into some focus. Sheridan had deplored the fact that pointing seemed to be regulated by grammatical principles and not by the more fitting 'art of speaking' in his essay of 1780, and John Walker took up the thesis much more grandly in his *Elements of Elocution* (1781) and *A Rhetorical Grammar* (1785). Speech requirements extend beyond those of syntax:

¹⁶ [Anon.] *An Easy Grammar of Writing* (Alton, 1810), pp. 20-2.

¹⁷ pp. 263, 441.

¹⁸ E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia* (4th ed.; London, 1741), I, art. 'Comma', II, art. 'Punctuation'.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

²¹ Noah Webster, *A Grammatical Institute... Part III* (Hartford, Conn., 1785), p. 7.

²² Noah Webster, *A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language* (New Haven, Conn., 1807), p. 218.

In order . . . to have as clear an idea of punctuation as possible, it will be necessary to consider it as related to grammar and rhetoric distinctly. A system of punctuation may be sufficient for the purposes of grammar; or, in other words, it may be sufficient to clear and preserve the sense of an author, and at the same time be but a very imperfect guide to the pronunciation of it. The art of speaking, though founded on grammar, has principles of its own: principles that arise from the nature of the living voice, from the perception of harmony in the ear, and from a certain superaddition to the sense of language, of which grammar takes no account.²³

He finds the incongruity only apparent, however, and offers a new pointing system calculated to meet the needs of syntax and elocution alike. Despite its occurrence in the frequently quoted 1781 and 1785 volumes it appears to have had small influence.²⁴ But Robertson's *An Essay on Punctuation* (1785) has a strange indebtedness to Walker. The *Essay*, printed anonymously, is a rather important one; it propounds no less than forty rules for the comma, an unprecedented number, almost every one of which is strongly rooted in syntax; Robertson's whole approach seems syntactical; and yet at the end of his painstaking comma chapter he bows, citing Walker, to the cardinal principle of 'the wants of respiration'. It is this 'and the laws of taste', we learn, that has fostered some three dozen syntactical precepts.²⁵

In his *Elements of Punctuation* published the next year, David Steel senses the paradox. He compliments the author of the 1785 *Essay*, to which his own work is essentially a reply, for making more progress 'in elucidating the doctrine of points' than anyone has attempted, 'by producing . . . systematical rules', even though some ten of these are found to be defective.²⁶ But the chief failure of previous writers has not been their paucity of rules; it is rather that

Grammar, which ought to be the basis of punctuation, has seldom been considered as adequate to the purpose: too much accommodation to the reader, and too little attention to grammatical construction have usually been the sources whence the doctrine of points has been deduced.²⁷

Pointing is acquired only 'by a kind of internal conviction, that the rules of grammar are never to be violated'.²⁸ Moreover:

Punctuation should lead to the sense; the sense will guide to modulation and emphasis. When punctuation performs its office thus, it will point out likewise the grammatical construction; for the sense of a passage and its grammatical construction are inseparable. It follows that a knowledge of grammar is necessary . . . and I speak with perfect conviction, that any rules, militating against grammar, may be made specious, but they will ultimately be found defective.²⁹

²³ J. Walker, *A Rhetorical Grammar* (London, 1785), p. 30.

²⁴ His suggestions are sometimes timidly phrased in the earlier work, implying approval of twin punctuating systems, one for speakers, one for readers. There is a bolder tone in 1785. Later, in *Outlines of English Grammar* (London, 1805), Walker is willing to discuss 'visible punctuation' and refer the reader to his older tracts for 'audible'. Cf. p. 113.

²⁵ [Joseph Robertson] *An Essay on Punctuation* (London, 1785), pp. 75-6.

²⁶ David Steel, *Elements of Punctuation* (London, 1786), pp. 4-25, 88-9, 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34-5.

According to Steel, one cannot enunciate forty 'grammatical' rules as Robertson has and still invoke the elocutionary Muse to insure correctness in pointing. Elocution will militate against grammar; one guide or the other must be followed; and nothing but the grammatical construction of a passage, indicating its sense, can logically be that guide.

It is the nearest the eighteenth century ever comes to destroying the classical concept of punctuation as a guide to oral expression.³⁰ The *Elements* is read for the next fifty years;³¹ and it marks the nadir of elocutionary pointing theory before 1800, but it hardly marks the end of it. Indeed, the idea surges on through treatises and textbooks of the 1790's and positively swells, amid mounting weariness and confusion over what the 'correct' use of stops may be, through the first four decades of the nineteenth century. One nods almost sympathetically at Byron's refusal to do his own final punctuating, or the report of a learned MS. 'larded with Greek and Latin quotations' that was sent to the printer's without a single stop from beginning to end.³² 'High' or dense marking comes into fashion. Steel had asserted in 1786, 'Whenever I am doubtful if a sentence will admit a comma, I generally end my hesitation by inserting it, provided it do not militate against grammar',³³ and by 1800 points were sprinkling the written and printed page with feverish and often very fanciful liberality. Whatever stylistic effects it had, such punctuation tended to obscure theory and burden the printer.³⁴ Complaints over the condition of pointing abound. Almost every serious treatment published between 1800 and 1850 has its standard lament for the absence of principle and the wildness of practice; Justin Brenan (1829) is indignant:

But, after an experience of above a thousand years, and after all the laws that have been solemnly laid down, no two authors of eminence punctuate alike, or even according to the same plan throughout! Nay, they are, always, at variance with themselves, for where can the work of any length be found, in which an undeviating system of pointing, is steadily and invariably maintained? Can punctuation, therefore, be an art? Or, if it be an art, why has not something been done to establish the fact?³⁵

Francillon finds no department in all literature 'of which so little knowledge is to be acquired from books, ancient or modern, as Punctuation'.³⁶ At the same time definitive tracts on the 'art' or the 'science' multiply; a

³⁰ See Ong, *op. cit.*, for its early history and probable origins.

³¹ The printer, Smallfield, refers to Steel's book as late as 1838. It is cited frequently in pointing treatises of 1800-1830.

³² See William Day, *Punctuation Reduced to a System* (London, 1847), pp. 21-2, 42-4, and S. Rousseau, *Punctuation: or, An Attempt to Facilitate the Art of Pointing* (London, 1813), p. xxiii.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁴ 'The want of an established rule in this particular [high v. light pointing] is much to be regretted. The loss of time to a compositor, occasioned, often through whim or caprice... is one of the greatest hardships he has to complain of in the progress of his profession.' J. Johnson, *Typographia* (London, 1824), II, 55.

³⁵ *Composition and Punctuation Familiarly Explained*.. (London, 1829), p. 95.

³⁶ F. Francillon, *An Essay on Punctuation* (London, 1842), p. 1.

movement gathers to abandon some of the stops altogether and thus purge the air. Cobbett (1819) would drop or restrict the dash;³⁷ J. Johnson (1824) 'confidently' expects 'the total exclusion of the colon, a point long since considered unnecessary';³⁸ Brennan would discard colon and semicolon: 'I have come to this conclusion as a general principle — that the punctuation of the parts or members of sentences, can be accomplished, with propriety and effect, by the comma and dash only'.³⁹

It is the confusion of the eighteenth century with perhaps an added note of insistence. Grammarians who had read Walker, Robertson and Steel, the significant theorists of the 1780's, and were convinced that a pointing based on syntactical criteria alone would put an end to perplexity, made little headway against the mass. If writers like Stackhouse, Francillon or Day denied the elocutionary concept, there were many others left to employ it. Doherty in 1841, for instance, could give as the first function of the comma, 'a very short pause merely to afford time for respiration ...' — and be reasonably sure that he was voicing not only a 'universal principle', as he contended, but majority opinion.⁴⁰

II

The most influential name in nineteenth century punctuation history is almost certainly John Wilson's. 'As a printer he had ideals; as a theologian he was a keen progressive ... and all the days of his long life he studied punctuation', as C. H. Ward has eulogized.⁴¹ For Summey, Wilson's *Treatise* is 'the great nineteenth century authority',⁴² and a more recent writer refers to Wilson as 'the able codifier of reputable customs of punctuation'.⁴³ Whatever the extent of Wilson's prestige, it would be inaccurate to credit the *Treatise* alone for shifts that took place in pointing after 1844. The central shift — the virtual abandoning of elocutionary for syntactical theory — was a massive one, a change which centuries of punctuation development and scores of grammars and pointing treatises had so far failed to bring about. Until more evidence is in from French and German it will be difficult to say precisely what bearing foreign languages have had on the problem; but nineteenth century German punctuation sources are plentiful, and at least one direct line of influence is traceable from the French.

By 1825 the issue between a system of stops which would mark breathing pauses and one which would 'distinguish phrases' or clarify

³⁷ William Cobbett, *A Grammar of the English Language* (London, 1819), pp. 85-6.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁴⁰ Hugh Doherty, *An Introduction to English Grammar, on Universal Principles* (London, 1841), p. 100.

⁴¹ "'Punctator Gingriens': A Call to Arms", *English Journal*, IV (1915), p. 456.

⁴² G. Summey, *Modern Punctuation* (New York, 1919), p. 7.

⁴³ E. L. Thorndike, 'The Psychology of Punctuation', *Am. J. Psychol.*, LXI (1948), p. 224.

construction is clear in France; Lemare had opened his attack upon the disciples of pause.

Nous verrons que la ponctuation est l'art, non pas de marquer *les pauses qu'on doit faire en lisant*, mais de distinguer les phrases entre elles, et les sens partiels de chaque phrase.⁴⁴

○ Breathing requirements are strictly denied: 'il est évident que la respiration n'a rien, absolument rien à démêler avec la ponctuation'.⁴⁵ A few years later the matter was put before the French Academy for debate and a decision, and by 1835 that distinguished linguistic jury had rendered its verdict. The marks of punctuation are defined in the sixth edition of the Dictionary in plain syntactical terms:

Deux points (:), *Point et Virgule* (;), Signes qu'on met à la fin d'une proposition dont le sens grammatical est complet, mais qui a une liaison logique et nécessaire avec la suivante. Les deux points s'emploient surtout à la fin des phrases qui sont immédiatement suivies de ce qui sert à les éclaircir.⁴⁶

By the end of the next decade the significance of these findings was made plain in England through J. B. Huntington's translation of a treatise by Chauvier in 1849.⁴⁷ The translation includes a brief account of punctuation history, a discussion of the French Academy's definitions and an application of the Academy's syntactical view of the stops to English sentences. It seems to have had some certain effect on English pointing theory; with its aggressive emphasis on syntax and its appearance a few years after Wilson's *Treatise* of 1844, Huntington's work at least augmented the theoretical trend away from elocution.

In addition, the trend was certainly aided by a situation in England that accounted, in part, for the success of Wilson's book itself. Printers had come increasingly to feel the need, as Johnson points out in *Typographia*, for either a radical simplification of the pointing system or some generally acknowledged guide to it. Neither was forthcoming. Compositors, C. J. Addison tells us in 1826,

are confessedly in the dark as to the *principles* upon which this science [of stops] ought to be founded; and one of the most scientific in the line acknowledged to the writer, that he was ignorant of the existence of any work that might be called an authority; that their knowledge was chiefly gathered from hints in different publications or Grammars, and though improved by experience, yet still influenced by doubt or uncertainty, the same reader... varying in his opinions within the day or even the hour.⁴⁸

George Smallfield's attempt after twenty years as a printer to produce an adequate punctuation guide⁴⁹ may have alleviated the condition some-

⁴⁴ P. A. Lemare [Isidor Charville], *Cours de Langue Française* (2e ed.; Paris, 1819), II, p. 1212.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1218.

⁴⁶ *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française* (6e ed.; Paris 1835), II, art. 'Point'.

⁴⁷ *A Treatise on Punctuation... translated from the French of J. H. Chauvier* (London, 1849).

⁴⁸ *A Complete System of Punctuation* (London, 1826), p. vii.

⁴⁹ *The Principles of Punctuation* (London, 1838).

what, but Smallfield was not a 'codifier of reputable customs', as Wilson was to be; he admits a strong leaning toward C. Hartley,⁵⁰ a follower of David Steel. In the 1840's there was a need for one complete, systematic, ready-reference handbook of known punctuation usage; it would have to be *acceptable* — a book with a minimum of derivative or original theory and a maximum of faithfully recorded and codified practice. It could not very well advocate dropping some marks for convenience, as the *Typographia* had, or adopting others, as Chauvier was to suggest;⁵¹ it would be conservative; primarily it would be a manual for printers.

A Treatise on Grammatical Punctuation (1844) is based on a much shorter work of 1826, which had taken its pointing rules largely from Lindley Murray's grammar. But the *Treatise*, John Wilson is careful to explain, is 'so different . . . so much augmented, as to entitle it to be regarded as, to a great extent, new'. Its sources are fresh and varied: the author has used many other tracts, drawn on his own observation and experience, and 'inserted much, that, though existing in practical operation, he could not find anywhere in books'.⁵² In 120 pages, Wilson includes twenty-five headlined rules for the comma, four for the semicolon, seven for the colon, six for the period, and nineteen for the 'Minor Points'⁵³ (all with exceptions, examples and exercises), as well as lists of compounded words, definitions of the lesser typographical marks, medical, astronomical and arithmetical signs, abbreviations, and fifteen rules for capitals and italics. It is all stated with great care; qualifications are frequent and meticulous; he has (as he says) 'devoted pages to the elucidation of some of the points, which by most grammarians are despatched in a few lines'.⁵⁴ On the surface it is the useful, impartial toil of a scholarly printer. Only when one searches for theory in Wilson's *Treatise* does a rather striking partiality appear. In the Introduction, after an eloquent plea for system, Wilson notes a 'false light' in which punctuation is commonly regarded:

Many persons seem to consider points as being only the representatives of rhetorical pauses, — as showing merely those places in the utterance of a composition, in which time for breathing is required . . . But, though it is not denied that the points are, to a very great extent, serviceable to a reader in knowing when he should pause, occasion will frequently be taken, in the course of this work, to prove that the art of punctuation is founded more on a grammatical than on a rhetorical basis.⁵⁵

And the theme, as promised, runs strongly through the fine print of pages devoted to rules:

We again venture to repeat, that the sense and the grammatical form of the construction

⁵⁰ Cf. *Principles of Punctuation* (London, 1818).

⁵¹ See his proposal and use of the *reversed comma* in Huntington, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-7 and *passim*.

⁵² John Wilson, *A Treatise on Grammatical Punctuation* (Manchester, 1844), pp. vii-viii.

⁵³ ? ! () — ' - " " "

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

of a passage, and not the rhetorical mode of its delivery, is the fundamental law by which the art of punctuation should be regulated.⁵⁶

That the notes of interrogation and exclamation, as they are termed, have much less to do with the inflections of the voice than is commonly imagined, will be fully apparent.⁵⁷

The *Treatise* was justly popular, even though the cause of elocutionary pointing did not collapse all at once. By 1856, in its sixth edition, Wilson had condensed his comma precepts to nineteen but added an appendix on proof reading, an index, more exposition and exercises and nearly trebled the bulk of his pages to 334. The *Treatise* was under steady revision until his death in 1868; after the twentieth edition in 1871, 'the great storehouse which every succeeding text-maker has pillaged without acknowledgement', as Ward calls it,⁵⁸ succeeding editions were simply reprints.

It is a bit paradoxical that a text so important in theory should have been accepted by a writing world and by printers manifestly sick of theory, eager for a standard guide to usage. But Wilson's syntactical motif in a short but methodically thorough work served to clear the field. Its rules were the common ones, even if rhetorically tinted precepts had been omitted or qualified. The *Treatise* was logical; it accounted for all cases at hand. It was not inventive, but fair, exacting, inclusive. Significantly, it ushered in a conservative but rational age in punctuation that was to outlast the century.

Treatments of pointing after 1845 display a lingering uncertainty as to how far rules should be applied, but few texts hold for the old elocutionary view. W. Mills (1848), MacIntosh (1852), Bedford (1858), the author of *A Manual of Punctuation* (1859)⁵⁹ all set the syntactical pattern for coming decades; W. C. Fowler in 1850 carefully cites both bases, adding that 'current practice is generally more in accordance with the grammatical than the rhetorical'.⁶⁰ At least in pointing theory, one does not sense what was called in 1905 a 'revolt from strict constructional punctuation ... noticeable in the latter part of the nineteenth century'.⁶¹ It is true that less rigidity developed in the very statement of rule; Allardyce (1884) for instance speaks of a comma that *may* be used, or *is often* used, or which *usually* separates,⁶² but this would seem, rather, to exemplify a

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 456.

⁵⁹ [W. Mills] *Where to Stop, and Why* (London, 1848).

Daniel MacIntosh, *Elements of English Grammar* (Edinburgh, 1852).

Frederick William Bedford, *Canons of Punctuation, based on the Analysis of Sentences* (London, 1858).

[Anon.] *A Manual of Punctuation* (Manchester, 1859).

⁶⁰ *English Grammar* (New York, 1850), p. 668.

⁶¹ T. F. Husband and M. F. A. Husband, *Punctuation Its Principles and Practice* (London, 1905), p. 52.

⁶² Cf. Paul Allardyce [G. P. Macdonell] *'Stops' or How to Punctuate* (London, 1884).

new dimension in the theoretical sources of the time. As Allardyce elaborates, the stops are

intimately connected with style. As forms of thought are infinite in number, so are the modes of expression; and punctuation, adapting itself to these, is an instrument capable of manipulation in a thousand ways.⁶³

Given some generally recognized norm of use, the points may be adapted artistically; but there must be the norm. Punctuation flourishes exactly when we are willing to concede it a logical ground and a standard practice. Genung (1900) and later writers heed this, exploring what Genung calls that 'skilful employment of punctuation as a flexible, living, artistic thing which makes it so truly a cardinal factor in the organism of the sentence'.⁶⁴ No such dynamic view of the stops is evident in the hundred-and-fifty year period after 1700. Struggling under twin concepts that made rational rule impossible, pointing appears to attract little interest and even less skill beyond limited circles of theoreticians and printers. Only when punctuation theory becomes relatively stabilized — after the decade of the eighteen-forties — do the common marks assume more than a conventional value.

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PARK HONAN.

Notes and News

Sir Herbert Grierson†

Sir Herbert John Clifford Grierson, whose recent death (February 20) is lamented (he was born on January 16, 1866 at Lerwick, Shetland Isles), owed his unique position in both the scholarly and the literary world to the circumstance that, on his appointment to the chair of English at Aberdeen in 1894, he happened to find a course on John Donne planned by his predecessor for the students of that University. The results of his interest in the seventeenth century were his early general work on *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (1906), and his much more important critical edition, with a commentary, of *The Poems of John Donne* (1912, in two volumes). This latter had far-reaching consequences, quite apart from its high standard of scholarship which would in any case have given it a permanent value. It was in fact instrumental to the discovery of Donne (or rediscovery of him, because Prof. Briggs of Harvard had dealt with him in his course of 1906-7) on the part of

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ John Franklin Genung, *The Working Principles of Rhetoric* (Boston, 1900), p. 334.

T. S. Eliot, who, struck by certain similarities between the English seventeenth-century poet and Laforgue on the one hand and, on the other, the poetry of Dante and his circle (which had been revealed to him by Ezra Pound's *The Spirit of Romance*, 1910), developed his idea of the three metaphysical moments in the course of Western poetry, and the theory of the 'sensuous apprehension of thought' (suggested also by Grierson's introduction). So when Prof. Frank Kermode, speaking in 1956 on the Donne influence (see 'A Myth of Catastrophe' in *The Listener* for Nov. 15, 1956) said that 'Donne was, astonishingly, transformed into a French poet, most like Laforgue', he did not take a preposterous short cut to what really happened to Donne at the hands of the modern poets who rediscovered him. Grierson's great merit was to bring back to Donne an interest which had fitfully given signs of life in the course of the nineteenth century (Browning had it, and Rossetti wrote to Hall Caine: 'Do you know Donne? There is hardly an English poet better worth a thorough knowledge in spite of his provoking conceits and occasional jagged jargon'), as it was his fortune to bring that interest back at the right moment.

Sir Herbert's studies in the seventeenth century ranged from an anthology of *Metaphysical Poets, Donne to Butler*, 1921, which established the canon of the English metaphysical tradition, and an important survey of *Cross-Currents in English Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, 1929, to an edition of Milton, 1925, in which he tried to restore the original spelling, and essays on *Milton and Wordsworth, Prophets and Poets*, 1937. His broadness of outlook and wealth of information are well instanced also in *The Background of English Literature and Other Collected Essays*, 1925, as well as in *A Critical History of English Poetry*, 1944 (in collaboration with J. C. Smith), and in *Criticism and Creation*, 1949. His *Sir Walter Scott, Bart., A New Life supplementary to, and corrective of, Lockhart's Biography*, 1938, following on his standard edition of *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 1937, contains much first-hand material and, though invaluable as an authoritative source, is little more than a factual survey. Sir Herbert had a very lively and charming personality, full of Scottish flavour.

Rome.

M. PRAZ.

Karl Jost †

We regret to announce the death of Dr Karl Jost, Emeritus Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Bâle, who died at Bâle, after years of continual ill health, on January 25, 1960, aged 78. His dissertation on 'Beon und Wesan' (1909) already indicated his predilection for syntactical

and semantic problems in Anglo-Saxon, and it is this sphere in which he was to become a well-known authority, especially by his critical work on Wulfstan's and Aelfric's English writings. His outstanding publications are his *Wulfstanstudien* (1950) and his edition of Wulfstan's *Polity* (1959). Prof. McIntosh concluded a most favourable review of the former work by declaring, 'with the publication of *Wulfstanstudien*, Professor Jost has put Anglo-Saxon scholars under a great obligation. *Mykulle wulle more*: they now await with high hopes the appearance of his edition of *Polity*' (*English Studies* XXXII, 168). This wish has, fortunately enough, been fulfilled; until the very end of his days Prof. Jost was working on this edition, and it is due to his heroic energy that it reached its final form.

Bern.

OTTO FUNKE.

English Studies in Switzerland. Dr. Rudolf Stamm, Professor of English in the University of Bern, has been appointed to the Chair of English Literature at Basel, as successor to Professor Henry Lüdeke, who retired last year.

Reviews

Syntax und Semantik der Modalen Hilfsverben im Altenglischen magan, motan, sculan, willan. Von EWALD STANDOP. (Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, 38 Heft.) Pp. 178. Bochum-Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Pöppinghaus OHG. 1957. Price 20.- DM.

The basic principles of the author's approach to the problems of the syntax and semantics of the four auxiliaries mentioned in the title are explained in the Introduction. Standop's study is essentially an attempt to link syntax with semantics and to investigate the mutual influence of meaning and syntactical functions. His sound criticism of Gunnar Bech's theories in 'Das semantische System der deutschen Modalverba' (*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhagen*, 4. 1949) and 'Grundzüge der semantischen Entwicklungsgeschichte der hochdeutschen Modalverba', *Dan. Hist. Medd.* 32, 6.; 1951), leads him to a modification of Bech's system and he gives his own ideas in visual form in three diagrams which I fail to understand. Fortunately the author leaves the often rather woolly field of modern linguistic philosophizing alone after this Introduction and in the four Chapters of his book, each of which deals with one of the four

auxiliaries in two main subdivisions: the fundamental meaning of the auxiliary and its use in the sentence, he gives a clear account of the syntax and meaning based on the interpretation of its use in the context. There can be no doubt at all that the author's approach is right: the time has come indeed to tackle the problems of these four auxiliaries from the point of view of their nature, meaning and function, and in spite of differences of opinion in detail it should be stated at once that this is an excellent book which cannot be ignored and which is often very stimulating.

The mutual influence of syntax and semantics is clearly noticeable in the use of the auxiliaries and here the author finds their use in subordinate clauses often more important than that in the main clauses. What emerges is that the interesting shifting of meaning of these four verbs which in modern English leads to a certain amount of overlapping of meaning can be explained from the fundamental meaning of the verbs and this overlapping is already demonstrable in Old English. This comes out especially in Standop's very thorough investigation of the problem of the 'future' as expressed by the auxiliaries and he finds that *sculan* in the first person and *willan* in the second and third person have a clear function of future. One would have preferred the author to have used English equivalents instead of German ones for the various shades of meaning of the auxiliaries. The modern overlapping of meaning already existing in Old English would have been brought out more clearly. On p. 21, under c) *magan* as an expression of subjective possibility, the author gives Bede 144,4, which he translates as '... of which the walls may still be seen standing'. It would be equally good to translate '... of which the walls *can* still be seen standing'. For Gen. 433 the author only accepts the meaning 'I shall be able', but I see no reason why it should not be 'I shall be allowed'. I also doubt whether much is gained by postulating a meaning 'dürfen' for *magan*, when we see how the meanings *can* and *may* lie as closely together in Old English as they do in modern English (see examples on p. 28). In the same way it is not very helpful to English readers to make the German distinction of 'sollen' and 'müssen', and the example Guth. 614 on p. 95 in which the author contrasts *motan* and *sculan* in what I take to be 'müssen' and 'sollen' (it is not clear what contrast the author actually means) has *motan* = be allowed, and *sculan* = will have to. In the only case in which the author gives a direct English rendering (p. 20, b) *magan* = 'may well' he is absolutely right. This is an excellent section.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the Chapter on *Motan*. The opening sentence under a) on p. 68 is an admirable statement of the essential meaning of this auxiliary. The whole chapter is indeed an admirable contribution to the understanding of a verb which is all too often translated rather haphazardly by students and scholars alike. I do not think that the sense 'might' or 'were allowed' is the right one for Gen. 369. I would rather favour some such sense as 'if it were given to me'. In the section on the comparison of *motan* and *magan* on p. 92 it has not sufficiently been brought out that in the cases where the two verbs

occur side by side there is always a difference of connotation. In the Chapter on *sculan* the distinction from *motan* has not been sufficiently drawn. Is it possible that *motan* has the connotation of 'be allowed by fate', whereas *sculan* has that of 'to have to by fate'? The interesting problem of the future as expressed by *sculan* and *willan* is very thoroughly discussed and the author has much to say that is worth considering. Even if his views are essentially the same as expressed in the NED (e.g. under *shall* B 8a), and even if one might quibble over small points of interpretation (it is difficult to see why Prose Gen. 18, 10 *ðin wif Sara sceal habban sunu* should not be called a pure future, for after all the Old English language is not a static language and we are here far removed from the *sceal* of the *Maxims* and this means that we see a future developing before our very eyes), there is much good reasoning on these points.

But whatever one's views on individual points, so much is certain that the method applied in this book is fundamentally right: each case should be considered in the light of the fundamental meanings of the auxiliaries and the doubtful cases be interpreted on the analogy of the clear cases. The only doubt I have is that the language is less static than the author is willing to admit and that a construction like *Ic sceal* + inf. may well be further on the way towards describing a pure future than the author thinks.

In each chapter the author deals extensively with the use of the auxiliaries in subordinate clauses, which for his purpose of demonstrating the mutual influence of Syntax and Semantics are often more important than the main clauses.

This book is a real contribution towards our knowledge of Old English Syntax and one cannot but be grateful to the author for his important study of a most interesting field: the mutual influence of Syntax and Semantics in the Old English auxiliaries.

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B. J. TIMMER.

Studies on Chaucer and his Audience. By MARY GIFFIN. Hull, Quebec: Les Éditions "L'Éclair". 1956. 127 pp., with 7 plates. Price \$ 4.75.

This work consists of four independent essays, each in its way concerned, as the author puts it, with the influence of the 'demands of particular occasions and particular listeners' upon 'tone, style, and matter of Chaucer's works'. After an introductory discussion of Chaucer's indebtedness to the tradition of oral transmission as well as that of conventional rhetoric, chapters follow on the Second Nun's Tale, the *Parlement of Foules*, the Man of Law's Tale, and the *Complaint to his Purse*, with a final summary

reaffirming the thesis that 'Chaucer's decision about style and tone is made from his knowledge of the doctrine of decorum and his eye on the audience' (p. 109 f.).

Miss Giffin's concern in general is with the presumable occasion rather than with the poems themselves. Thus in the chapter on the Second Nun's Tale, on the premise that this work was undertaken for a special purpose, and in the absence of tangible internal or external evidence, she forges a whole chain of conjectures leading up to a final hypothesis that 'the *Lyf of Seynt Cecile* appears to recognize the nomination of Adam Easton as cardinal priest of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere' (p. 48). The fact that two manuscripts have connexions with Norfolk is construed as implying that the poem was written for the monks of Norwich Cathedral Priory, of whom Easton had been one (p. 31). John of Gaunt 'was in a position to think of Chaucer's writing the *Lyf of Seynt Cecile* for a political purpose...; for he knew Norwich well, and he knew Chaucer well' (p. 36). Although she displays considerable historical knowledge, the author will nevertheless find few adherents for her unsubstantiated theory, the weakest point in which is probably the preconception forming its starting-point, that the poem is necessarily an occasional one; incidentally, her argument involves a later dating than is usually accepted (1378), since Easton is not known to have borne the title of Santa Cecilia before 1385.

Chapter III, a study of the *Parlement of Foules* as primarily a philosophical poem, being essentially an analysis of the structure of the poem as 'the harmonizing of commonplaces of his time universally recognized, but not usually brought together' (p. 61), will be of much greater interest to those who, like myself, consider general aspects of fourteenth-century literary taste to be of more importance for the interpretation of Chaucer than historical reconstructions concerning the genesis rather than the composition of any of his works. Miss Giffin's conclusion, that 'the audience is clearly a courtly group accustomed to listen to highly sophisticated poetry, ...aware of many multiple meanings in what they see and hear' (p. 66), is highly relevant to our understanding of the poem — far more so than the various theories as to the possible occasion of its writing, a side-issue which Miss Giffin in this case wisely leaves untouched.

In her treatment of the Man of Law's Tale, however, the author again succumbs to the temptation to identify Chaucer's audience, rather than characterize it. On the rather unimaginative assumption that this work is literally 'addressed to merchants', and from the theoretical possibility that the poem refers to Costanza of Castile, wife of John of Gaunt, Chaucer's purpose in writing it is surmised to have been to offer these merchants 'an opportunity to become champions in the cause of Costanza' (p. 88), a royal refugee from Castile. This unverifiable suggestion surely cannot increase our insight into the design of the poem to any appreciable degree. It should be added, however, that a preliminary expert analysis of Chaucer's treatment of his theme compensates for inconclusive historical speculation.

Chapter V consists in a discussion of the phrase 'O conquerour of

Brutes Albion', the first line of the envoy to the *Complaint to his Purse*, in connexion with Chaucer's allegiance to the House of Lancaster and his inferred 'lack of enthusiasm for the earl of March and the Trojan descent by which he set such store' (p. 111). With a true occasional poem such as this, investigation of the circumstances under which it was conceived is naturally relevant and justified. Further speculation that the light tone of the envoy serves to reassure an anxious monarch, or alternatively that the phrase in question implies no less than the direct opposite, 'the conquest of a legendary kingdom and ... the difficulties of ruling a real kingdom' (p. 111) merely makes it clear, however, that the fine shades of Chaucer's ironical versified request must remain hidden, as Miss Giffin indeed acknowledges.

University of Utrecht.

R. VLEESKRUYER.

The Poetry of Meditation, A Study of English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century. By LOUIS D. MARTZ, Professor of English, Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xv + 375. Eight illustrations. \$ 5.00.

Every now and then there comes to light a hidden source of inspiration in literature, which causes us to revise our ideas of the character and development of a whole period. Thus years ago Prof. Saurat revealed the currents of occult speculation which explained much of the strangeness of Blake, and the writer of the present review showed the deep influence of Sade on some of the romantics and on the decadents. In both these cases one could speak of really hidden sources of inspiration, because of the very nature of the relevant texts which was clandestine; on the contrary the devotional literature to which Prof. Martz has drawn our attention was very popular in its day, and our ignorance of it is due mostly to the complete change of outlook in Western culture, which for the last two centuries has been altogether laicized. Stress had been laid already by the present reviewer and other scholars (particularly by Miss Rosemary Freeman) on the familiarity of the centuries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth with the now utterly outmoded literature of devices and emblems; perhaps it was the attractive, showy side of those illustrated books which called our attention to them in preference to the more substantial body of religious literature whose knowledge in course of time was confined to a class of people not usually concerned with literature at large, the clergy.

In a sense, the religious poets who form the subject of the present book, Southwell, Donne, Crashaw and Herbert, important as they are in literary

history, are comparatively unimportant for a student of religious thought; none of them started a new tendency in devotion, a new form of cult. This had always been taken for granted by former critics who therefore had limited their interest to the literary aspect of those poets, and studied them from the standpoint of absolute criticism, or from the standpoint of rhetoric, emblem-books, or the history of ideas. Prof. Martz treats them now from the standpoint of meditation, and with very far-reaching results. He has shown how widespread even in a Protestant country like England was the devotional literature of the Counter-Reformation, all strongly tinged with Jesuit influence, how Donne was affected by it, how poets adopted the methods advocated by meditative handbooks as the groundwork of their own compositions, and he has uttered a much needed warning against the loose usage of the term 'mystic' in connexion with those seventeenth-century poets (p. 20):

It is wise to be wary in dealing with the appearance of mystical terminology in this poetry: it is not by any means valid to argue that the poetry is therefore the product of mystical experience. The meditative writers of the time are constantly using the threefold way of the mystics as a framework for purely ascetic and devotional exercises: mystical terms provide powerful metaphors frequently used in cultivating the realm of devotion. The term 'mystical', then, may on occasion be valid when applied to certain passages in the works of these writers, or when used to describe the general tendency of the spiritual efforts represented in these writings. But most of the poetry with which we are here dealing appears clearly to lie within the realm of meditation leading to devotion; and for this reason the term 'meditative' seems to me more accurate than 'mystical' when applied to English religious poetry of the seventeenth century.

Prof. Martz tends to minimize Donne's influence which has loomed so large in the minds of literary historians in consequence of the vogue enjoyed by that poet with T. S. Eliot and his circle; he would rather speak of a Southwell than of a Donne tradition, and invites us to discard also the glamorous spell-binding term 'metaphysical' in favour of 'meditative'; in order to enhance the attractiveness of this rather demure word, Prof. Martz has adroitly placed under our eyes its visual counterpart in Georges de la Tour's masterpiece 'La Madeleine au Miroir'.

Prof. Martz's close study of meditative handbooks in connexion with seventeenth-century English poetry proves very illuminating; particularly of Luis de la Puente's *Meditations* in connexion with Donne's religious poetry, of Mauburnus's *Scala Meditationis* with Crashaw's hymn 'To the Name above Every Name, the Name of Jesus', and of Savonarola and the *Imitation of Christ* with Herbert's *Temple*. However, engrossed as he is with his discoveries, Prof. Martz is apt to forget other influences. In the case of Donne's 'The Crosse', Prof. Martz traces the poet's inspiration to the *Stimulus Divini amoris*:

In these practices, no doubt, lies the background for such meditation as we find in Donne's poem 'The Crosse':

Who can deny mee power, and liberty
To stretch mine armes, and mine owne Crosse to be?
Swimme, and at every stroake, thou art thy Crosse...

But the source of this particular passage has been shown by J. A. W. Bennett ('A Note on Donne's *Crosse*', *Review of English Studies* for April 1954; Prof. Martz's book was published in November of that year) to be Justus Lipsius' *De Cruce*, Lib. I, cap. ix, where we find a synthesis of similitudes of early Christian writers, accompanied with a picture showing a swimmer, a bird, a praying man, etc., which accounts for Donne's passage. And no matter how the pattern of Crashaw's hymn to the Name of Jesus seems to fit with Mauburnus's *Scala Meditationis*, the similarity is even greater with the *Jubilus de Nomine Jesu* attributed to Saint Bernard, which Prof. Martz does not quote:

Iesu dulcis memoria
 Dans vera cordi gaudia ;
 Sed super mel et omnia
 Eius dulcis praesentia.
 Nil canitur suavius,
 Nil auditur iucundius,
 Nil cogitatur dulcius
 Quam Iesu dei filius...¹

These and such like accents find a multiple echo in Crashaw's hymn:

Lo, where Aloft it comes! It comes, among
 The conduct of Adoring SPIRITS, that throng
 Like diligent Bees, And swarm about it.
 O they are wise ;
 And know what SWEETS are suck't from out it.
 It is the Hiue,
 By which they thriue,
 Where All their Hoard of Hony lyes...

If it seems assuming too much that this passage may be an expansion of a single word *mel* of the Latin text, we need only compare with what Crashaw has made of the *Stabat Mater* or of Famianus Strada's contest of the lute-player and the nightingale, to be persuaded that no greater inducement than a single word was necessary for his imagination to work itself up. 'All the matters explored in meditative literature of the seventeenth century', says Prof. Martz (p. 92), 'were either explicit or implicit in the medieval heritage; the central aim of the art of meditation was precisely to make explicit whatever remained implicit: to analyze, to understand, and then to feel and profit from the matter.' For all that, I am not convinced, as Prof. Martz seems to be, that from the artistic point of view Crashaw's paraphrase leaves far behind the *Stabat Mater* attributed to Jacopone (not Jacoponi, as I find printed on p. 115) da Todi: 'So, throughout the poem, with a vividness never approached in the hymn, the mind is focussed intensely through the eyes of the Mother ... From this dramatic intensity of vision follows a passionate directness of colloquy, implicit, but unmatched, anywhere in the simple pleas of the hymn.'

¹ See André Wilmart, O.S.B., *Le 'Jubilus' dit de Saint Bernard, Étude avec textes*, Roma, Edizioni di 'Storia e Letteratura', 1944.

Elsewhere (p. 201) Prof. Martz stresses the connexion of Crashaw's 'Weeper' with Southwell's *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*. But the literature on the subject is very extensive; besides the analogies pointed out by me (*Secentismo e marinismo in Inghilterra*, 1925) and by Prof. Martin in his edition of Crashaw's poetical works, one should see the recent essay on 'Lope de Vega and *Las Lágrimas de la Madalena*' by Perry J. Powers in *Comparative Literature*, VIII, 4 (Fall 1956).

In the same way as T. S. Eliot found a universal application of the term 'metaphysical', and distinguished various phases of metaphysical poetry in Western literatures, Prof. Martz advocates a wider adoption of the term 'meditative' (p. 324):

Meditative style, then, is 'current language heightened' [Hopkins's phrase], molded, to express the unique being of an individual who has learned, by intense mental discipline, to live his life in the presence of divinity. It is not only the style of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw, or Marvell: it may also be found in Robert Southwell, Edward Taylor, Blake, Wordsworth, Hopkins, Emily Dickinson, the later Yeats, and the later Eliot... And it is, surely, a style that may be found in other ages, other lands, and other languages: in our own century we find the style in Rilke, Claudel, and Péguy. This account, of course, does not present a standard of value by which all poetry is to be judged: I am trying only to discern a genre, to suggest that, as we speak of the Petrarchan, the pastoral, the epic, or the mock heroic, so too we might speak of the meditative.

The danger of this generalization is the vagueness consequent from its too wide application. Prof. Martz is aware of it, and writes (p. 326):

But perhaps this general movement of a poem only shows that meditative and poetic method are inevitably similar; that this movement from concrete place, to 'question', to emotional resolution is a natural, common movement of the mind? As I have noted in the opening chapter, my point is not that meditative method created this tendency, but rather that meditative discipline cultivated this tendency of the mind; with the result that poetry written under such discipline shows a more explicit, more deliberate structure of this kind than can be found, for example, in Wordsworth.

Obviously Prof. Martz is not a follower of Croce; nevertheless, whatever one may think of the possibility of studying literature under the aspect of literary genres (and, *pace* Croce, I think there is still something to be said in favour of it), there is no doubt that *The Poetry of Meditation* has achieved what ought to be the primary aim of literary criticism, to see a work of art against the background of the culture of which it is an expression.

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MARIO PRAZ.

Current Literature, 1958

II. Criticism and Biography

We have usually started this survey with a reference to what we have called 'background books'. The most important of these to appear in the year under review was *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, by Raymond Williams (Chatto & Windus, 30/—), an investigation into social theories and values as they have found expression in English literature over the last hundred and seventy-odd years. Starting with the early Romantics, Mr. Williams examines the interpretation placed upon the term 'culture' by the outstanding writers from Burke and Coleridge onwards and shows how they were related to social ideals and conditions. It is probably too much to expect that in a book of this nature the writer's own prejudices should not intrude, and when he comes to the modern age Mr Williams's are rather obvious. Indeed, he himself seems to realise it, and almost to apologise for his failure to be as fair and impartial where the present day is concerned as he was with earlier periods. He cannot resist tilting at middle-class standards and values (one gathers that, having come from humble origins, he does not really feel at home in a middle-class environment) and many people will feel that he is over-optimistic about the so-called 'culture' of the working classes, based on the idea of solidarity as opposed to the older middle-class concepts of individualism and the spirit of service, the latter of which, as he remarks, seems incomprehensible to the working classes, and makes no appeal to them. Nor will everyone be impressed by his plea for what he calls a common culture appropriate to the age of egalitarianism and the common man — not at least in quite the way that he states it. He has, however, emphasised the basic difficulty of the arts, and of literature in particular, today: the lack of a broadly accepted set of values to which writers can appeal and which they can feel they share in common with the vast body of their public. This book deserves careful study, even if we cannot accept all its conclusions, for it is the outcome of wide reading and much thought.

James Sutherland's *English Satire* (C.U.P., 18/—) is the text of the Clark Lectures delivered at Cambridge in the spring of 1956; and an interesting and stimulating set of lectures they are. After two preliminary papers, one on the nature of satire and the other on its connexion with invective and lampoon, as well as with certain trends in mediaeval preaching, Professor Sutherland goes on to consider in turn satire in verse, satire in prose, satire in the novel, and finally satire in the theatre, and in every one he has something thoughtful and illuminating to say. The obvious names occur — those, for instance, of Dryden, Pope, Swift, Byron, both the Samuel Butlers, Jane Austen, Thackeray, Thomas Love Peacock, Meredith, Shaw, Aldous Huxley and George Orwell — but so do a host of lesser names who all made their contribution in some way or other,

and the lectures bring us right up to date with writers like Sir Max Beerbohm, Ivy Compton-Burnett, Norman Douglas and Kingsley Amis, though Professor Sutherland feels that (to adapt his own words slightly) 'though the twentieth-century novel has added a good deal to English satire, its biggest achievements have lain elsewhere', while he is doubtful whether even the best of present-day satire will survive the century, since (and here he comes up against the same problem that confronted Raymond Williams) true satire must be based upon some kind of idealism and a positive set of values which are the common property of an age, and both are today, by and large, conspicuously lacking as much in the satirists as in the life they satirise. Merely to be an angry young man (or for that matter an angry old or middle-aged one) is not sufficient.

With the publication in 1950 of *The Captain's Death Bed* it was thought that the last of Virginia Woolf's essays and other writings had been collected, but since that date others have been discovered scattered through various periodicals, some published anonymously, some under the name by which she is usually known, and others under her maiden name of Virginia Stephen. These have now been brought together in one volume entitled *Granite and Rainbow* (Hogarth Press, 18/—), with an editorial note by Leonard Woolf. The title is taken from one of the most important of the essays, that on 'The New Biography', where she takes Sir Sidney Lee's dictum that the aim of biography is 'the truthful transmission of personality' and equates truth with granite, and personality, with its many hues and shades blending one into another, with the rainbow. Altogether there are twenty-seven essays, of varying length and quality. All are interesting, but by far the most important are the one already mentioned ('The New Biography', really a vindication of the methods adopted by Harold Nicolson) and a lengthy paper on 'Phases of Fiction', which originally appeared in *The Bookman* in 1929. All the other pieces group themselves around these two. Not everyone will agree with the opinions that Virginia Woolf expresses; some may feel that certain of the papers are already dated in the attitude and the values or standards they display, but it is well that these fugitive pieces should have been collected together and made accessible.

'This book has evolved gradually over the past five years', writes John A. Garraty in the foreword to *The Nature of Biography* (Jonathan Cape, 18/—), and this fact may account for a certain disconnectedness in it. Indeed, it is a series of essays on various aspects of biography rather than a book with a single, systematically worked-out theme; but it is none the less interesting for that, though one difficulty for the English reader is that Mr. Garraty, being an American, naturally enough makes frequent reference to American biographies which the average reader of his book on this side of the Atlantic will probably know only by title, if indeed he knows of them at all. After a preliminary chapter with the same title as that of the whole work (a chapter which is really rather scrappy), the book

falls into two parts: the first deals with the development of biography from ancient times up to the present day, the second with the methods of the biographer and the problems and difficulties by which he is confronted. As the book, on its author's own testimony, owed its origin to his appointment, in 1952, to a fellowship to study psychology, it is not surprising that the psychological aspect of the subject receives considerable emphasis, though Mr Garraty makes it plain that in his opinion many of the methods adopted by the psychologist for the study of the living personality are not suitable for the study of the personality of those who are dead. A point of particular interest is that his examination of some typical autobiographies and memoirs of recent times has revealed some curious mistakes and deficiencies in them (probably due to a faulty memory on the part of their authors) — which should serve as a warning to aspiring biographers who use such documents always to seek corroboration of their facts, no matter how distinguished or supposedly authoritative a source they come from.

Theodore H. Savory's *The Art of Translation* (Jonathan Cape, 16/—) appeared in 1957 but was overlooked in the survey for that year, so it is briefly noticed here. Taken as a whole it is rather disappointing, though there are good things in it. Perhaps the most valuable point that the author makes is that there is no one art of translation and no single set of criteria by which a translation can be judged; methods and techniques must be adopted which are suitable to the purpose for which the translation is being made. There is a final chapter on the translating machine in which both its advantages and its limitations are considered.

The only general historical survey of the period to appear was a further volume in the Pelican Guides to English Literature (the sixth in the series) entitled *From Dickens to Hardy* and edited by Boris Ford (Penguin Books, 5/—). It follows the same system as the previous volumes. Opening with a survey of the social background of English literature during the Victorian period, it then goes on to examine the literature itself. There are essays on the principal novelists, essayists and poets, and a chapter on the architecture of the Victorian age.

In *Der Moderne Englische Roman* (Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, DM 4.80) Robert Fricker has very wisely resisted the temptation to be comprehensive. Instead he presents us with ten typical and significant novelists over the last three-quarters of a century (Hardy, Henry James, Conrad, H. G. Wells, E. M. Forster, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley and Graham Greene), and discusses the work of each. In turn, and usually in chronological order, each of the principal novels is considered briefly, and then the general characteristics of the author in question are dealt with. The book is a series of essays rather than a connected whole; yet there is a unity behind the scheme, for Dr. Fricker sees each of his authors as representative of a particular aspect of the age in which he was writing, and they have been chosen largely with this in mind: each helps to elucidate his age, yet at the same time he

cannot be fully understood apart from it. It cannot be claimed that these essays throw a great deal of new light upon their subjects or that they put forward any new views or theories (they were never intended to), but, based upon wide, intelligent and appreciative reading, they do seize on the significant facts and emphasise the right things, so that they become a most useful introduction and interpretation. Dr. Fricker has, moreover, a happy knack of choosing just the right supporting quotations to illustrate his points.

From the more general works of one kind or another we now turn to studies of individual writers in the field of prose literature. With *Charles Dickens* (Longmans, 15/—) K. J. Fielding gives us yet another book on the life and work of Dickens, emphasizing the connexion of the novels with contemporary trends in writing and with the public interests of the day. He naturally draws rather heavily on the careful and scholarly works which have appeared from various pens over the last few years, though the fact that he has had access to a large body of unpublished correspondence of Dickens enables him to add new details and here and there to question the statements or surmises of earlier writers, while he makes an interesting suggestion on the probable ending of *Edwin Drood*. There is a large amount of material in a comparatively small compass, but much of it was known before. The book is written for the average reader with an intelligent interest in Dickens rather than for the scholar; but the scholar need not on that account neglect it.

Professor Gordon N. Ray has completed his biography of Thackeray in *Thackeray. The Age of Wisdom, 1847-1863* (O.U.P., 55/—). It takes up the story where the previous volume, *The Uses of Adversity*, left it, and like its predecessor is very full, very detailed, and, though scholarly and erudite in every sense of the word, is never ponderous. Indeed one of the attractive and compelling characteristics of Professor Ray as a biographer is his ability to write in an easy, lively style on serious matters. Much of the material comes from manuscript sources hitherto unexplored. Thackeray the man, at the crucial period of his life, stands out very clearly, and we get to understand the many facets of his character as well as the tragedy at the heart of his life. His relations with Jane Brookfield are treated with understanding and sympathy, and if Professor Ray's discernment of concealed references to that relationship in Thackeray's own works is not always as convincing to the reader as it is to himself, at least the suggestions cannot be disproved or refuted. But while the book is ostensibly and primarily concerned with one man, it is also a portrait of a whole literary circle of which that one man was the centre. In these two volumes taken together we have the first full biography of Thackeray authorised by his descendants. It is a great piece of work, to which all fellow-students will be deeply indebted, and really does merit that much over-worked adjective 'monumental'. What is more, it can rank as a literary achievement in its own right.

Probably no English novel has been the subject of so much critical

ingenuity and conjecture as has *Wuthering Heights*. In a small booklet *The Genesis of 'Wuthering Heights'* (Hong Kong University Press, HK. \$. 10.00, O.U.P. 12/6) Mary Visick develops the thesis that the origin of *Wuthering Heights* is to be found in the fantasy world and figures of the early Gondal poems, though she admits (p. 32) that 'the actual process by which the blurred story . . . was transformed into the novel is one at which we can only guess'. She supports her case by comparing parallels in the poems and the novel, and in an appendix she tabulates all these resemblances. The most we can say is that in a general way the case she makes out seems to be convincing (it has at least impressed Edmund Blunden, who contributes a foreword to the book), but there is a danger of carrying these parallels too far. Miss Visick's thesis can finally be neither proved nor disproved, and if we accept it we should do so with reservation and caution.

Landor. A Replevin, by Malcolm Elwin (Macdonald, 45/—), is rather a disappointing book. The legal term 'replevin' is not a usual one to meet in literary criticism; Mr Elwin defines it as meaning roughly what is signified by the more familiar word 'rehabilitation', and this gives the key to the angle from which the book is written. 'The outcome of twenty years' study and research, it is very long, very detailed, and very serious. Not unnaturally, it re-traverses a good deal of the ground covered by the same author's biography of Landor published in 1941, but explores it much more fully, and it gives a convincing picture of Landor's personality and character as well as illustrating the eccentricity of some of his standards and values. (He appears, for instance, to have regarded Mrs Hemans as worthy of a high place amongst the English poets.) Now and again one feels that Mr Elwin is unnecessarily severe on other critics with whose opinions he disagrees; and his own judgement is prejudiced by the fact that he is very conscious of his duty to see that justice is done to a writer whose merits have never been sufficiently recognised by posterity. Had not Mr Elwin been quite so much counsel for the defence, his book might have gained.

From Denmark comes a further addition (Vol. XI) to the series 'Anglistica' under the title *Pater on Style*, by Edmund Chandler (Copenhagen. Rosenkilde & Bagger, Kr. 14.50). Presented originally as a thesis for the London degree of M.A., the text has undergone a slight revision, but very little. There are no footnotes, and no references to any other works, because, the author explains in his preface, 'there is no single volume devoted to Pater that I found acceptable'. It is rather disconcerting to find Mr Chandler at the very outset confessing that 'my deepest feelings towards Pater's work are antipathetic rather than otherwise', but in spite of this disadvantage his study is as fair and objective as we could reasonably expect from one who, on his own admission, is out of love with his subject and with the Aesthetic school generally, of which Pater was the most completely representative figure. By examining in great detail the well-known essay on 'Style' and the textual history of *Marius the Epicurean*,

he shows the limitations of Pater's theory, with its emphasis on method, but admits that 'at least it has the virtue of accounting for the kind of writing he himself approved, and setting forth the ideas he himself followed, and its value is principally to this end'. In other words, Pater was concerned with the craft rather than with the art of letters.

In *Gertrude Bell* by Elizabeth Burgoyne (Benn, 42/—) we have the first volume of what will ultimately be a full-scale biography. It covers the first twenty-five years of Gertrude Bell's life and is founded very largely (though not entirely) on material gleaned from her letters. Stressing, in these early years, her remarkable power of making and keeping friends, and her desire for adventure, it paves the way for the more significant part of her life which is to be treated in the succeeding volumes. It indulges in no adulation, but neither does it take too severe a view of faults or weaknesses. We look forward to the completion of the work, which will be the first detailed biographical study of this remarkable woman.¹

The latest sign of a revival of interest in Edward Thomas and his work comes from Eleanor Farjeon, whose book *Edward Thomas. The Last Four Years* (O.U.P., 25/—) gives us a portrait of him as he was known to the writer towards the end of his life. It is, of course, very much a personal impression, but perhaps it is all the more valuable for that, for it gives us intimate glimpses of Thomas in the moods which only his closest friend knew. He had a certain shyness and aloofness, it seems, in the presence of strangers, but there was another side to his nature which was more his real self, and it is the great merit of the present book that it brings out this side. He was, too, the last articulate voice of an age which, even in his own life-time, was fast disappearing and which has now completely gone. It is Eleanor Farjeon's achievement to have re-created the spirit of that age for a generation to which it is not even a memory, though it misrepresents Thomas's true stature and significance to make the whole literary activity of the times revolve around him, as her picture tends to do. He was not a giant by any means, but the absence of perspective makes him appear as one. But that is no doubt inevitable in a book which, after all, is primarily about the man, not about the world and the age in which he lived.

Lytton Strachey has found a somewhat eulogistic critic in Charles Richard Sanders, whose *Lytton Strachey: His Mind and Art* (Yale University Press and O.U.P., 36/—) is a discussion and examination of Strachey's writings with a tendency to stress the obvious and to indulge in rather platitudinous commonplaces, while in *J. B. Priestley. An Informal Study of His Work* by David Hughes (Rupert Hart-Davis, 21/—) we have what, despite the author's claim to informality, is really the first serious assessment of a

¹ Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) travelled widely in Persia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and other Eastern countries and wrote a number of travel books, though she is best known for her letters. There have been several different editions of them, and there is a volume of selections in the Penguins.

writer who has always been, in a way all his own, representative of his generation of Englishmen. He is, Mr Hughes declares, a public figure in the same sense that the great novelists of the Victorian and Edwardian ages were public figures and as few others today are. Yet while admitting this, Mr Hughes explodes the myth of *bonhomie* that has grown up around Priestley in the public mind (a myth which, it might be added, Priestley himself has done much to cultivate, though he might disclaim it now). Admittedly he is the novelist of the common man, and yet, while valuing the common man, he sees all his shortcomings. He is an idealist, and yet he has no illusions about life and the world. He is the apostle of happiness, and yet running through all his writing there is a strain of sadness and regret. Mr Hughes considers the whole of Priestley's work — novels, essays, plays and criticism — and gives a fair assessment of each. Obviously this cannot be a final estimate of Priestley, or even of the work he has produced so far, but it is a very valuable preliminary exploration of the ground.

Evelyn Waugh's first novel, *Decline and Fall*, appeared in 1928, when he was twenty-five years old; *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* was published in 1957. Between the two there lies nearly thirty years of development, for they are very different in spirit and style, and *Evelyn Waugh. Portrait of an Artist* by Frederick J. Stopp (Chapman & Hall, 21/—) sets itself the task of tracing out, stage by stage, how this change has come about. The first considerable study of Evelyn Waugh and his achievement, the book is competently written, and is sympathetic to its subject without indulging in adulation or making extravagant claims for him. It does, moreover, show a clear line of progress from the early satirical works to the more recent (and more puzzling) mystical Mr Waugh, who has set the critics the task of interpreting his symbolism.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is mainly biographical, with a section on the relation of the writer to his public. Much stress is laid on Evelyn Waugh's concern about the decadence of prose style in an age when the standards of the common man are coming increasingly to be accepted as criteria. The second (by far the most substantial of the three) is a study and interpretation of the novels; and the third is an assessment of Evelyn Waugh's distinctive characteristics as an artist, with an estimate of the resources which he now commands in middle age and the opportunities for an enlargement of his artistic field in the years ahead. It may also be mentioned that there is an appendix containing a very full bibliography of Evelyn Waugh's own works, a select list of books and articles in which critical material is to be found, and an index of people and places mentioned in the novels.

To turn now from prose to verse, a new study of romanticism and the romantic poets is to be found in a short work by R. A. Foakes entitled *The Romantic Assertion* (Methuen, 16/—). In some ways Mr Foakes's

thesis is a novel one, namely that far from being confident and assured, the romantics were confused and puzzled by life and its seeming contradictions, but that ultimately, to their own satisfaction, and each one of them in his own way, they evolved a philosophy which seemed to reconcile these contradictions and to point to an ultimate good behind the paradox of outward appearances. The term 'romantic' is given a fairly wide application by Mr. Foakes, for his book covers virtually the whole of the nineteenth century. Tennyson and Browning are discussed at some length, and the former is censured (rather unfairly, it seems to the present writer) for his failure to formulate or enunciate a coherent system of religious thought in *In Memoriam*, so that he posed as the spokesman and spiritual counsellor of his age when in fact he was merely placing on record the stages by which he had managed to console himself and to bolster up a so-called faith of which the rational side of his being never really approved. Arnold too is seen as a prophet without conviction; but James Thomson, on the other hand, is applauded as one who, even if in the last analysis a pessimist, at least had the moral courage to confess to bewilderment and agnosticism. Whether this really sets him as a poet or as a thinker above those who sought, and felt that perhaps they had found, an explanation, is doubtful; it all depends on the criterion we adopt.

A footnote to the poets of the Romantic Revival is supplied by *The Letters of Mary Wordsworth*, edited by Mary E. Burton (O.U.P., 42/—). Mary was Wordsworth's wife, and Miss Burton here prints 178 of her letters dating from 1800 to 1855. In a way they are very ordinary and hum-drum. All are to relations or to close friends; they tend to be 'gossipy', and the amount of literary news they give is small indeed; but they do shed some intimate sidelights upon Wordsworth's daily life, habits and preoccupations.

A new biographical study of Byron, on the grand scale, comes from Professor Leslie A. Marchand, of Rutgers University. *Byron. A Biography* (John Murray. 3 vols. 7 guineas the set) is a very detailed piece of work on which the author has been engaged for over ten years. All the available material has been carefully studied, sifted and collated, so that on the purely factual side this is the fullest account that exists, and since in most cases chapter and verse are given for each statement, there is not much that can be disputed. When it comes to the character and personality of his subject Professor Marchand is naturally on more assailable ground, since this is largely a matter of opinion, interpretation and emphasis. He sees two of the most potent influences on the poet's character in his Calvinistic upbringing and his physical deformity, both of which, in different ways, roused a spirit of revolt within him and induced a certain flamboyancy of behaviour, with a tendency to flout conventions. Yet Professor Marchand believes the egotistical, embittered, gloomy Byron of earlier biographers is really a travesty. That this side existed he does not deny, but he also insists on a gentler and more likeable side, which made him

many friends. In his judgement of Byron's sexual irregularities Professor Marchand is charitable, and even goes to the length of finding extenuating circumstances for his treatment of his wife and of Claire Clairmont. This is a matter on which, no doubt, opinions will differ, but even those who cannot share Professor Marchand's views will have to treat them with respect and consideration.

In *John Keats. A Re-Assessment*, edited by Kenneth Muir (Liverpool University Press, 30/—) we have a series of ten essays by past and present members of Liverpool University, three of them by the editor himself ('The Meaning of the Odes', 'The Meaning of *Hyperion*', and 'Keats and Hazlitt'). Other contributors are Joan Grundy, Clarisse Godfrey, Miriam Allott, Arnold Davenport, R. T. Davies, and David I. Masson. Each writes from a different angle, but all, in one way or another, demonstrate that at the heart of Keats's poetry is the conflict between the world of actual life and the world of beauty created by the imagination. This is a symposium deserving of careful study, even if some of what the writers have to say is not particularly new.

Then there is also *The Early Collected Editions of Shelley's Poems*, by Charles H. Taylor, Jr. (Yale University Press, \$. 4.00), an examination of the text of Mrs Shelley's four-volume edition of *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1839), which demonstrates that many of the readings were taken from unauthorized editions which had appeared during the fifteen years preceding, and that a number of them have been retained in the best modern editions on the assumption that the 1839 text was a genuine one.

John Kilham, of the University College of North Staffordshire, has made a study of a (now) much neglected poem in *Tennyson and 'The Princess'. Reflections of an Age* (Athlone Press, 35/—). In an endeavour to fit the poem into its period he has ranged far and wide over the feminist, scientific and educational literature of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Indeed one comes to feel that the sub-title of his book is really more relevant than the main one, for there is much more in it about 'the age' than there is about *The Princess*. In a sense this is no doubt a criticism of it; yet nevertheless Mr Kilham has unearthed and collected a whole body of most interesting material, and he has moreover traced the genesis of at least some of the ideas expressed in *The Princess* to earlier poems. It seems quite clear that Tennyson was interested in the growing feminist movement and the demands for the admission of women to institutions of higher education, but we still remain doubtful whether he was quite so sympathetic to it as Mr Kilham suggests, or whether, as our author alleges, 'he was attempting, through an experiment, to make his readers think about social questions in an unprejudiced and intelligent way'.

A. E. Housman, Scholar and Poet, by Norman Marlow (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 21/—) is a book well worth reading, though the title is a little misleading, for there is really little about Housman as a scholar in it. What

there is consists mainly of a detailed examination of the influence upon his poetry of his extensive and erudite knowledge of the literature of his own country and of the classics. There can be very little that Mr Marlow has missed. Of actual criticism of the poems, in the sense of an assessment of their literary merits and value, there is again not a great deal that is new. Where Mr Marlow does place us under a debt of gratitude is in relating the poems to the author's life and personal experience, though some of this necessarily must be no more than conjecture. He points out, for instance, how much of Housman's verse is pervaded by an understanding of, and a sympathy for, those who have made, or feel they have made, a wreck of their lives, and he connects this with the poet's own sensitivity over his academic failure in his university days. He suggests that in deliberately accepting the discipline and austerity of scholarship in later life Housman repressed one side of his nature, and that this sense of repression was reflected on the one hand in a certain morbidity which appears in a number of his verses, and in the other in a nostalgic looking back to the more uninhibited and care-free days of youth. The recent suggestion of homosexual relations, or something approaching it, with his college friend Moses Jackson (made by George L. Watson in his book *A. E. Housman. A Divided Life*) he rejects, but he does believe that Housman was obsessed with the idea of evil at work in the world, and saw life as a tragedy, though one which must be stoically accepted. There is a chapter on contemporary criticism of Housman (not always quite fair to the critics who are criticised) and a final note on some nonsense verses written by him. Disappointing in certain respects, this is nevertheless a book which cannot be ignored.

With *War Poets, 1914-1918* by Edmund Blunden (Longmans, for the British Council and the National Book League, 2/6) the 'Writers and Their Work' series reaches its hundredth number. After a preliminary survey of older war poetry from the seventeenth century onwards, the author goes on to consider successively Rupert Brooke, Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen. Others also find a place, but it is upon these three that the booklet chiefly centres. There could be no author better qualified for the task than Edmund Blunden. He was one of their number (though he modestly keeps himself in the background), he knew them personally, and his criticism is a stimulating and inspiring guide. This is an excellent introduction to its subject for the foreign and the English reader alike, and the general editor of the series, Professor Bonamy Dobrée, is to be congratulated on having attained his century.

A companion volume in the same series is *Poetry Today* (Longmans, 3/6), in which Geoffrey Moore gives a brief survey of English poets and poetry from 1950 to 1957, with a preliminary section on the older poets (i.e. those from about 1911 to 1949). Since the whole booklet runs to only 80 pages there is of necessity no detailed criticism, but the main lines of development and the main tendencies are clearly set forth, while the

writer has some interesting and suggestive remarks to make on the effect on poetry of recent social changes in Britain. This is a very useful guide to present-day English verse.

Contemporary verse is again the subject of *The Shaping Spirit: Studies in Modern English and American Poetry* by A. Alvarez (Chatto & Windus, 15/—), a work which does not quite come up to expectations but which, despite its diffuseness, contains some interesting material. The main thesis resolves itself into three parts: (i) that the chief 'native' influences on modern English poetry have been W. B. Yeats and D. H. Lawrence, whose achievement was to take over existing traditions and carry them into new fields; (ii) that next to these the most potent influence has come from America; and (iii) that whereas English poetry already has a tradition from which it can develop, American poetry has not; it has to create one. Readers will find the discussion of T. S. Eliot and his influence very helpful.

In *The Chequered Shade* (O.U.P., 25/—) John Press deals with the unusual and rather forbidding subject of obscurity in poetry. Protesting against what he regards as the more sweeping and less enlightened condemnation of the obscurity of modern poetry, with its implication that the verse produced before the early years of the present century (or at least most of it) was not open to this charge, he proceeds to argue, with abundance of supporting quotations, that some of the greatest poetry in every age has been obscure, though the obscurity has not always been of the same kind or arisen from the same causes. Ranging through Shakespeare, Milton, the Metaphysicals, the Romantics, Tennyson, Browning, Hopkins, and so on to the present day, he certainly amasses a great deal of evidence, which ultimately leads to the conclusion that 'since poetry flowers only upon the lips of living men, it must always speak through tongues of flesh and in the dark riddle of a similitude; and although it struggles continually to pass beyond the limitations of its nature, it can never hope to discard that element of obscurity which is the shadow thrown by an ampler and diviner radiance'.

Up to a point Mr. Press proves his case; and yet we put down the book feeling unsatisfied. He has certainly shown that obscurity is no new thing in English poetry, but still we suspect that earlier poetry (up to the time of Hopkins at least) did no baffle its original readers as so much 'modern' poetry baffles us; that the obscurity was in individual phrases or passages; that they felt they had got a meaning from the work as a whole even if it was not what the poet intended, whereas we feel that the meaning of so much modern verse eludes us altogether. Again, Mr Press does much to explain the reasons for the modern poet's retreat into a kind of esoteric imagery, but that does not get over the fact that it is esoteric and that there has been a break-down in communication between the poet and those to whom he addresses himself. Nor does it mean that the public is wholly to blame. How is the gulf to be bridged? Or have we to resign ourselves to the fact that henceforth the poet must live in a world of his own into

which the ordinary educated person cannot enter? If so, the outlook is bleak indeed.

On the drama and the theatre of the period little has appeared, though attention should be drawn to *Bulwer and Macready. A Chronicle of the Early Victorian Theatre*, edited by Charles H. Shattuck (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, \$ 5.75), a detailed and painstaking piece of work in the best traditions of trans-Atlantic scholarship. Bulwer is, of course, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, novelist and playwright, and Macready is William Charles Macready, the actor-manager who had so important an influence upon the drama and the theatre of the mid-nineteenth century. Although his name does not appear in the title, there is also a third figure — John Forster, their friend and adviser, best known today as the first biographer of Dickens. By assembling countless letters and diary extracts of these three persons, ranging over a period of thirty years (1836-66), and supplementing and binding them together by a narrative thread of his own, Professor Shattuck has revealed at first hand something of the characters, interests, ambitions and careers of Bulwer and Macready; he has shown us Bulwer, already a considerable figure in the literary world of his day, learning to be a playwright, and Macready trying to reform the English stage. But it is not merely literature and the theatre that is discussed between the three friends; philosophy and religion have their place, and occasionally personal and family matters intrude. Future historians of the nineteenth century theatre will not be able to ignore this book, for it throws so many sidelights upon the contemporary playhouse and its audience; and above all it is, to use Professor Shattuck's own words, 'one of the fullest records ever made of the planning, writing and staging of a body of plays by a significant English dramatist'.

The obituary for the year includes Gerald Bullett (Jan. 3), who is included here as well as in the previous survey, since he was a critic as well as a novelist and essayist, Una M. Ellis-Fermor (March 24), and Sir John Squire (December 20), for many years well known as editor of *The London Mercury*, and the 'Great Cham' of critical journalism during the 1920's and 30's, as well as a poet of no small merit.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XXXIX

120. For a moment there was silence, then Nathan Fallon stepped back to indicate the door. 'Won't you come in?' he invited. Erle Stanley Gardner, *The Case of the Grinning Gorilla*, p. 23. (Pocket Books, Inc.)

'I take it,' Hershey said, 'the young lady is Miss Street, and I have the honor to address Mr. Perry Mason.'

'That's right'.

'Won't you step in here, please'. Id. *ib.*

Why should these questions be negative?

121. The situation underlying the following quotation is this: Mr. Dixon has divorced his first wife, who has thereupon resumed her career as violinist under the name of Miss Carless. Dixon has subsequently married another woman, Nicola Minch. Not until the end of the book is it revealed that Miss Carless and Miss Minch are half-sisters. Miss Carless has a curious aversion to Dickens, more particularly to *David Copperfield*, with respect to which novel she once remarked 'All that silly business about Dora and Agnes! Just because Dickens had got it into his head that he'd married the wrong one of two sisters. And what a fuss he made about it! Nowadays he'd have simply got a divorce and married the other one.' The reason for this aversion is set forth in the following passage:

'Miss Carless was identifying herself with Dora — or with Mrs. Dickens, if you prefer — and Dixon had done exactly what she suggested Dickens might have done.'

'With Mrs. Dixon, *that now is*, standing for Agnes?'

'Exactly.'

'But surely, sir, the two ladies weren't sisters? Miss Carless's father was a Polish count and Mrs. Dixon's maiden name was Minch — or so Mrs. Basset says.'

'What Mrs. Basset says *Debrett* also says, and both are correct. What neither of them say, but is none the less true, is that Mrs. Minch and the Countess Carlessoff (or should it be Carlessova?) were one and the same person. Mrs. Dixon *that was* and Mrs. Dixon *that is*, were half-sisters.' Cyril Hare, *When the Wind Blows*, p. 213 f. (Penguin).

Explain why *who* is never used in the italicized clauses.

122. Students declared the following sentence to be incapable of analysis along traditional lines. Our readers, of course, are made of sterner stuff and find no difficulty in analyzing it into its primary parts.

He was well aware that as a man by himself, he was a more desirable asset than if he must be accompanied by a niece and a nephew. W. Somerset Maugham, *The Razor's Edge*.

Comments and answers to be sent to

21, Frans Halsstraat,
Haarlem, Holland.

P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

Charles Dickens and Appropriate Language. By RANDOLPH QUIRK. Inaugural Lecture in the University of Durham. 1959. 26 pp.

In his inaugural lecture Professor Quirk appears in a double part: as a linguist and as a Dickensian. His aim is to show Dickens's 'sense of appropriate language, his awareness that in the use of language we have an index to man's nature and experience, (and) his explorer's interest in all communicative phenomena'.

This is exemplified by a great number of observations from the novels: Dickens's phonetic sense, shown not only in his departures from orthography in the narrower sense, but also in the way in which he uses typographical devices to indicate tempo, stress, pitch and ligatures; his interest in foreign languages (Mr. Podsnap and his unfortunate French interlocutor); his use of spelling devices to produce visual effects; his gift of remembering how words struck him when he first met them as a child; his use of language as a means of character description, etc. etc.

One could have wished for a fuller treatment of Dickens's use of 'erlebte Rede', which contributes more than anything else to the peculiar stylistic quality of the later novels (particularly *Bleak House*). However, there are limits to what one can find room for in an inaugural address, and, already as it is, there is enough in his lecture for a much larger paper, even a book.

Perhaps the most impressive demonstration of Dickens's ability to individualize his characters by means of their speech is the tour de force he achieved in the St. Bernard Hostel scene in *Little Dorrit*, where none of the characters are mentioned by name. Nevertheless, the reader easily identifies them, before Rigaud does so by consulting the visitors' book. That this is a deliberate effect appears from his Number Notes, to which Professor Quirk often refers.

Altogether, his paper is a successful demonstration of linguistics applied to literary criticism. No student of Dickens should miss it.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

Wittenwiler's 'Ring' and the Anonymous Scots Poem 'Colkelbie Sow': Two Comic-Didactic Works from the Fifteenth Century. Translated by GEORGE FENWICK JONES. (University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, 18.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. xii + 246 pp. \$ 4.50 (paper), 5.50 (cloth).

These translations, which appear in a series of learned works, are not intended as literary introductions for the general public but as cribs for scholars, medievalists of whatever kidney and historians, whose linguistic equipment does not extend to Middle Scots or fifteenth century German. In this Dr Jones has succeeded, and should be congratulated for having made two singularly rebarbative works available to the social historian, who is probably the person who has most reason to be grateful. Those interested in the texts themselves will find various questions to ask to which entirely satisfactory answers are not always forthcoming. Dr Jones has translated Wittenwiler's *Ring* not from the published edition by Edmund Wiessner, which he treats throughout with due respect, but from his own recension of the text; this admittedly differs from Wiessner's mainly in punctuation, and he summarises his chief points of difference on pp. 192-195, but even

so at any given point the reader may be in doubt as to what the German words are which are here rendered into English. Similar questions arise with *Colkelbie Sow*. There exist two editions, one by John Small (Edinburgh 1874), the other in an unpublished Edinburgh dissertation by Earl F. Guy, cited by Dr Jones. It is not clear how far these two texts differ, or which of them is the basis of Dr Jones's version; presumably Small's text, as Dr Jones tells us that he had at least roughed out his translation before he became acquainted with Guy's work.

These things, however, for one sort of reader Dr Jones has in mind, are small matters. So is the very unattractive style in which the translations are cast, for the renderings themselves, unlovely as they often are, have the great merit of being accurate in substance. Dr Jones's intention is to 'serve as a key to the original', so that he has 'often translated literally where a looser rendition might be more readable'. There are occasional direct errors along these lines: *durch den reichen got* is not 'rich' but '(al)mighty' God (line 2055); in lines 155, 6402, 6572 and perhaps elsewhere in the *Ring* attention to the article by A. T. Hatto and others on the MHG formula *Ine weiz* (*German Studies presented to L. A. Willoughby*, Oxford 1952, p. 98 ff) might have produced a smoother rendering, though Dr Jones is probably justified by his principle here. The introductions and the notes to the two works are informative, and particularly welcome in the case of *Colkelbie Sow*, which has received little attention. Dr Jones's interpretation of this poem as an allegory is very convincing, and the parallels between the German and the Scottish work are enlightening. All in all, this book is a most welcome addition to fifteenth century studies, and in its European perspective most helpful to the literary historian. In conclusion it might be said that when Goethe spoke of translators being 'like panders who show us half veiled beauties' (p. ix) he was probably not thinking of two such trollops as this book shows us so effectively!

London.

LEONARD FORSTER.

Books Received

1957

English Miscellany. A Symposium of History, Literature and the Arts. Editor: MARIO PRAZ. 8. Published for the British Council by Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome. 320 pp. Price L 3300.

1958

Middle English Sea Terms. II. Masts, Spars, and Sails. By B. SANDAHL. (Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, XX.) Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 151 pp. Price 18.—.

Shakespeare Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von H. HEUER und W. CLEMEN, unter Mitwirkung von R. STAMM. Band 94. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 370 pp.

England's Elizabeth. A Lecture Delivered at the Folger Shakespeare Library on November 17, 1958, the Fourth Centenary of the Accession of Queen Elizabeth I. By Sir JOHN E. NEALE. Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 20 pp.

The Muses Mourn. A Checklist of Verse Occasioned by the Death of Charles II. By JOHN ALDEN. Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. 62 pp. Price \$ 4.00.

In Quest of America. A Study of Howells' Early Development as a Novelist. By O. W. FRYCKSTEDT. Harvard University Press. 287 pp.

1959

SIR DAVID LINDSAY, *Squyer Meldrum*. Edited by J. KINSLEY. (Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library.) London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 121 pp. Price 10/— net.

Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England. By L. B. CAMPBELL. Cambridge, at the University Press. University of California Press. vii + 268 pp. Price \$ 5.00.

BONAVENTURE DES PERIERS, *The Mirroure of Mirth and Pleasant Conceits*. Translated by T. D. A Critical Edition by J. W. HASSELL, JR. The University of South Carolina Press. ix + 211 pp. Price 5.00.

Tudor and Stuart History. A Report of the Folger Library Conference on Needs and Opportunities. Held in Celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the Accession of Queen Elizabeth I. Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 41 pp.

The Spanish Tragedy. THOMAS KYD. Edited by P. EDWARDS. (The Revels Plays, General Editor: Clifford Leech.) London: Methuen & Co Ltd. lxx + 153 pp. Price 18/— net.

Shakespeare Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von H. HEUER unter Mitwirkung von W. CLEMEN und R. STAMM. Band 95/1959. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 417 pp.

Schein und Sein bei Shakespeare. Festrede ... von W. CLEMEN. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 46 pp.

Decem Rationes. A Shakespearean Monograph by K. B. DANKS. London: Winterson. Distributors: Centaur Press, 9 St. Anne's Close, Highgate West Hill, London N. 6. 44 pp. Price 21s.

Complete Prose Works of John Milton. Volume II, 1643-1648. Edited by E. SIRLUCK. New Haven: Yale University Press. 840 pp. Price \$ 12.50.

George Meriton's A Yorkshire Dialogue (1683). Edited by A. C. CAWLEY. Yorkshire Dialect Society Reprint II. 32 pp.

Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding. By J. LOFTIS. (Stanford Studies in Language and Literature, XIX.) Stanford University Press. ix + 154 pp. Price \$ 4.00.

English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century. 1700—1740. By B. DOBREE. (The Oxford History of English Literature.) Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. xii + 701 pp. Price 42s. net.

Alexander Pope. *The Poetry of Allusion*. By R. A. BROWER. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. x + 368 pp. Price 35s. net.

Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited by E. L. GRIGGS. Volume III, 1807—1814. lii + 544 pp. — Volume IV, 1815—1819. xi. 545—1000 pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. Price £ 5. 5s. net.

From Gibbon to Darwin. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered in the University of Birmingham on 1st December 1958 by T. J. B. SPENCER, Professor of English Language and Literature. The University of Birmingham. 19 pp. Price 2/6.

The Diaries of John Ruskin. Selected and Edited by J. EVANS and J. H. WHITEHOUSE. 1874—1889. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 771—1210. Price 70.— net.

Bayard Taylor and German Letters. By J. T. KRUMPELMANN. (Britannica et Americana, Band 4.) Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co. 234 pp. Price DM 25.—.

The Art of Rudyard Kipling. By J. M. S. TOMPKINS. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. xiv + 277 pp. Price 25s. net.

James Joyce. By R. ELLMANN. New York: Oxford University Press. xvi + 842 pp. Price in U.K.: 63/— net.

British Novels of the Twentieth Century. By J. ANDERSON. (Reader's Guides: Third Series 7.) Published for the National Book League at the University Press, Cambridge. 32 pp. Price 3/- net.

American Critical Essays. Twentieth Century. Selected with an Introduction by H. BEAVER. (The World's Classics 575.) London: Oxford University Press. xvi + 364 pp. Price 7/- net.

Faulkner in the University. Class Conferences at the University of Virginia 1957—1958. Edited by F. L. GWYNN and J. L. BLOTNER. Charlottesville, Virginia: The University of Virginia Press. xi + 294 pp. Price \$ 6.00.

Four Poets on Poetry. Edited and with an Introduction by D. C. ALLEN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 111 pp. Price \$ 2.95.

R. P. Blackmur; Yvor Winters; Marianne Moore; Mark van Doren.

Contemporary English Poetry. An Introduction. By A. THWAITE. London: Heinemann. viii + 167 pp. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Language, Literature and Science. An Inaugural Lecture by A. N. JEFFARES. Leeds University Press. 24 pp. Price 2s. 6d.

Three Traditions of Moral Thought. By D. KROOK. Cambridge University Press. xiii + 355 pp. Price 30s. net.

The Government and Institutions of England. By C. A. BODELSEN. Sixth Edition. København: H. Hagerup. 60 pp.

English Vowels in Phonetic Pictures. By B. HÁLA. Praha 1959. 143 pp., with 86 Figures and 4 Appendices.

The Teaching of English. Studies in Communication No. 3. Contributed to the Communication Research Centre, University College London. Edited by RANDOLPH QUIRK and A. H. SMITH. London. Secker & Warburg. 192 pp. Price 12/6.

Studia Germanica I. Uitgegeven door de Afdeling Germaanse Filologie van de Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. 229 pp. Price B.Fr. 150.—, f 12.—.

Includes A. S. C. Ross; Aldrediana XI: The u-orthographies; W. Schrickx, Coleridge Marginalia in Kant's *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft*.

Wanted:

English Studies, Vol. XXVI, 2 & 4, April and August 1944.

Offers may be made to the Editor (for address see inside cover).

English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands Before 1800

Biographical and Bibliographical Introduction

Symbols used in this paper:

BL : Bodleian Library	PR : Public Record Office
BM : British Museum	RA : Rijksarchief
CA : College Archives	RL : Royal Library
CL : Cathedral Library	SA : Archives of Scots Church
MA : Municipal Archives	SP : State Papers
ML : Municipal Library	UA : University Archives
PL : Provincial Library	UL : University Library

For K, P, W : see Introduction to § II.

The oldest known treatise on English pronunciation written for those whose native language was Dutch is the appendix of I. Walraven's translation of George Whetstone's *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier*,¹ published at Leyden in 1586, the same year that Edmund Bollifant printed William Bullokar's *Bref Grammar for English*; but these pages can hardly be called a Grammar.

A few decades later, between 1608 and 1620, there was composed in the Netherlands an English Grammar by William Brewster, at a time when in England no Grammars are known to have existed other than those of William Bullokar (1586) and of Paul Greaves (1593).² William Brewster was an English Puritan who had gone into exile in the Netherlands, before becoming one of the founders of the colony of Plymouth in New-England. In 1643, some time after his death, his contemporary William Bradford wrote: *Aboute the 18 of Aprill dyed ... my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster ... Towards the later parte of those .12. years spent in Holland ... he fell into a way (by reason he had the Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after Latine maner. These rules, however, do not seem to have been destined especially for the Dutch, since many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him as they had time from other studies.*³ Although W. Brewster set up

¹ pp. 76-96. There are copies in BM-London and in RL-Hague.

² In the same period Alexander Hume may have composed in Scotland *Of the orthographie and congruitie of the Britan tongue*. Edited from the original MS. by Henry B. Wheatley, in *Early English Text Society*, vol. V, London, 1865.

³ *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, by William Bradford, Published for the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1912, pp. 342 & 348. This text was brought to our attention by J. F. Vanderheyden, *Humanisme en Neophilologie*, in *Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1958, p. 408, note.

a printing-press in the Netherlands and produced several books, mainly such as could not be printed in England, there is no evidence that his Grammar was ever published.⁴ Neither is there an English Grammar among the collection of books which he bequeathed to the colony, although there is a Latin Grammar, *Syntagma Grammaticum, or, an easie explanation of Lillies Grammar* of 1616.⁵

It was not until 1646 that the oldest known real English Grammar in Dutch was published. The English Grammars of the XVIIth and the XVIIIth century in the Netherlands were parts of larger works; some were added to bilingual English and Dutch Dictionaries, others are comprised in manuals for the study of English, containing, besides the Grammars, collections of dialogues and other texts in English and Dutch and alphabetical or logical vocabularies.

It is hoped to study the non-grammatical material later. For the present it is our intention to study the history of Grammar proper and its dependence on the grammatical development in England and on the Continent. This paper is meant to be a biographical and bibliographical introduction to that study.

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The following is a list of English Grammars in Dutch published before 1800.

1. *Regelen tot onderwijsinghe van de Engelsche Taele*, in *The English Schole-Master* of 1646, reprinted in 1658 and 1663.
2. *Een Engelsche Grammatica, Om perfect de Engelsche Tale te leeren*, added to *A Copious English And Netherduytch Dictionarie*, by Henry Hexham, first published in 1647-1648, reprinted in 1660, and revised by Daniel Manly in 1675.
3. *Korte, ende Noodwendige Regulen, tot Onderwijsinghe van de Engelsche Sprake, 't Samen gestelt tot dienste der gener die een begeerte, ende bevalligheyt tot de kennisse der selve hebben* in *The English, and Low Dutch Instructer*, by Francois Hillenius, published in 1664 and reprinted in 1671, 1677, 1678 and 1686.
4. *English Grammar*, in *A New and Easy English Grammar, Containing Brief fundamental Rules, usual Phrases, pleasant and choise Dialogues concerning the present State and Court of England, Whereunto is added a Nomenclature, English and Dutch*, by J. G. van Heldoren, first published in 1675, reprinted in 1690, a work which

⁴ A. Steele, *Chief of the Pilgrims: or The Life and Time of William Brewster*, Philadelphia, 1857, pp. 172-175, gives the list of the works printed by W. Brewster, but no Grammar is mentioned.

⁵ *Catalogue of Elder Brewster's Library, communicated by Henry M. Dexter, in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, vol. V. (1889-1890)*, Boston, 1890, pp. 37-85. The Latin Grammar is n^o 58 on p. 43.

consists almost entirely of extracts copied or translated from Paul Festeau's *Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise, Enrichie de Dialogues Curieux touchant l'Estat & la Cour d'Angleterre, et d'une Nomenclature Angloise et Francoise*, London, 1672.

5. *Grammaticale-Regelen Ende Onderrichtinge Waer door de Engelsche Taal speedighlyck en volkomentlyck kan geleert worden door soodanige Nederduytsche Persoonen die daar lust toe hebben*, in *Anglo-Belgica, The English and Netherdutch Academy*, by Edward Richardson, published in 1676-1677 and reprinted in 1689 and 1698-1699.
6. *Beknopt Vertoog wegens de Engelsche Spraakkonst* by Willem Sewel in his Dutch and English Dictionary. In the 1691 edition it is found partly as an introduction to the Dictionary, partly in an Appendix; in the subsequent editions it is prefixed in its entirety to the Dictionary. In the revised edition of 1766 by Egbert Buys, it was slightly revised.
7. *Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale* by Willem Sewel, which is the Grammar from the Dictionary in a smaller size, printed again and again in the XVIIIth century from 1705 to 1793.
8. *Korte Aanleidinge tot de Engelsche Spraakkonst*, in *The Compleat English Grammar* by George Smith, published in 1752 and reprinted in 1758, 1775, 1786 and 1821. This *Aanleidinge* is one of the worst examples of plagiarism, being simply a translation of W. Sewel's *Korte Wegwyzer*, omitting a few passages and changing *gelyk ook in myn Woordenboek ... is aangewezen* (Sewel, 1705, p. 67) into *Siet Sewels Woorden-boek* (Smith 1752, p. 50).
9. *English Grammar* in *A New Complete English and Dutch Grammar* by Edward Evans, published in 1757, reprinted in 1778 and 1792 and revised by J. van Bemmelen in 1806.
10. *Engelsche Spraak-kunst* in *The English Grammar Enlarged; and Explained in Dutch* by John Holtrop, first published in 1780 and revised by Benjamin Choyce Sowden in 1791 and 1804.

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The author of *The English Schole-Master* (1646) thought that Englishmen living in the Netherlands could attain to the knowledge and speech of the Dutch tongue, with less trouble than the Netherlands can the understanding and speech of [the English] tongue. (fo. A3v). Henry Hexham, Francois Hillenius, Edward Richardson and Willem Sewel preferred to add a Dutch Grammar to their works.

1. *A Netherdutch Grammar, to learne perfectly the Netherdutch Tongue*, added to *Groot Woorden-Boeck; Gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende in 't Engelsch*, by Henry Hexham, published in 1648, reprinted in 1658 and revised by Daniel Manly in 1672 and 1678.

2. *Briefe, and Necessarie Rules, For the Instructing of the Dutch Tongue, or Speech, Composed for the service of those that have a desire, and liking to attaine to the knowledge of the same*, by Francois Hillenius, in *The English, and Low Dutch Instructor*.
3. *Grammar-Rules and Directions, Whereby the Nether-Dutch Language may be speedily and perfectly learned by such English-men as have a desire thereto* by Edward Richardson, in *Anglo-Belgica*.
4. *A Brief and Compendious Dutch Grammar* by Willem Sewel in his Dutch and English Dictionary. In the 1691 edition it is found partly as an introduction to the Grammar, partly in an Appendix; in the subsequent editions it was prefixed in its entirety to the Dictionary.
5. *A Compendious Guide to the Low-Dutch Language* by Willem Sewel, which is the Grammar from the Dictionary in a smaller size, reprinted again and again in the XVIIIth century from 1700 to 1760, and revised by James Teissier in 1783 and 1788 and by a Minister of one of the English Episcopal Churches in the Netherlands in 1814.

§ I. The Authors

With the exception of William Sewel, the authors of these Grammars have been hardly known thus far, but we have obtained more ample information from their works themselves and from various archives in England and in the Netherlands. We did not make a thorough search of these archives, since it was not our intention to prepare full biographies. We have tried to gather enough details to justify identifications, to establish the nationality of the writers and to have some idea of their professions. We have been fairly successful, since it is of only one author, J. C. van Heldoren, that we have failed to find any trace in the records of his time.

The great surprise we experienced in the course of our investigations was that all the authors were prominent church people. Henry Hexham was a Deacon and later an Elder at Delft, Francois Hillenius was a Congregationalist who twice left his country for his religion's sake, Edward Richardson was a prominent Puritan minister during the Commonwealth and the Minister of several English churches in the Netherlands. Willem Sewel was a Quaker and the first Quaker historian of Quakerism. George Smith, Edward Evans and John Holtrop were, at some time of their lives, clerks to the English or the Scottish Church of the places where they were living.

It should be further noted that out of the four writers of a Dutch Grammar in English three were Englishmen: Henry Hexham came from the Holland district of Lincolnshire, Francois Hillenius probably from Great Yarmouth, Edward Richardson from Yorkshire; and the fourth, Willem Sewel, was of English descent.

We have obtained information from the *Rijksarchief* at Rotterdam and the Public Record Office, London; from the Municipal Archives of Amster-

dam, Delft, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Woerden and Unna (Westphalia) in Germany; from the Archives of Ripon Cathedral Library, the Scots Church at Rotterdam, and the Evangelical Church at Unna (Germany); from the Archives of the Universities of Leyden and Cambridge, of Emmanuel and Magdalene Colleges, Cambridge, and of the Royal College of Physicians, London; and from the Department of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. We express our most sincere feeling of gratitude to all those who have been helpful: but for their generous assistance we should never have been able to bring the biographical part of our paper to a good end. We feel obliged to single out for a special mention Canon D. M. Bartlett, Librarian of Ripon Cathedral Library, who went through the Ripon records; Mr. C. B. Jewson, of Norwich, who supplied information about Francis Hillen; Miss N. J. M. Kerling, of London, who undertook research at the Public Record Office; and Mr. A. L. Schenck, by whose knowledge of the Scots Church at Rotterdam we have greatly benefited. We are further indebted to the Controller of her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office for permission to reproduce unpublished Crown Copyright material in the Public Record Office, London.

I. The anonymous author of *The English Schole-Master* was an Englishman, one of those *that are of the English nation & inhabiting these Countries*, who had already been instructing many persons of quality in English. He had realized that his students had been hampered in their studies by the want of a dictionary, a grammar or, at least, some rudiments to help them. Therefore he had undertaken *to set downe some rules and directions* although he had never seen *any grounds to the like purpose, from which [he] might receave furtherance or helpe herein*.

He wrote his preface after May 12th 1641, the day when took place the marriage of the eldest son of *his highnes Frederick Henry*, the later Stadtholder William II, and the eldest daughter of *our Sovereigne Charles*, Maria Henriette Stuart.⁶

II. Captain Henry Hexham was an Englishman, born in the Holland district of Lincolnshire,⁷ who had *served this Land* (the Netherlands) *for two and fortie yeares* in 1642.⁸

As a young boy, from 1600 to 1606, he was a page to Sir Francis Vere, one of the English military leaders in the service of the United Provinces, who was in command of the garrison at Ostend, from July 1601 to March 1602, during part of the four year siege of the town.⁹ Later in life he took part in the campaign of the Stadtholder Frederick Henry against the Spanish, as quartermaster of the English regiment that was first commanded

⁶ See *The English Schole-Master*, 1646, A3r-A4r.

⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXII, Supplement, pp. 843-844. The greater part of the information about H. Hexham is taken from this Dictionary.

⁸ H. Hexham, *First part of the principles of the Art Militarie*, 1642, Preface, A2. V.

⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XX, p. 233.

by Sir Horace Vere, later Baron Vere of Tilbury (until 1633), and afterwards by George Goring, later Baron Goring (from 1633),¹⁰ and he was an eye-witness of the sieges of 's Hertogenbosch (1629), Maastricht (1632), the town and castle of Limburg (1632) and Breda (1637) and of the capture of Venlo, Roermond and Strale (1632). In 1640 he was in England, but in 1642 he had again settled in the Netherlands, leaving his country without taking any active part in the Civil War.

H. Hexham was a prolific writer. Besides his Dictionaries he wrote accounts of various battles, sieges and captures of towns and a treatise on military art, and translated works of all sorts.¹¹ For a great part of his life, he lived at Delft where he was a prominent member of the English Presbyterian Church. In 1636 he was involved in a quarrel with the preacher of the *Guesthouse Church*, who had attacked the Book of Common Prayer, and he sent a report to Sir William Boswell, the English Envoy in the Netherlands.¹² In December 1645 he was a Deacon and was called upon to act as *Scribe to the Consistorie*, and on September 13th 1648, *captayne Hexham* was elected an Elder. He died before June 23rd 1658, when the Consistory convened to elect a successor.¹³

III. Francois Hillenius, or Hillen¹⁴ was an Englishman, who calls English *our English* and the Dutch letters *their letters*¹⁵ and was acquainted with both English and Dutch from the very cradle. In 1637 he was authorized by the magistrates of Rotterdam to open a school in the city and in 1664 he is still described as *Engelsche en Duitsche School-Meester residerende tot Rotterdam*.¹⁶

A Francis Hillen, limner, aged 24 years, and his wife Elizabeth, aged 25 years, were among the Congregationalists of Great Yarmouth who left for the Netherlands in 1637,¹⁷ determined not to submit to changes in their

¹⁰ F. J. C. ten Raa & F. de Bas, *Het Staatliche Leger, 1568-1795*, vol. IV, 's Gravenhage, 1918, p. 242.

¹¹ See a list of H. Hexham's Works in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXII, p. 844.

¹² Letters of H. Hexham to Sir William Boswell among the Boswell-Papers in the BM-London, fol. 219, 224, 226-227, reprinted in D. P. Oosterbaan, *Zeven Eeuwen Geschiedenis van het Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis te Delft*, Delft 1954, Appendix, pp. xxix-xxxiv. See also pp. 263-264.

¹³ MA-Delft, *A Book of Records of the English Presbyterian Church in Delft*, in *Marriage Register 1646-1696*, fo. 1r & 1v, and fo. 4v. H. Hexham's name is also found in a list of members of the Church in October 1645, in MA-Delft, *Baptism Register, 1643-1695*. His name is not found in the *Burial Registers* in MA-Delft. The *Burial Register of Oude Kerk* has an entry of November 25th 1647 referring to a daughter of *Capitein Hexsom aende Cooremarck*. This shows that in 1647 he was living at Delft, although the Preface to his Dictionary was dated *Rotterdam, 27 September 1647*.

¹⁴ F. Hillenius, *The English, and Low Dutch Instructor*, 1664, fo. 1v.

¹⁵ *id.*, pp. 91 & 5.

¹⁶ *id.* fo. 3r and 1v. No trace of an authorization to open a school was found in *MA-Rotterdam, Vroedschapsresoluties, 1634-1644*, and *Memoriaal van Burgemeesteren, 1632-1647*.

¹⁷ *Registers of Passengers from Great Yarmouth to Holland*, transcribed by C. B. Jewson, *Norfolk Record Society*, vol. XXV, 1954, Entry n° 237, p. 36.

religious practices imposed by Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and an ardent supporter of Archbishop Laud's reforms.¹⁸ In the beginning of 1645 they were again at Great Yarmouth, for their son Salathiel was baptised at Great Yarmouth Independent Church on January 3rd 1644/45,¹⁹ and on November 21st 1645 *the Church having received satisfaction by virtue of his dismissal the Church of Rotterdam did admit* Francis Hillen, whereas Elizabeth Hillen had to wait for admission until October 8th 1646.²⁰ The Hillens were still living at Great Yarmouth on October 12th 1650, when their son Nathaniel was christened, but later, it may be surmised at the Restoration, they returned to the Netherlands: during the week of 23-29 September 1668, *Lijsbeth Hille*, the wife of *Frans Hille*, is registered among the deceased at Rotterdam.²¹

The Francis Hillen of Great Yarmouth may be the same person as Francois Hillenius: the former came to Rotterdam in 1637 and the latter started a school in the same year. It would follow, however, that the author of *The English, and Low Dutch Instructor* did not carry on his work of a schoolmaster without interruption and that he went back to England for some years. This would explain why *The Instructor* was published so late in his career.

Edward Richardson, the author of *Anglo-Belgica* (1677), writes that *he that made the late English & Netherdutch Instructor had been in his day a publick Preacher*.²² No evidence has been found that Francis Hillen ever was a Congregational Minister, but as a Congregationalist he could be a Preacher on the basis of his experience and natural gifts, without any special training.²³

IV. J. G. van Heldoren did not leave in his works any clue for identification. He is the only author of an English Grammar in Dutch to have had his work reprinted in London, although his name was changed into J. G. van Hoon.

¹⁸ C. B. Jewson, *The English Church at Rotterdam and its Norfolk Connections*, in *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol. XXX, part IV, 1952, pp. 333-334.

¹⁹ *Baptisms recorded in Great Yarmouth Independent Church Book*, compiled by A. Stuart Brown, in *Norfolk Record Society*, vol. XXII, 1951, p. 9. Other baptisms of their children, on pp. 10, 11 & 12.

²⁰ Extracts from a MS. copy of *Great Yarmouth Church Book* in Dr. Williams's Library, London, communicated by Mr. Charles Boardman Jewson, of Norwich, to whom we are indebted for the information about F. Hillen to be found in the Great Yarmouth records.

²¹ MA-Rotterdam, *Burial Register of Grote Kerk*, Entry of week of 23-29 September 1668.

²² E. Richardson, *Anglo-Belgica*, 1677, * 5r.

²³ Francis Hillen's name does not appear in the *Index of Congregational Ministers* in Dr. Williams's Library in London, nor was there found any evidence in the Norfolk Congregational Records examined by C. B. Jewson, who made the suggestion that F. Hillen may have been in the position described.

V. Dr. Edward Richardson²⁴ praises in the preface of *Anglo-Belgica* (*2v) *my Successor the famous Doctor Wilkins*, the author of *Essay towards a Real Character and a Universal Language* (1668), who had become Dean of Ripon after the Restoration.²⁵ This justifies identifying the writer of *Anglo-Belgica* with the Commonwealth Minister of Ripon, the Edward Richardson who described himself as *S.S.T.D. Ecclesiae Riponensis Pastor* on the tablet in Ripon Minster commemorating the death, on August 31th 1651, of his wife Dorcas, aged 27, the daughter of Julius Hering,²⁶ and with the physician, Dr. Edward Richardson who *had been a Minister at Rippon and practiz'd phisick now at the Spaw*,²⁷ was involved in a Yorkshire conspiracy of 1663 and had to flee to the Netherlands,²⁸ where he is found referred to as *Theologiae & Medicinae Doctor*.²⁹

Edward Richardson was a graduate of Cambridge. He was born at York c. 1618, since he was said to be 24 in July 1643, 26 in July 1644 and 47 in April 1664.³⁰ He was admitted to Emmanuel College on May 1st 1636³¹ and matriculated in April 1637.³² He proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1639-1640³³ and must have taken his M.A. later, but there is no entry in the University Registers.

He probably started his career in the Netherlands,³⁴ where he was the

²⁴ Notices on E. Richardson are found in J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* I, vol. III, Cambridge 1924, p. 451; R. W. Innis Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden*, Edinburgh, 1932, p. 194; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and others Ejected and Silenced 1660-1662*, Oxford, 1934, p. 410. The information given is so contradictory that all the data had to be checked against the original documents and that much new documentary evidence had to be traced.

²⁵ *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, Vol. II, pp. 264-266, *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. LXXVIII, Durham, London and Edinburgh, 1886. (Cf. an article on J. Wilkins by O. Funke in *English Studies*, Aug. 1959.)

²⁶ The text of the tablet, decyphered with some difficulty, is given in *Memorials ... of Ripon*, Vol. II, p. 264.

²⁷ *Confession of Robert Atkinson*, May 21st 1664, PR-London, SP, 29/98. No. 91, fo. 237v.

²⁸ E. Richardson's name is mentioned again and again in the records of the time. See *Indexes of Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-1664, 1664-1665, 1665-1666, 1666-1667, 1671-1672, 1677-1678*.

²⁹ Georgius Archibaldus, Scotus, pays homage in his *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis* of June 21st 1674 D. Eduardo Richardsono, *Theol. & Med. Doct. dignissimo & Lugd. Bat. Pastori Vigilantissimo* and Johannes Hodgson, *Anglo-Eboracensis*, dedicates his *Disputatio* of August 6th 1677, *Virtutibus meritis & Doctrinae Doctissimi D.D. Ed. Richardson, Theolog. & Med. Doct.* There are preserved more than 30 *Disputationes* of English students of E.R.'s time in UL-Leyden.

³⁰ See *infra* entry in marriage register in MA-Amsterdam and entries of his admissions in *Volumen Inscriptionum* in UA-Leyden.

³¹ CA-Emmanuel, Cambridge, *Admission Register*, Entry of May 1st 1636. See also *infra*: entry in *Annals of Royal College of Physicians*.

³² UA-Cambridge, *Matriculation Register, 1613-1702*, Entry of April 1637.

³³ UA-Cambridge, *Grace Book Z, 1620-1645*, p. 376.

³⁴ J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *o.c.*, p. 451, think that the Ripon Minister had been Curate of Sawley, in Ripon Parish, and that he kept a school there in 1639. The source of the

Minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Delft from 1643 to 1645.³⁵ While at Delft, *Eduward Richertsen van Yorck out 24 Jare* married Dorcas, the daughter of Julius Hering, the Minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Amsterdam: on July 10th 1643, they applied for the bans to be published³⁶ and on July 29th they were married.³⁷ On July 3rd 1644 E.R. recorded the baptism of his son Edward in the baptismal register of Delft, which he had begun himself.³⁸ A few days later, on July 8th, *Eduardus Richardsonus, Nobilis ac generosus vir, anglus, annorum 26, philologiae studiosus* living *apud Petrum Pauwl in Papengraft* was admitted as a student of the University of Leyden:³⁹ he probably left his family living at Delft, but spent himself part of his time at Leyden.

Later, after January 22nd 1645, the date of the last entry in the Delft registers in his own hand, he was appointed by Parliament to be a Preacher in Ripon Minster.⁴⁰ On April 6th 1648 he was a co-signatory of *Vindiciae Veritatis ... by the Minsters of the Gospel within the West-Riding of the Countie of York*,⁴¹ and on June 29th 1649 he is named in an order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers.⁴² On August 31th 1651, he lost his first wife, but he married again at Ripon on July 17th 1655, taking as his second wife Susanna Styring, of *Barkby in the Hemingburgh Parish*.⁴³ He was still living at Ripon in June 1659, when his son Edward was admitted to Magdalene College, Cambridge.⁴⁴

At the Restoration E. R. went to practise physic at the *Spaw* (Harrogate), but that was but to colour his designe, only hee repaired to Rippon (where

information has not been traced: E. R. would have been rather young then to hold that office.

³⁵ W. Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, Edinburgh, London & Rotterdam, 1832, p. 297.

³⁶ MA-Amsterdam, *Huwelijksintekeningregister van de Kerk, D.T. en B.*, no. 459, p. 296. The age given shows that the Delft and the Ripon Minister cannot be the E. R. who was ordained a priest on April 3rd 1627. See J. Venn & J. A. Venn, o.c. p. 451.

³⁷ MA-Amsterdam, *Marriage Register of the English Presbyterian Church 1607-1795*, entry of July 29th 1643.

³⁸ MA-Delft, *Baptismal Register of the English Presbyterian Church, 1643-1695*, fo. 1r.

³⁹ UA-Leyden, *Volumen Inscriptionum sive Catalogus Studiosorum Academiae Leydensis*, vol. III. p. 475. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Bataviae, MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*, 's Gravenhage, 1875, col. 351.

⁴⁰ J. Walker, *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers of Sufferings of the Clergy ... sequester'd, harass'd &c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion*, London, 1714, vol. II, p. 91. A. G. Matthews, o.c. p. 410, gives as the date of his admission July 14th 1647, but the source of this information has not been traced.

⁴¹ A. G. Matthews, o.c., Appendix I, *Testimonies of Presbyterians*, p. 558.

⁴² BL-Oxford, Manuscript 326, *Proceedings of the Committee of Plundered Ministers*, vol. V, p. 349.

⁴³ CL-Ripon, *Marriage Register*, Entry of July 17th 1655.

⁴⁴ CA-Magdalene, Cambridge, *Admission Register*, Entry of June 29th 1659: *Edwardus Richardson filius Edwardi Richardson, Doctoris S. T. de Rippon in Agro Eboracensi, annum agens decimum quintum e schola Eatonensi admissus est Pensionarius*, i.e., as an undergraduate paying his own expenses in full.

his family resided) every Thursday being Market day,⁴⁵ probably to minister to the Puritans there. He needed a licence to practise as a physician, and this was granted when *Edvardus Richardson, in Collegio Emanuelis Cantabrigiae Magister Artium*, was examined and admitted *ad praxin extra Urbem hanc, ejusque pomoeria* as an Extra Licenciante of the College of Physicians of London on November 10th 1662.⁴⁶

In 1663 he was involved in a Yorkshire Conspiracy. He met the conspirators at the *Spaw*⁴⁷ but he was arrested in the beginning of August and lodged till the next day in a private house at York, but he escaped, made his way to Lynn and embarked on August 19th for the Netherlands,⁴⁸ where he had been before April 17th 1663, when he was seen by George Theine upon the Exchange in Rotterdam.⁴⁹

He was living at Rotterdam in the beginning of November when he wrote a letter, dated November 4/14, recommending to a London apothecary a certain Robert Stint, whose wife he had attended to.⁵⁰ On November 10th *Richardson commonly called Doctor* was named to be arrested for treason in a Whitehall proclamation.⁵¹ Some time later he left for Amsterdam where, on March 11/21 of the next year, *his lodging is private* and where *he hath his Letters directed to one Mr. Waterman*.⁵²

E. R. must have intended to practise medicine in the Netherlands. On March 25th 1664 *Eduardus Richardson, Anglus, ad medicinae praxin in Anglia faciendam a Londinensium Medicorum Collegio admissus*, was granted the privilege to proceed to the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Leyden.⁵³ On April 2nd, he was registered as a student as *Anglus, Medicinae Candidatus, ann. 47*, and the following day he held his disputation *De Dolore Nephritico* in the Medical Senate.⁵⁴

He went back, however, to the Ministry. On May 11th 1644, *Edwardus Richardtsoones* living in the *Gulden Berghs Poort* at Haarlem, *Engels Predicant*, was authorized to preach in the Orphan Church of the city for five or six Sundays.⁵⁵ The privilege must have been extended, for on November 17th 1665, the Minister was granted a first allowance of

⁴⁵ *Confession of Robert Atkinson of May 21st 1664*. PR-London, SP. 29/98, No. 91, fo. 237v.

⁴⁶ *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians*, Entry of November 10th 1662, for which we are indebted to the Registrar and the Librarian of the College.

⁴⁷ PR-London, i.a. SP. 29/93 Nos. 9 & 20¹; SP 29/94, No. 116.

⁴⁸ PR-London, SP. 29/94, No. 112, fo. 214r-fo. 215r; SP. 29/99, No. 72, fo. 146v.

⁴⁹ PR-London, SP. 29/70, No. 38 fo. 94r.

⁵⁰ PR-London, Letter in SP. 29/84, No. 65¹. See also No. 65: *Ther was a young Doctor (hee thinks his name was Richardson)*.

⁵¹ PR-London, SP 45/11.

⁵² PR-London, SP. 29/94, No. 67, fo. 119r; SP. 84/169, *Holland Correspondence, February 2nd 1663/4*.

⁵³ UA-Leyden, *Acta Fac. Med. (Sen. Arch. 414)*, p. 72. See also P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. III, 's Gravenhage, 1918, p. 299*.

⁵⁴ UA-Leyden, *Volumen Inscriptionum*, vol. V, p. 90; *Album Studiosorum*, col. 515. The *Disputatio* is preserved in UL-Leyden.

⁵⁵ MA-Haarlem, *Burgemeestersresolutien, 1664-1669*, fo. 64v.

100 guilders on account of his great poverty and of the progress he was making in his congregation.⁵⁶ On April 9th 1666 he was named again in a Whitehall proclamation recalling back from beyond the seas some men that were serving in the wars against their country,⁵⁷ but he did not want to return. On May 6th he bought the citizenship of Haarlem⁵⁸ and on August 16th he wrote to Edward Curtis that he did not meddle much in public affairs, did not concern himself with the victories on either side, but prayed *for the safety of the place and people, where I enjoy the just freedom which few kings on Earth are willing to give*.⁵⁹

Some time before October 20th 1670, E. R. was called to be Minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Leyden:⁶⁰ on that day the municipal authorities granted him a salary of 600 guilders and an allowance for rent of 150 guilders.⁶¹ He was held in high esteem and on February 23rd 1671, *Eduardus Richardson, Eboracensis, Verbi dei in Ecclesia Anglicana Minister*, living *op de Papengracht*, was made an honorary student of the University.⁶² He relinquished his office in the Church before December 9th 1674, when his successor Henry Hickam was elected.⁶³

E. R. then probably removed to Amsterdam. On February 11th 1676, *Dr. Richardson* was living *over de Buttermarckt, het derde huys van de gracht*.⁶⁴ In the beginning of 1677 he published *Anglo-Belgica*; on August 6th 1677 he was honoured by John Hodgson who dedicated to him his *Dissertatio Inauguralis Medica*; on August 24th 1677 he received a letter from an English friend, explaining how to send by post the translation of Dutch newspapers he was making;⁶⁵ and after that he is heard of no more.⁶⁶

VI. William Sewel (1653-1720) needs no introduction.⁶⁷ It will suffice to recall to mind that he was a Dutch Quaker, who was the namesake of

⁵⁶ MA-Haarlem, *Burgemeestersresolutien*, 1664-1669, fo. 201v; *Thesauriersrekening*, 1666, fo. 79v.

⁵⁷ PR-London, SP. 29/153, No. 57. The English and the Dutch were then at war (Second Dutch War, 1665-1667).

⁵⁸ MA-Haarlem, *Burgemeestersresolutien*, 1664-1669, fo. 335 r & v.

⁵⁹ Letter preserved in PR-London, SP. 29/167, No. 159.

⁶⁰ The Ripon Minister has traditionally been identified with the Leyden Minister. See *E. Calamy, An Account of the Ministers . . . who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660*, 2nd ed, London, 1713, vol. II, p. 817, and *E. Calamy, A Continuation of the Account . . .* London, 1727, pp. 948-949.

⁶¹ MA-Leyden, *Register van Kerkelijke Zaken*, Part H, fo. 95r.

⁶² UA-Leyden, *Volumen Inscriptionum*, vol. V, p. 350. *Album Studiosorum*, col. 566.

⁶³ MA-Leyden, *Register van Kerkelijke Zaken*, Part I, fo. 42r.

⁶⁴ M. M. Kleerkooper & W. P. van Stockum, *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de XVIIe eeuw*, vol. IV, Amsterdam, 1915, p. 1078.

⁶⁵ PR-London, SP. 29/396, no. 44.

⁶⁶ J. Venn & J. A. Venn o.c. p. 451 write *Died c. 1677 at Amsterdam*. The entry of burial was not found in the registers of 1677 of Amsterdam. Since there are no Indexes to the Registers and there are so many Churches where E. R. could have been buried, no further search was made.

⁶⁷ P. C. Molhuysen en F. H. H. Kosman, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woorden-*

an Englishman who had banished himself from his native country for his religion's sake and had settled in the Netherlands. He considered himself a Dutchman and protested that he was born *geensins van Engelsch, maar van Hollands en Utrechts landvolk*, since his mother's parents were no foreigners.⁶⁸ He earned his living by giving lessons, writing and translating and he is famous for his *Historia der Quakers* and his linguistic work: his Dictionary with the two Grammars and a *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* (1708).⁶⁹

VII. George Smith came to Utrecht in 1752. On May 29th 1752 the municipal authorities allowed the Consistory of the English Presbyterian Church at Utrecht to elect *een ander voorleeser*, and on June 11th next, *Mr. George Smith member of the Church was unanimously chosen Clerk in the room of Johannes Wanda*.⁷⁰ On September 16th of the same year the *Voorzanger in de Engelsche gemeijnte* was granted the privilege to open a school for the teaching of English;⁷¹ a few days later, on the 15th, his name was entered in the list of new citizens⁷² and at the end of the month one of the town accountants made a payment of *vier en veertig gulden twee stuiver* to the bookseller Abraham de Knijf for 49 copies of G. Smith's Grammar.⁷³

G. Smith did not stay long at Utrecht. On May 22nd 1753, he and Charles Hambleton Holmes were allowed to open *een Frans Kostschool* at Woerden in the Province of Zuid-Holland⁷⁴ and on June 17th *Mr. George Smith, Reader, came into the Consistory and intimated that he had got a Call to Woerden and begged to have his demission against the first of November next*; on December 4th the post of Reader was declared vacant by his departure, which had had to be postponed owing to accusations that had first to be investigated.⁷⁵

boek, vol. IX, col. 1017-1021, Leiden, 1933. There is also a monograph, W. Hull, *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, 1653-1720. The first Quaker Historian of Quakerism*, Philadelphia, 1933. The information about W. Sewel's linguistic activities is very inaccurate (pp. 33 & 209), confounding as it does *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* and *Compendious Guide to the Low-Dutch Language*.

⁶⁸ *Boekzaal der Geleerde Wereld*, July-Augustus 1708, p. 129. Quoted by J. F. Vanderheyden, *Adriaen Verwer, in Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1957, p. 661.

⁶⁹ W. Sewel is said to have died at Amsterdam on May 13th 1720, but his name is not found in the Burial Registers in MA-Amsterdam.

⁷⁰ MA-Utrecht, *Consistory Register of the English Presbyterian Church*, I. p. 263.

⁷¹ MA-Utrecht, *Vroedschapsresoluties*: entry of September 11th 1752.

⁷² MA-Utrecht, *Lijst van Nieuwe Burgers*, 1701-1828; September 16th 1752, G. Smith.

⁷³ MA-Utrecht, *Rekeningen van de 2e kameraar van de Stad Utrecht*, 1 October 1751 — 1 October 1752, f° 39.

⁷⁴ MA-Woerden, *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1740-1761, entry of 22 May 1753. G. Smith's name is not found in the baptism, marriage and burial registers of Woerden in RA: The Hague and in MA-Woerden.

⁷⁵ MA-Utrecht, *Consistory Register*, I. pp. 277, 326 & 327.

The name *Smith* suggests that the bearer may have been of English origin; there is no evidence to decide whether he was English born or not. In the Grammar the author uses expressions such as *B wordt uitgesprooken als by ons* (p. 3), but since the book was copied from W. Sewel no well-founded inference can be made.

VIII. Edward Evans was an Englishman⁷⁶ born at Bristol about 1715,⁷⁷ who came to the Netherlands early in life. On January 1st 1740 he became a member of the Scots Church at Rotterdam⁷⁸ and on August 17th of the same year he married Anne Mary Laurenson, a native of the city.⁷⁹ In 1752 he was appointed *Binnenvader* of the Church Orphanage and on April 23rd 1755 he was chosen by the Consistory of his Church to be *Schoolmaster, Presentor and Senior Clerk*.⁸⁰ In 1757 he published his Grammar and advertised that he taught *the Art of true Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick, the Principles of the English and Netherdutch Reformed Religion . . . and the Tunes of the English Psalms* and that youth might board with him and *be instructed in the English and French Tongues*⁸¹ and in 1778 he was living in the *English Boarding-School* on the *Glashaven*.⁸² Owing to ill-health, he was compelled to resign as precentor and clerk in 1789, but he continued to draw his stipend until he died. He removed to Delft, where his two daughters kept a school and where he died on April 14th 1804 at the age of eighty-nine.⁸³

IX. John Holtrop came to live at Dordrecht some time before May 18th 1749, when he married Janet Thoms, a Scottish woman, and was described as *Clark of the English Church at Dort*.⁸⁴ He seems to have remained

⁷⁶ E. Evans, *A New and Complete English and Dutch Grammar*, 1757, fo 6v. See also 4th edition 1806, 2nd part, p. 237.

⁷⁷ W. Steven, o.c., p. 349.

⁷⁸ SA-Rotterdam, *Register of Admissions*, entry of January 1st, 1740. We are indebted for all information from the Archives of the Scots Church to Mr. A. L. Schenk, of Rotterdam, who made a thorough examination of these archives as well as of those of the Presbyterian Church of the town and wrote their histories (manuscripts in MA-Rotterdam and SA-Rotterdam).

⁷⁹ MA-Rotterdam, *Register of Marriages in Scots Church*, entry of August 17th 1740.

⁸⁰ SA-Rotterdam, *Consistory Register*, vol. V, meeting of April 23rd 1755.

⁸¹ E. Evans, o.c., fo. 3v. E. Evans must have been a teacher before 1747; the Grammar of 1757 gives a Privilege of 6 February 1747, granting the publisher the exclusive right to print a book, of which the first part was the *Spelling-Book and Grammar* of T. Dyche and R. Dilworth, and the second the *Dialogues* of Evans.

⁸² Title-page of *A Clear, Natural, and Easy Method of Instruction in the Spelling and Pronunciation of the English Language*, 1778.

⁸³ SA-Rotterdam, *Consistory Register*, VIII, meeting of June 14th 1804. W. Steven, o.c., p. 349. E. Evans was buried on April 19th 1804, MA-Delft, *Burial Register of Oude Kerk*, entry of April 19th 1804.

⁸⁴ MA-Dordrecht, *Register of Marriages before Magistrates 1741-1757*, fo. 149v, and *Register of Marriages in English-Scottish Church 1628-1809*, undated entry of 1749. Some time about 1700 the English Episcopalian Church and the Scottish Presbyterian Churches of Dordrecht were united; see, J. L. van Dalen, *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht*, Dordrecht, 1931, pp. 801.

at Dordrecht for the whole of his life. In 1759 he married Jenneke Kleyn, a citizen's daughter, and was made a citizen himself.⁸⁵ On December 16th 1779 he dated the preface of his Grammar at Dordrecht, and on October 29th 1792 he is registered among the deceased of the *Groote Kerk*, being described as *behoorende tot den Engelschen Court*, the association of English merchants at Dordrecht.⁸⁶

John Holtrop wrote his Grammar and his two Dictionaries probably at the demand of his son, the printer William Holtrop. In the Preface to the first edition of the Dutch and English Dictionary (1801) the printers clearly state that they took the initiative, *Twaalf Jaren was dit Deel het voorwerp van onze werkzaamheid en zorgen; en berekenen wij daar bij het tijdverloop sedert den eersten aanvang, zo waren wij niet minder dan ruim twintig jaren met deze uitvoering onledig.* (fo 2r)

In 1779, John Holtrop considered himself a Dutchman, calling the Dutch his *Landgenooten*,⁸⁷ but he was certainly of foreign origin. It has been thought that he was of English descent,⁸⁸ but this cannot be proved. The evidence shows that he was born at Unna in Westphalia in Germany,⁸⁹ where his father, Henry,⁹⁰ described as a *leyendecker* in 1723,⁹¹ had been granted the citizenship in 1683,⁹² and there has come to hand no proof that his father was English born.

§ II. The English and Dutch Grammars

The following list gives a survey of the editions of English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English, published before 1800, that could be found in the Libraries of Western Europe, Canada and the United States. The compiling of the list was much facilitated by the

⁸⁵ MA-Dordrecht, *Register of Marriages before Magistrates, 1757-1779*, fo. 3v and *Borgerboek, 1730-1778*, fo. 132.

⁸⁶ MA: Dordrecht, *Register of Deceased of Grote Kerk, 1785-1811*, entry of 29 October 1792. See on *Engelsche Court*, J. L. Van Dalen, o.c., 333-336.

⁸⁷ J. Holtrop, *The English Grammar*, 1780, fo. 3v.

⁸⁸ P. C. Molhuysen en P. J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. I. Leiden, 1911, col. 1143. The writer of *De familie Holtrop stamde oorspronkelijk uit Engeland doch had zich later metterwoon in Dordrecht gevestigd* does not seem to have known that they came to Dordrecht from Unna.

⁸⁹ See entries of his marriages in Registers of MA-Dordrecht. He was born between 1707 and 1711 or after 1713. *Henrich Holtrop* and *Margaretha Kuhlman* or *Kuleman* were married between February 1706 and February 1707, according to MA-Unna, *Brautweinbuch 1668-1808*, entries on February 19th 1707 and February 18th 1708, pp. 112 & 119. The Church Registers of Unna Evangelical Church do not begin until 1711 and are very defective for the period, 1714-1732. Only one baptism of a son of Henry Holtrop is registered: January 31st 1713, *Heinrich Holtrops Sohn Eberhard Friderich*.

⁹⁰ MA-Dordrecht, *Register of Marriages before Magistrates, 1727-1741*, fo. 225r, entry of marriage of Thomas Holtrop, John's brother, June 5th 1738.

⁹¹ R. Lüdicke, *Die Stadtrechte der Grafschaft Mark, Unna, Münster i. Westfalen*, 1930, p. 317, lists Henry Holtrop among those who had their houses destroyed by a fire on February 27th 1723.

⁹² MA-Unna, *Brautweinbuch, 1668-1808*, p. 10.

existence of the Central Catalogues at the Royal Library at The Hague and the National Library at Ottawa (Canada) and of the *Union Catalog* at the Library of Congress at Washington, and by the generous assistance given by the staffs of the major Libraries of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America.

Whenever possible two copies of each edition were examined, preferably one in an English and one in a continental library, priority being given first to the copies of the British Museum and the Royal Library at The Hague, then to those of the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the University Library at Leyden. The locations given for each edition are those of the copies examined.

The list has been checked before printing with the help of microfilms of all the first editions and of the title-pages and introductory quires of all the other ones. When the title-page contains a title in only one language, it is reprinted in one single paragraph; when it contains titles in two languages, it is reprinted in two or three paragraphs, one for each of the titles and one for the printer's name and place and date of publication.

The figures within brackets refer to A. G. Kennedy, *A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language from the Beginning of Printing to the End of 1922*, Cambridge & Newhaven, 1927 (indicated by K.) and to D. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America And of Books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, 3 vol., New-York, 1945-1951 (indicated by W.). They show what editions have been recorded in these bibliographical surveys.

I. Poldauf, *On the History of some Problems of English Grammar before 1800*, Prague, 1948, gives a list of the English Grammars that are found in Kennedy and adds a few that are not; these additions will be referred to by the letter P.

I. THE ENGLISH SCHOLE-MASTER.

1. 1646: 12mo: BM-London & RL-Hague. (K.2578, W.E3117)

The English // Schole-Master // Or // Certaine rules and helps, whereby the // natives of the Nederlandes, may bee, in a // short time, taught to read, understand, // and speake, the English tongue. // By the helpe whereof, the English also // may be better instructed in the knowledge // of the Dutch tongue, than by any voca- // bulars, or other Dutch and English // books, which hitherto they have // had, for that purpose. // Amsterdam. // Printed in the Year 1646. //

Den Engelschen // School-Meester // ofte // Eenighe regulen / en behulpse-
len / // waerdoor d'ingeborene Nederlan- // ders / in een corten tydt /
geleert kon- // nen worden d'Engelse taele / te lesen // verstaen / ende
spreken. // Waer door d'Engelschen oock // beter geleert mogen worden /
inde // kennisse van de Neder-duytsche // taele / als door eenige Vocabula-

// ren of andere duitsche en En- // gelsche boecken / diese tot noch // toe tot dien eynde oyt ge- // hadt hebben. // Tot Amsterdam, // Gedruckt in 't Iaer 1646. //

Alr, Short title; A1v, English title; A2r, Dutch title; A2v, blank; A3r-A4v, Preface, in English and in Dutch; 1-34, *Regelen tot onderwijsinghe // Van de // Engelsche Tael. // by een gestelt tot dienste der ghener, die // lust ende begheerte tot de kennisse // der selve hebben.* // 35-219, Dialogues and other texts, in English and in Dutch; 220-226, Table of Contents; [227], Errata; [228], blank.

2. 1658: 12mo: BM-London. (K.2581, W.E3118)

The English // Scholemaster; // ... Amsterdam, // Printed for Iohn Bouman, in the Year 1658. //

Den Engelschen // School-Meester; // ... Amsterdam, // Gedruckt by Ian Bouman, in 't Jaer 1658. //

Alr, Short title; A1v, English title; A2r, Dutch title; A2v-A4v, Preface; 1-35, *Regelen*; 36-224, Dialogues and texts; [225]-[232], Table of Contents.

3. 1663: 12mo: RL-Hague.

The English // Schole-Master, // ... Den Engelschen // School-Meester // ... t'Amsterdam, // Gedruckt by Ian Bouman in 't Jaer 1663. //

Alr, Engraving with short title; A1v, blank; A2r, Dutch and English title; A2v-A4v, Preface; 1 - [232], as in 1658.

II. HENRY HEXHAM'S ENGLISH AND DUTCH DICTIONARY.

1. 1647: 4to: BL-Oxford & PL-Leeuwarden (K.2810, W.H1648); 1648: 4to: BM-London & Plantijnmuseum, Antwerp (K:2579, W.H1649)

A Copious English // And // Netherduytch // Dictionarie, // Composed out of our best // English Authours. // With an Appendix of the names of all kind of Beasts, // Fovvles, Birds, Fishes, Hunting, and Havvking. // As also // A compendious Grammar for the Instru- // ction of the Learner. //

Het Groot // Woorden-Boeck, // Gestelt in 't Engelsch ende Nederduytisch. // Met een Appendix van de namen van alderley Beesten, Vo- // gelen, Visschen, Jagerye, ende Valckerye, &c. Als oock, // Een korte Engelsche Grammatica. // Alles met groote naerstigheyt uyt de beste Engelsche Autheuren t' samen // gevoeght, Door // Henry Hexham. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedruckt by Aernovt Leers. (*Oxford and Leeuwarden copies*) Anno 1647; (*London and Antwerp copies*) Anno 1648.

*1r, Title; *1v, blank; *2r-*2v, Dedication to Sir Bartholmew van Wouw, in English, dated September 21st 1647; *3r-*3v, Preface, in Dutch; *4r-*4v, blank. Alr-Gg3v, Dictionary; Gg4r-Hh8v, Appendix; Ii1r-Mm3r, *Een Engelsche // Grammatica, // Om perfect de Engelsche Tale te leeren.* // Mm4v, blank.

2. 1660: 4to: BL-Oxford & ML-Rotterdam. (K.2582, 2810, 2815, W.H1650)

A Copious Englisg- // And // Netherduytisch Dictionarie, ... // Het Groot // Woorden-Boeck, // ... Door // Henry Hexham. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedruckt by Arnout Leers, Anno 1660. //

As in 1647-1648; except that the last four quires are marked A to D; A1r-D4r, *English Grammar*; D4v, blank.

3. 1675: 4to: BM-London & UL-Leyden. (K.2579, 2810, 2824, W.H1651)

A Copious English // And //Netherdutch // Dictionary, // Comprehending the English Language with the Low- // Dutch Explication. // With an Appendix of the Names of all kind of Beasts, // Fowles, Birds, and Fishes, &c. // As Also // A Compendious Grammar for the Instruction of the // Learner. // Composed out of the best English Authours. By // Henry Hexham. // And in this New Edition Amended, Enlarged, and Enriched // with many Words, By // Daniel Manly. // Rotterdam, // Printed by the Widdow of Arnold Leers, // at the Old Head, 1675. // With Priviledge. //

*1r, Title; *1v, Privilege, dated April 4th 1672; *2r-*2v, Dedication of 1647 without date.

A1r-Mmm2r, Dictionary; Mmm2r-Ooo4v, Appendix; Ppp1r-Sss3v, *English Grammar*; Sss4r-Sss4v, blank.

III. HENRY HEXHAM'S DUTCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

1. 1648: 4to: BL-Oxford & Plantijnmuseum, Antwerp. (W.H1653)

Het Groot // Woorden- // Boeck: // Gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende // in 't Engelsch. // Als oock tot dienst van den Leer-gierigen verrijckt met een // korte ende bondige Nederduytsche Grammatica. // Alles met groote naerstigheyt uyt de beste Neder-duytsche Autheuren // t' samen gestelt, Door // Hendrick Hexham. //

A large Netherdutch and English // Dictionarie; // Composed out of the best Netherdutch // Authours. // With a compendious Netherdutch Grammar, for // the Instruction of the Learner. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedruckt by Arnovt Leers, Anno 1648. //

*1r, Title; *1v, blank; *2r-*2v, Dedication to Sir Bartholmew van Wouw, in Dutch; *3r-*3v; Preface, in English; *4r-*4v, blank.

A1r-Ss7v, Dictionary; Ss8r-Tt8v, Appendix. Vulr-Bbb2v, *A Netherdutch // Grammar, // to learne perfectly the Netherdutch Tongue. //*

2. 1658: 4to: BM-London & ML-Rotterdam.

Het Groot // Woorden- // Boeck: // ... Door // Hendrick Hexham. // A large Netherdutch and English // Dictionarie; // ...

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedruckt by Arnovt Leers, Anno 1658. //

Edition completely similar to that of 1648.

3. 1672: 4to: BM-London & UL-Amsterdam. (K.2824)

Dictionarium, // Ofte // Woorden-Boeck, // Begrijpende den Schat der Nederlandtsche Tale, // met de Engelsche Uytlegginge, // Verrijckt met een korte ende bondige Nederduytsche // Grammatica: // T' samengesteld door // Hendrick Hexham. // Ende nu van nieuws Oversien, Verbeterd, ende met // een groote menigte Woorden ende // Spreucken Vermeerdert, // Door E. S. XLI. 1960.

// Daniel Manly. // Tot Rotterdam. // By Arnoud Leers, Boek-verkooper by
't Oude Hooft. 1672. // Met Privilegie. //

*1r, Title; *1v, Privilege, dated April 4th 1672; *2r-*2v, Dedication of 1648;
*3r-*4v, Arnoud Leers, the printer, to the Reader, in Dutch, i.a. on spelling and
onduytsche woorden in de Duytsche Tale.

A1r-Hhhh4v, Dictionary; llll1r-Llll2r, Appendix; Llll2v-Qqqq3v, *Netherdutch
Grammar*; Qqqq4r & v, blank.

4. 1678: 4to: BM-London & UL-Leyden.

This edition is the same as that of 1672; the original title-page has been cut off and a new leaf has been pasted on the remaining edge of paper.

On the recto a new title-page with *Tot Rotterdam. // By de Weduwe van Arnoud Leers. Boeck-verkoopster by 't Oude Hooft 1678 // Met Privilegie. //*

On the verso a new Privilege, dated December 20th 1678, granting to the son of Arnoud Leers the exclusive right to print een *Woorden Boeck in 't groot ofte cleyn daer de Engelsche Tale nevens andere tael ofte talen soude mogen incomen*; the printer had complained that owing to the bad times (Dutch War, 1672-1678) the book had not sold well since 1672, and that extracts had been made which had been published as *woordeboeckjes*.

IV. THE INSTRUCTOR OF FRANCOIS HILLENIUS.

1. 1664: 12mo: BM-London & RL-Hague.

Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Gheschikt in // Twee Deelen; // Van welcke 't Eene begrijpt korte ende Noodt-// wendighe Regulen / tot Onderwijsinghe // van de Engelsche Sprake. // 't Ander, t' Zamen-praatjes / gemeene Redenen / // Discoursen / Zendt-Brieven / ende Zin-spreuk- // ken; om daar door tot de wetenschap / // ende 't aanstaan der zelve ghe- // rieffelijk te komen. //

The English, and Low Dutch // Instructor, // Disposed, in to // Two Parts; // The First, whereof containeth, Brief, and Neces- // sary Rules, for the Instructing of the Dutch Tongue. // The Second, Common dialogues, Communica- // tions, Discourses, Letters, and Sentences rea- // dily for to come thereby to the know- // ledge and liking of the same. // By Francois Hillenius. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaen Wagens, Boukverkooper, // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1664. //

1r, Title-page; 1v, Poem *Op het Werk // ... van // Mr. Francois Hillenius, // Engelsche en Duitche School-Meester, Re- // siderende tot // Rotterdam*; // 2r-4v, Preface, in English and in Dutch.

Part I: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen, // Onderrichter, // Waar in // Korte ende Noodtwendighe Regulen / tot On- // derwijsinghe van de Engelsche Sprake // vergadert zijn. //

The English, and Low Dutch // Instructor, // Wherein // Briefe and Necessary Rules, are Collected for // the Instructing of the Dutch tongue. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bestiaen Wagens, Boukverkooper, // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1664. //

[1], Title-page; 2-114, on the left-hand pages, *Korte, ende Noodwendige // Regulen, // Tot Onderwijsinge van de // Engelsche Sprake, // 't Samen gestelt tot dienste der gener die een // begeerte, ende bevalligheyt tot de kennisse // der selve hebben. //* 1 3-115, on the right-hand pages, *Briefe, and Necessarie // Rules, // For the Instructing of the // Dutch Tongue, or Speech, // Composed for the service of those that have a // desire, and liking to attaine to the knowledge // of the same. //* 1 [116], Addenda.

Part II: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Waar in // 'tZamen-praatjes / gemeene Redenen / Discour- // sen / Zendt-Brieven / ende Zin-spreukken; om // daar door tot de wetenschap / ende 't aan- // staan van de Engelsche sprake gerieffe- // lijk te komen / vergadert zijn. // Mitsgaders, een Kleine // Vocabulaar, // Ofte Woordt-Boekje, met het gemelde Aan- // hanghzal daar aan beklijvende. //

The English, and Low Dutch // Instructer, // Wherein // Are Collected Common dialogues, Communica- // tions, Discourses, Letters, and Sentences, readily // for to come there by to the knowledge and // liking of the Dutch Tongue. // Together with A Small // Vocabular, // And the mentioned Appendix joyning thereunto. //

Tot Rotterdam. // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boukverkoper, // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1664.

[1], Title-page; [2]-146, Dialogues and other texts, in English and in Dutch; 147-172, English and Dutch Vocabulary, according to subjects; 1-31, Appendix of words unexplained in Part I; [32], colophon; *Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boekverkooper / // wonende op 't Steyger / in Josephus: // Anno 1664. //*

2. 1671: 12mo: RL-Hague & UL-Leyden.

Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // ... Den Tweeden Druk, verbeterd en vermeerderd. // The English, and Low-Dutch // Instructer, // ... The Second Edition, corrected and augmented. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boekverkooper // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1671. //

As in 1664.

Part I: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Het Eerste Deel: // ... Den tweeden Druk oversien en verbeterd. // The English, and Low-dutch // Instructer, // The First Part /// ...

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boekverkooper // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1671.

As in 1664, but 116 is blank.

Part II: Hague copy: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Het Tweede Deel: ... // The English and Low-dutch // Instructer, // The Second Part: // ...

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boekverkoper // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1671. //

[1], Title-page; [2]-154, Dialogues and texts; 155-180, Vocabulary; 1-31, Appendix; [32], Colophon.

Part II: Leiden copy: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Vocabulaar, // Ofte // Woordt-Boekje. // The English, and Low-Dutch // Vocabular. // Door // Francois Hillenius. //

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boukverkooper, // op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1664. //

[1], Title-page; [2]-146, Dialogues and texts; 147-172, Vocabulary; 1-31, Appendix; [32], Colophon.

3. 1677: 12mo: BM-London & RL-Hague.

This Edition is completely similar to that of 1671, as found in the Hague copy, with only these exceptions: *Tweeden Druk* and *Second Edition* have become *derden Druk* and *Third Edition* and the date on the various title-pages is 1677.

4A. 1678: 12mo: BM-London. (P.p.23).

No title-page with author's name and no preliminary quire.

Part I: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Het Eerste Deel: // ... Den laatsten Druk oversien en van veele sin-strijdende // en duystere woorden verbeteret. // The English, and Low-dutch // Instructor, // The First Part: // ...

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Isaac Næranus, Boekverkooper // op 't Steyger. Anno 1678.

[1], Title-page; 2-118, *English-Grammar*; 3-119, *Dutch Grammar*; [120], blank.

Part II: Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen // Onderrichter, // Het Tweede Deel: ... // The English, and Low-Dutch // Instructor, // The Second Part: // ...

Tot Rotterdam, // Gedrukt by Isaac Næranus, Boekverkooper // op 't Steyger. Anno 1678. //

[121], Title-page; 122-292, Dialogues and texts; 293-323, Vocabulary; 324-360, Appendix.

4B 1678: 12mo: RL-Hague.

The same edition as that found in BM-London, but with another printer's name on both the title-pages: *Tot Rotterdam, Gedrukt by Joannes Borstius, Boekverkooper op // den hoek van de groote Mart. 1678. //*

5. 1686: 12mo: BM-London. (P.p.23)

Edition completely similar to that of 1678, but with another printer's name

on both the title-pages: *Tot Rotterdam, // By Reynier van Doesburg, Boek-verkooper op // de Vis-marckt / in de Waerheyt. Anno 1686. //*

V. J. G. VAN HELDOREN'S GRAMMAR.

1. 1675: 8vo: BM-London & UL-Hamburg. (K2590)

A New and Easy // English Grammar, // Containing // Brief fundamental Rules, usual Phrases // pleasant and choise Dialogues concerning // the present State and Court of England. // Whereunto is added a / Nomenclature, // English and Dutch. //

Een nieuwe en gemakkelijke // Engelsche Spraak-konst, // inhoudende // Korte bondige Grond-regels, gebruikelijke // Spreuken, vermakelijke en uitgelesen Samen- // spraken, betreffende den tegenwoordigen // Staat en 't Hof van Engeland. // By 't welke gevoegt is een // Naam-Boekje, // Engels en Duits. //

t' Amsterdam, // Gedrukt by de Weduwe Mercy Bruining, // op de Beurs-Sluys, 1675. //

*1r, Title-page; *1v, blank; *2r-2v, Preface to the Reader, in English and in Dutch, signed J. G. van Heldoren; 1-64 & 67-82 (65 & 66 are wanting, 64 being on D8v and 67 on E1r), *English-Grammar*; [83], Title-page of Dialogues; [84] blank; [85]-166, Two dialogues about England, in English and in Dutch; 1-48, Other dialogues, in English and in Dutch; [1], Title-page of Nomenclator; [2], blank, 3-48, Vocabulary, English and Dutch, according to subjects.

2. 1690: 12mo: BM-London & BL-Oxford. (P.p. 24, W.H2710)

Dutch title of 1675; then English title of 1675; then: *London, printed for John Miller at the Rose, at the // West-end of St. Paul's 1690. //*

1r, Title; 1v, blank; 2r-2v, Preface of 1675, signed J. G. van Hoorn (this leaf is found between A12 and B1 in the BM copy); 1-78, *English Grammar*; 79 Title of Dialogues; [80], blank; [81]-142, Dialogues of the 1675 edition, without the names of the holders of offices; 143-192, other dialogues; [192Ar], Title of Nomenclator; [192Av], blank; 193-238, Vocabulary.

J. G. Van Heldoren is also the author of *An English and Nether-dutch Dictionary, Composed out of the best English Authors, With a most natural and easie methode of spelling English, According to the present proper pronounciation of the Language in Oxford and London. The first Edition*, Amsterdam, 1675 (BM-London & UL-Leyden). It contains pronounciation rules, but no Grammar. (K.2823)

VI. E. RICHARDSON'S ANGLO-BELGICA.

1. 1677: 12mo: BM-London & UL-Leyden. (K.2592, W.R1379)

Anglo-Belgica. // The English and Netherdutch // Academy. // In // Three Parts. // Containing // The Exactest Grammar-Rules, most Usefull // Discourses and Letters, with a Copious // Vocubular, fitted to the Capacities // of all sorts of Persons. // Being a work brought to greater perfection than

// any ever formerly extant; Whereby men // may, with a little pains, speedily attain // to the compleat knowledge of both // the Languages. // By // Doctor Edward Richardson. // At Amsterdam, // By Steven Swart Bookseller, on the // West-side of the Exchange in the Crowned Bible, // 1677. // With Priviledge for 15 years. //

Anglo-Belgica // d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche // Academy, // In // Drie Deelen. // Behelsende // De Naaukeurighste Grammaticale Regelen // Allernuttelijckste Discoursen en Brie- // ven, met een Bondigh Woorden-Boeck, // bequaam gemaackt tot het begrijp // van allerley soort van Menschen. // Zijnde een Werck tot grooter perfectie ge- // bracht als Eenige oyt te vooren geweest // is: Waar door men / met weynigh // moeyten / spoedighlijck tot de vol- // komen kennisse van beyde de // Talen geraken kan. // Door // Doctor Edward Richardson. // t' Amsterdam, // By Steven Swart Boeckverkooper, aan // de West-zijde van de Beurs, in de Gekroonde // Bijbel, 1677. //

*1r, Short-title; *1v, English title; *2r, Dutch title; *2v*6r, Preface to the Reader, in English and in Dutch, signed *Edw. Richardson*; *6v-*7v, The Bookseller to the Reader, signed *S. Swart* and dated November 13th 1676; *8r-8v, the Privilege, dated December 3rd 1676; then a leaf corresponding to a blank one before A1; on recto, title-page of the Dutch Grammar; on verso, Information about this Grammar, in English.

Part I A: The English // And // Netherdutch // Academy. // The first Part: // Wherein are gathered and brought together the // most Necessary and most significant Grammar- // Rules; whereby men may most speedily attain // to the perfect knowledge of the // Dutch Language. //

D'Engelsche // Ende // Nederduytsche // Academy. // Het Eerste Deel. // Waar in vergadert en by een gebracht zijn de // Nootwendighste en Duydelijckste Gramma- // ticale Regelen; waar door men al- // der spoedighst kan geraken tot de volko- // men kennisse der // Nederduytsche Taal. // Door Doctor E.R. //

't Amsterdam, // Gedruckt by Steven Swart, 1677. // Met Privilege voor 15 Iaren. //

The title-page is on recto of last page of the Preliminary quire; 1-169, *Grammar-Rules // and Directions. // Whereby the // Nether-Dutch Language // may be speedily and perfectly learned // by such English-men as have a // desire thereto.* (Running title: *The Guid to the // Low-dutch Language.*) [170], blank.

Part I B: D'Engelsche // Ende // Nederduytsche // Academie. // Het Eerste Deel. // Waar in vergadert en by een gebracht zijn de // nootwendighste en duydelickste Gramma- // ticale Regelen; waer door // men allerspoedighst kan gera- // ken tot de volkomen // kennisse der // Engelsche Taal. //

The English // And // Netherdutch // Academy. // The First Part: // Wherein are gathered and brought together the // most Necessary and most Significant Gram- // mar-Rules; whereby men may // most speedily attain to the per- // fect knowledge of the // English Language. // By Dr. E.R. //

Tot Amsterdam, // Gedruckt by Steven Swart, 1676. //

[171], Title-page of English Grammar, [172], Information about this Grammar, in Dutch; 173-349, *Grammaticale-Regelen // Ende // Onderrichtinge // Waer door // De Engelsche Taal, speedighlyck // en volkomentlyck kan geleert worden // door soodanige Nederduytsche Persoo- // nen die daar lust toe hebben. //* (Running title: *De Wegh-wijser // tot d'Engelsche Taal.*) [350], blank.

Part II: The English and Netherdutch // Academy. // The Second Part. // Wherein // Are Collected Certain usefull Sentences, Prover- // biall Expressions, Dialogues, Letters, Bills of // Exchange, and other things relating to Mer- // chandise: whereby men may in a short // time attain to the perfect knowledge // of the // Dutch Language. //

d'Engelsche ende Nederduytsche // Academy. // Het Tweede Deel. // Waar in // Vergadert zijn seeckere nutte Redenen / Pro- // verbiale Spreucken / t' Samenspreeckingen // Brieven / Wissel-brieven / en andere din- // gen nopende het stuck van Koopman- // schap: waar door men in een korte // tijdt geraacken kan tot de volko-// men kennisse der // Engelsche Taal. // Tot Amsterdam. // Gedrukt by Steven Swart. 1676. //

[1], Title-page; 2-[162], Dialogues and other texts.

Part III: The English and Netherdutch // Academy. // The Third Part, // Containing // A Vocabular // Of English with the Netherdutch // Words annexed. //

d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche // Academy. // Het Derde Deel, // Inhoudende // Een Vocabulaar // Van Engelsche met de Nederduytsche // Woorden daarby gevoeght. //

t' Amsterdam, // Gedrukt by Steven Swart, 1676.

Aa1r, Title-page, Aa1v-Cc12v; Alphabetical English and Dutch Vocabulary.

2A. 1689: 12mo: BM-London & UL-Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (U.S.A.)
(K.2592, W.R1380; K. and W. do not distinguish between 2A and 2B)

Anglo-Belgica // ... By // Doctor Edward Richardson. // The Second Edition, amended and enlarged with // a great many new and choise Dialogues. // At Amsterdam, // By the Widdow of Steven Swart, // Bookseller, on the Westside of the Ex- // change, in the Crowned Bible. // 1689. / With Privilege for 15 years. //

Anglo-Belgica // ... Door Dr. Edward Richardson. // De Tweede Druk, verbeterd, en vermeerderd met // veele nieuwe en treffelyke 't Zamen-spreekingen. // t' Amsterdam // By de Weduwe van Steven Swart, Boek- // verkoopster, aan de Westzyde van de Beurs, // in de Gekroonde Bybel, 1689. // Met Privilegie voor 15. jaaren. //

*1r, Short-title; *1v, English title; *2r, Dutch title; *2v-*4r, Privilege, dated December 3rd 1677 (1st edition: 1676); *4v-*8r, Preface to the Reader; *8v-*9v, The Printer, S. Swart, to the Reader; *10r, Title-page of English Grammar; *10v, Information on this Grammar.

Part I: Title-page of English Grammar, as in 1st edition, p. 171 with Gedrukt by de Weduwe van Steven Swart. 1689.

The title-page is on fo. 10r of Preliminary Quire; 1-177, English Grammar; [178]-[180] blank.

Part II: Title-page as in 1676-1677, with *Gedrukt by de Weduwe van Steven Swart, 1689.*

1. Title-page; 2-261 (261 being marked 161), Dialogues and other texts, those of pp. 2-76 being found in the 1st edition, the others new; [262]-[263], Proverbs; [264], blank.

Part III: Title-page as in 1676-1677, with *Gedrukt by de Weduwe van Steven Swart, 1689.*

As in 1676-1677.

2B. 1689: 12mo: BL-Oxford & New-York Academy of Medicine, New-York.

Preliminary quire: as in the BM and Urbana copies, with title of English Grammar.

Part I: The title-page on the verso of the last leaf of the preliminary quire is that of the English Grammar, but Part I contains the Dutch Grammar.

1-169, Dutch Grammar, with the short title: *Grammar-Rules and Directions Whereby the Nether-Dutch Language ...* as in the first edition; [170], blank.

Part II and Part III: as in the BM and Urbana copies.

3. 1698-1699: 12mo: Jesuit College Library, Antwerp & UL-Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (U.S.A.) (K.2592, W. R1381)

This edition is almost entirely similar to that of 1689 with the English Grammar. The exceptions are: *Second Edition* and *Tweede Druk* have been replaced by *Third Edition* and *Derde Druk*, and there is a new Privilege, dated October 16th 1698. The date on the title-pages of the whole work and of the English Grammar is 1698; on that of Part III it is 1699, and there is no date on that of Part II.

No copy of this edition with Dutch Grammar was found; but Part II and Part III are bound together with W. Sewel's *Compendious Guide to the Low-Dutch Language*, in the copies of BM-London, BL-Oxford, and ML-Winterthur (Switzerland).

VII. W. SEWEL'S DICTIONARY.

The English and the Dutch Grammar are found in the Dutch and English Dictionary, which is usually bound in one volume with the English and Dutch Dictionary.

1A. 1691: 4to: BM-London & UL-Leyden. (K.2841, W.S1825)

Nieuw // Woordenboek // Der Nederduytsche en Engelsche Taale, // Waar in de Woorden eygentlyk vertaald, en de verscheydener // leye betēkenissen

der zelve naauwkeuriglyk aange- // weezen zijn. // Verrykt met veele nette Spreekwyzen, en doorgaans met fraaije // Spreekwoorden verzien: // Zynde daarenboven, ten dienste der Engelschen, de Lédekens DE en HET // voor alle de Nederduytsche Naamwoorden gevoegd. //

A New // Dictionary // Dutch and English // Where in the Words are rightly interpreted, and their various // significations exactly noted. // Enriched with many elegant Phrases and select Proverbs: // And for help to the English, the Particles DE and HET placed before // all the Dutch Nouns. // Wholly new, and brought much nearer to perfection, then any other hitherto extant. // By Wm. Sewel. //

At Amsterdam, // By the Widow of Stephen Swart Bookseller, on the West-side of the // Exchange at the signe of the Crowned Bible // With Privilege for 15 years. // (*No date, but 1691 on English and Dutch Dictionary.*)

*1r, Title-page; *1v, blank; *2r-*2v, Preface, in English; *3r-***3r, *Korte Verhandelung // Van de Uytpraak der // Engelsche Woorden*, //; **3v-***4v, *Concerning the Dutch // Pronunciation*. // **4v-***1v, *Concerning the use of the Dutch // Particles // De, Die, Deeze, Het, Dat, Dit*. // ***2r-***4v, *Korte Verhandelungen // Wegens de // Nederduytsche Spelling*, // *In dit Boek gebruykt*. // [1]-431, Dictionary, Dutch and English [432], blank.

1B. Appendix to Dictionary of 1691 in BM-copy (not in Leyden copy).

1-32, *Beknopt Vertoog // der // Engelsche Spraak-Konst* // 33-72, *A Brief // And Compendious // Dutch Grammar*. //

2. 1708: 4to: BM-London & RL-Hague. (K.2841, 2849)

Groot // Woordenboek // Der // Nederduytsche // En // Engelsche // Taalen, // Waarin de rykdom derzelve in 't breede wordt voorgedraagen, de verscheydene // betékenissen aangewezen, en de Geslachten van alle Nederduytsche Naamwoor- // den naauwkeuriglyk aangetoond; met byvoeginge van zeer veele uytge- // leeene Spreekwyzen, en een goed getal van Spreekwoorden. // Verrykt met eene Spraakkonst voor beyde de // Taalen, // Door | W. Sewel. // Het Tweede Deel. // t' Amsterdam, // By de Weduwe van Steven Swart, by de Beurs, 1708. //

*1r, Title; *1v, blank; *2r-*4r, Preface, in English; *4v, Abbreviations. 1-36, *Beknopt Vertoog // wegens de // Engelsche Spraakkonst*. // 37-84, *A Brief // And Compendious // Dutch Grammar*. // 85-92, *Korte // Verhandelingen // Wegens de // Nederduytsche // Spelling*. // [1]-680, Dictionary.

3. 1727: 4to: BL-Oxford & UL-Leyden. (K.2841)

Groot // Woordenboek // ... Het Tweede Deel. // De derde Druk volgens des Auteurs eigen handschrift verbeterd en met een // groot getal Woorden en Spreekwyzen vermeerderd. // T'Amsterdam, //By Evert Visscher, Boekverkooper, in de Dirk van Hasselt steeg. 1727. //

*1r, Title; *2r-*4r, Preface; *4v, Abbreviations; 1-30, *Beknopt Vertoog*; 31-74, *Dutch Grammar*; 75-80, *Nederduytsche Spelling*; [1]-556, Dictionary.

4. 1735: 4to: BL-Oxford & UL-Amsterdam. (K.2841)

This edition is identical with that of 1727, the only difference being on the title page: *De derde Druk ... // T'Amsterdam, by // Jacob ter Beek. Boekverkooper bezyden de Beurs. 1735. //*

5. 1749: 4to: UL-Göttingen & American Bible Society, New-York.

Groot // Woordenboek // ... Het Tweede Deel. // De Vierde Druk volgens des Auteurs eigen Handschrift verbeterd en met een // groot getal Woorden en Spreekwyzen vermeerderd. // T'Amsterdam, // By Jacob ter Beek, // Boekverkooper bezyden de Beurs, 1749.

*1r, Title; *1v, blank; *2r-*4r, Preface; *4v, Abbreviations; 1-30, Kort Vertoog; 31-74, Dutch Grammar; 75-80, Nederduytsche Spelling; [1]-528, Dictionary.

6. 1754: 4to: BL-Oxford & RL-Hague. (K.2841)

This edition is the same as that of 1749; the original title-page has been cut off and a new title-page with Vijfde Druk, and 1754 *Met Privilegie* and a new leaf with the Privilege dated April 12th 1754 have been added.

7. 1766: 4to: BM-London & UL-Leyden. (K.2670, 2879)

Volkomen // Woordenboek // Der // Nederduitsche en Engelsche // Taalen; // Névens eene Spraak-Konst van dezelve, // Oorspronkelyk saamengesteld door // Willem Sewel; // Doch nu niet alleen overgezien, en meer als de helft vermeerderd; maar ook naar de // hedendaagsche Spelling, in allen opzichten verbétert, door // Egbert Buys, // Hofraad van hunne Poolsche en Pruissische Majesteiten & c. // Tweede Deel. //

A Compleat // Dictionary // Dutch and English, // To which is added // a Grammar, for both Languages. // Originally compiled by // William Sewel; // But now, not only reviewed, and more than the half part augmented, yet according // to the modern spelling, entirely improved; by // Egbert Buys, // Consellor of their Poland and Prussian Majesties, &c. // The Second Volume. //

Te Amsterdam, // By Kornelis de Veer, // MDCCLXVI. // Met Privilegie van de Ed. Gr. Mog. Heeren Staaten van Holland // en West-Friesland. //

*1r, Title; *1v, blank, *2r-*2v, Abbreviations; in the Leyden copy there is a leaf with Privilege dated April 12th 1754⁹³ in the fold of *1 and *2; 1-40, Vertoog // Wegens de // Engelsche Spraakkonst. // 41-80, A Brief // And Compendious // Dutch Grammar. // 81-86, Korte // Verhandeling // Wegens de // Nederduitsche // Spelling. // 1-1012, Dictionary.

In 1798 there was published in London *A New and Complete Dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages; With a Vocabulary of Proper Names, Geographical, Historical, &c. In Two Parts; I. English and Dutch, II. Dutch and English, Compiled chiefly from the Quarto Dictionary of*

⁹³ The BM copy has no privilege; but the BM copy of the first part of the Dictionary has a privilege dated October 4th 1768.

William Sewel ... by Samuel Hull Wilcocke, but no Grammar was included. Copy in BM-London. (K.2920)

VIII. W. SEWEL'S DUTCH GUIDES.

In *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*, Amsterdam, 1708, fo. 6v, W. Sewel wrote that the Dutch Grammar in English, first published in the Dictionary, had so much pleased the public that it had already been published four times in 1708; only one edition prior to 1708 has been located.

1. 1700: 12mo: BM-London & ML-Winterthur (Switzerland). (W.S1824)

Part I: A Compendious // Guide // to the // Low Dutch Language. // Containing the most necessary and es- // sential Grammar-Rules, whereby one may // speedily & without much difficulty attain // to the knowledge of the aforesaid Langu- / age, and the right use of the Dutch Par- // ticles de and het, so much wanted hitherto. //

Korte // Wegwyzer // der Nederduytsche Taal. // Behelzende de noodigste en weezend- // lykste Letterkonstige Regelen, om spoe- // dig en zonder veel moeite tot ken- // nisse dier Taale te geraaken // By Wm. Sewel. //

Amsterdam, // Printed for the Widdow of Stephen Swart. // Bookseller on the West-side of the Exchange, // at the signe of the Crowned Bible. 1700. //

[1], Title; [2], blank; [3] - [4], Preface to the Reader, in English; 5-139, *The Compendious Guide*; [140], blank.

Part II: The second Part of the third edition of Anglo-Belgica of 1698-1699.

Part III: The third part of the third edition of Anglo-Belgica of 1698-1699.

2. 1725: 12mo: BL-Oxford & UL-Amsterdam.

Part I: A Compendious // Guide // to the Low-Dutch Language; ... // Korte // Wegwyzer // ... By Wm. Sewel // The second Edition with some additions.

Te Amsterdam, // Bij de Janssoons van Waesberge' // Boekverkopers op 't Water, 1725. //

[1], Title-page; [2], blank; [3] - [4], Preface; 5-168, *The Compendious Guide*.

Part II: The Second Part of the // Guide // To the // Low Dutch, // Wherein are Collected // Several Dialogues, // Letters and Bills of Exchange. //

't Tweede Deel van de // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Nederduytsche Taal. // Behelzende nodige // Samenspraaken, // Brieven en Wisselbrieven. //

1, Title-page, 2-288, Dialogues and Texts.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ These dialogues and texts are, with the exception of a few additions and a few

Part III: The Third Part // Of the Compendious // Guide, // Containing a small // Vocabulary. //

Het Derde Deel // van de korte // Wegwyser, // Zynde een // Woorde-Boekje.⁹⁵

Aa1r, Title-page; Aa1v-Cc12v, Alphabetical English and Dutch Vocabulary.

3. 1740: 12mo: BM-London & Trinity College, Dublin.

Part I: A Compendious // Guide // to the // Low-Dutch Language; ... // Korte // Wegwyser // ... By Willem Sewel. // The second Edition, with some Additions.

Te Amsterdam, // By Jacob ter Beek, bezyden de // Beurs, in de Ge-kroonde Bybel. 1740. //

As in 1725.

Part II: The Second Part of // Wm. Sewel's // Guide, // To the English Language, // Wherein are Collected // Several Dialogues // Letters and Bills of Exchange. //

't Tweede Deel van // W. Sewel's // Wegwyser // Tot de // Engelsche Taal, // Behelzende nodige // Samenspraaken, // Brieven en Wisselbrieven. //

1, Title-page, 1-191 and 216-288, Dialogues and Texts; there are no pages 192 to 215; 112r = p. 191 and 112v = p. 216.

Part III: as in 1725.

4. 1747: 12mo: BM-London & UL-Utrecht.

Part I: A Compendious // Guide // to the // Low-Dutch Language; ... // Korte // Wegwyser // ... By Willijam Sewel. // The third Edition, with some Additions. //

Te Amsterdam, // By Jacob ter Beek, bezyden de // Beurs, in de Ge-kroonde Bybel. 1747. //

As in 1725 and 1740.

Part II: Title as in 1740.

1, Title-page; 1-264, Dialogues and texts.

Part III: as in 1725 and 1740.

5. 1754: 12mo: John Rylands Library, Manchester & UL-Leyden.

This edition is the same as that of 1747; the original title-page of 1747 has been cut off, as is shown by the small remaining edge of paper; a

omissions, the same as those found in the Second Part of *Anglo-Belgica*, 1698-1699; W. Sewel confesses that they are not of his making, p. 168 of Part I. They are found in the Dutch and English Guides, now with the title *The Second Part of ... Guide To the Low Dutch*, now with *The Second Part of ... Guide to the English Language*.

⁹⁵ The Vocabulary is the same as that in Part III of *Anglo-Belgica*, 1698-1699.

new title-page with Second Edition (as in 1740), and 1754 *Met Privilegie* and two leaves with the Privilege, dated April 12th 1754, have been added.

6. 1760: 12mo: BM-London & Friends' House, London.

Part I: A Compendious // Guide // to the // Low-Dutch // Language; ... // Korte // Wegwyzer // ... By Willem Sewel. // The third Edition, Corrected and Enlarged. //

Te Amsterdam, // By Kornelis de Veer, // Boekverkooper in de Beursstraat, // by den Dam, 1760. // Met Privilegie. //

[1], Title-page; [2] blank; [3]-[6], Privilege of 1754; [7]-[8], Preface; 9-167, *Compendious Guide*; [168], blank.

Part II: Title as in 1740 and 1747.

1, Title; 1-268, Dialogues and Texts.

Part III: Title as in 1725, 1740 and 1748.

A1r, Title: A1v-D1v, Vocabulary; D2r & v, Advertisements.

7. 1783: 12vo: Private Collection of Prof. Gabrielson, Sweden.

W. Sewel's // A Compendious // Guide // To the // Low-Dutch Language, // Partly Enlarged and Improv'd // By James Teissier. // The Fourth Edition. // A Amsterdam, // By J. Morterre, // Bookseller op de Nieuwendyk // MDCCLXXXIII. // With Privilege. //

W. Sewel's // Korte // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Nederduitsche Taal, // Gedeeltelyk vermeerderd en verbeterd // door Jas. Teissier. // Vierde Druk. // Te Amsterdam; // By J. Morterre, // Boekverkooper op de Nieuwendijk. // MDCCLXXXIII. // Met Privilegie. //

[1], Short title; [2], English title; [3], Dutch title; [4], blank; [5]-[7], Privilege, granted to Kornelis de Veer, 4 October 1768, sold to J. Morterre, 26 August 1771; [8]-[9], W. Sewel's original Preface; 10-160, *Compendious Guide*; 161-232, Alphabetical English and Dutch Vocabulary; 233-434, Dialogues and other texts.

8. 1788: 8vo: John Rylands Library, Manchester, & American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

W. Sewel's // Korte // Wegwyzer // ... Vierde Druk. // Te Amsterdam, // By W. Vermandel, // Boekverkooper in de Gasthuismolenstraat. // MDCCLXXXVIII. // Met Privilegie. //

W. Sewel's // A Compendious // Guide // ... The Fourth Edition. // A Amsterdam, // By W. Vermandel; // Bookseller in de Gasthuismolenstraat. // MDCCLXXXVIII. // With Privilege. //

As the 1783 edition; but Dutch title on [2] and English title on [3].

9. 1814: 12mo: BM-London & RL-Hague.

A Compendious // Guide // To the // Dutch Language; // Revised, Corrected and Enlarged // By // A Minister of one of the // English Churches in

the // Netherlands. // The Fifth Edition. // Amsterdam, // Printed for H. Gartman. // MDCCCXIV. //

Korte // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Nederduitsche Taal; // Nagezien, Verbeterd en Vermeerderd // Door // Een' Predikant van Eene der // Engelsche Gemeenten in // de Nederlanden. // Vijfde Druk. // Amsterdam, // By H. Gartman. // MDCCCXIV. //

[I], Short title; [II], English Title; [III], Dutch title; [IV], blank; [V]-VIII, New Preface by the Editor, in English; [IX]-XII, Index; 1-107, Compendious Guide; 108-209, English and Dutch Vocabulary; 210-390, Dialogues and other texts; [391]-[393], Errata; [394], blank.

IX. W. SEWEL'S ENGLISH GUIDES.

1. 1705: 12mo: UL-Rostock & Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. (U.S.A.) (K.2613)

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale; // Behelzende de noodigste en weezendlykste // Letterkonstige Regelen, om spoedig // zonder veel moeite tot kennisse // dier taale te geraaken. //

A Compendious // Guide // To the // English Language; // Containing the most necessary and essential // Grammar-Rules, whereby one may spee- // dily & without much difficulty attain // to the knowledge of the afore- // said Language. // Door Wm. Sewel. //

T' Amsterdam, // By de Weduwe van Steven Swart, Boekverkoopster // in de Beurssteeg, in den gekroonden Bybel. 1705. //

[1], Title-page; [2], blank; [3]-[4], Preface to the Reader, in Dutch; 5-107, *Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale.* // [108], blank.

Part II: The Second Part of the // Guide, // To the // English Language, // Where in are Collected // Several Dialogues, // Letters and Bills of Exchange. //

't Tweede Deel van de // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Engelsche Taal, // Behelzende nodige // Samenspraaken, // Brieven en Wisselbrieven. //

1, Title; 1-288, Dialogues and texts; in English and Dutch.

Part III: The Third Part // Of the Compendious // Guide, // Containing a small // Vocabular. //

Het Derde Deel // Van de Korte // Wegwyzer, // Zynde een // Woorde-Boekje. //

[1], Title-page; 2-69, Alphabetical English and Dutch Vocabulary; the same as that of the Low-Dutch Guides; [70] blank.

2. 1706: 12mo: RL-Stockholm & UL: Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (U.S.A.)

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale; ... // A Compendious // Guide // ... Door Wm. Sewel. //

T' Amsterdam, // Bij de Weduwe van Steven Swart en Soon, // Boekverkoopers, 1706. // Met Privilegie voor 15 Jaaren. //

As in 1705.

Part II: The Second Part of the // Compendious Guide, // to the English Language, ... // 't Tweede Deel van de Wegwyzer // Tot de // Engelsche Taal // ...

As in 1705.

Part III: Title as in 1705.

Aalr, Title-page; Aalv-Cc12, English and Dutch vocabulary, as in 1705.

3. 1724: 12mo: Friends' House. London.

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der Engelsche Taale; ... // A Compendious // Guide // ... Door Wm. Sewel. //

Te Amsterdam, // By de Janssoons van Waesberge, // Boekverkoopers op 't Water, 1724.

As in 1705 and 1706: p. 107 marked 10.

Part II: as in 1705.

Part III: Het Derde Deel // Van de korte // Wegwyzer. // Zynde een Woorde-Boekje, // Vermeerdert met veele Woorden, als mee- // de een Verklaring van de verscheide Abbre- // viatien, die in de Engelsche Taal // gevonden worden. //

The Third Part // Of the Compendious // Guide, // Containing a small // Vocabulary, // Augmented with many Words, together with // a Declaring of severall Abbreviations, // which are found in the English Tongue. //

A1r, Title-page; A1v-D9v, Alphabetical Dutch and English Vocabulary; D9v-D12v, Tables of Abbreviations, contractions and numbers and figures, the last being 1725.

4. 1735: Not located.⁹⁶

The author, L. v. d. Bommenaer, of *Korte dog Noodige Regulen van de Engelsche Taale en deszelfs Eygentlyke Uytspraak*, Amsterdam, 1738, refers to a *very neat Work of Mr. Willem Sewel, Lately-Printed in Amsterdam, by J. van Waasbergen 1735*, in which the parts of speech and the particles A or An may be found *from Page 27. to 107. included* (fo 4v & 8v).

5. 1740: 12mo: BL-Oxford. (P.p.25)

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale; ... // A Compendious // Guide // ... Door Willem Sewel. //

Te Amsterdam. // By Jacob ter Beek, bezyden de // Beurs, in de Gekroonde Bybel, 1740. //

As in 1705, 1706 and 1724: p. 107, marked 10.

⁹⁶ Kennedy, 2632, mentions a *Compendious Guide to the English Language printed by the Widow of Steven Swart, 1727, 107 + 288 + 69 pp.* The indication of the number of pages shows that the edition of 1705 is meant, which is also listed K. 2613. The source of the information is F. Holthausen, *Englische Studien*, XXX, 1901, p. 355, but this article refers to the Dictionary of 1727.

Part II: The Second Part of the // Guide // to the // Low Dutch, // Wherein are Collected // Several Dialogues, // Letters and Bills of Exchange. // 't Tweede Deel van de // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Nederduytsche Taal, // Behelzende nodige // Samenspraaken, // Brieven en Wisselbrieven. //

As in 1705, 1706 & 1724.

Part III: as in 1724.

6. 1748: 12mo: UL-Leyden. (K.2613)

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale, .. // A Compendious // Guide // ... Door Willem Sewel. //

Te Amsterdam, // By Jacob ter Beek, // Boekverkooper bezyden de // Beurs, in de Gekroonde Bybel. 1748. //

[1], Title-page; [2], blank; [3]-[4], Preface to the Reader; 5-95, Korte Wegwyzer; [96], blank.

Part II: The Second Part of // Wm. Sewel's // Guide, // To the // English Language, // Where in are Collected // Several Dialogues, // Letters and Bills of Exchange. //

't Tweede Deel van // Wm. Sewels // Wegwyzer // Tot de // Engelsche Taal, // Behelzende nodige // Samenspraaken, // Brieven en Wisselbrieven. //

1, Title; 1-264, Dialogues and Texts.

Part III: as in 1724 and 1740.

7. 1754: 12mo: RL-Hague & UL-Leyden.

This edition is the same as that of 1748; the original title-page has been cut off and a new one with a new date 1754 and *Met Privilegie* and two leaves with the Privilege dated April 12th 1754 have been added.

8. 1761: 12mo: RL-Hague & RL-Brussels.

Part I: Korte // Wegwyzer // der // Engelsche Taale; ... // A Compendious // Guide // ... By Willem Sewel. // The last Edition, Corrected and Enlarged. //

Te Amsterdam, By Kornelis de Veer. // Boekverkooper in de Beursstraat, // by den Dam, 1761. // Met Privilegie. //

[1], Title-page; [2], blank; [3]-[6], Privilege, dated April 12th 1754; [7]-[8], Preface; [9]-108, Korte Wegwyzer.

Part II: Title as in 1748.

1, Title 1-268, Dialogues and Texts.

Part III: as in 1724, 1740 and 1748.

9. 1793: 8vo: RL-Brussels & UL-Ghent.⁹⁷

Nieuwen // Dictionnaire // en // Vocabulaire of Woorden-Boek // der // Vlaemsche, Engelsche en Fransche // Taelen, // Door W. Sewel, J. Holtrop en Th. Berry. // Begreepen in dry Partyen. // Inhoudende: // I. Den Nieuwen Dictionnaire ofte Woorden-Boek deser // dry Taelen // II. Den Vocabulaire, ... // III. De Grammaire, ofte Nieuwe Engelsche Spraek konst, // behelsende eene seer gemakkelijcke wyse om in korten // tyd sonder veel moeyte de selve Tael te leeren: // Verclard met de noodigste en wesendlykste Grond-Regels // om de Engelsche Tael natuerelyk uyt te spreken, leesen // en volmaektelijck te schryven; als mede de Syntaxis // of Woorden-schikkinge: En oock acht-tien curieuse, // ... Saemen-spraeken, met ver- // scheide Koopmans-Brieven ... // Eerste Deel. // Derden Druk, oversien en merkelyk vermeerderd. // Tot Duynkerken, // Men vind-se te koopen tot Gend, by Ph. en P. Gimblet, // Boekdruckers en Boekverkoopers op de Koornmerkt. // 1793. //

1r, Short title; 1v, Abbreviated titles in English and in French; 2r, Title in Dutch; 3r-3v, Preface in Dutch; 4r, Title of First Part; 4v, blank; 1-208, Flemish, English and French Dictionary; 208Ar, Title of Second Part; 208Av, blank; 1-96, Flemish, English and French Vocabulary; 96Ar, Title of Third Part; 96Av, blank: *A New Grammar // of the // English Language. // ... by Wm. Sewel. //*; 1-64, Dialogues and Phrases; [65]-[68] Table of Contents.

The first and the second editions have not been located, but it appears from the Preface (fo. A3v) that the Grammar was not added until the third edition: *Het eenig insigt tot de algemeyne nuttigheyd heeft ons verbonden eenen derden Druk te maeken ... Men heeft in dit eerste Deel bygevoegd de Nieuwe Engelsche Spraek-konst.*

The third edition is also found with the date 1794; there is a copy in UL-Ghent.

No systematic search has been made for translations of W. Sewel's Guides; the following German translation was found in the UL-Hamburg: *Kurzverfaszte // Anleitung // zur // Englischen Sprache, // Worinnen die nöthigsten ¹ und we- // sentlichsten grammatikalischen Regeln ¹ // nach der besondern Lehrart des weit-berühmten Herrn // Wilhelm Sewels ... angewiesen werden ... // Samt einer genugsamen Anzahl // verschiedener ¹ ... Gespräche ¹ // und Briefe &c. // Auch einem hinlängl. Wörterbuche ¹ // mit einiger Vermehrung herausgegeben // durch // Johann Matthias Kramer. // Hamburg. // In der Hertelischen Handlung im Dom. // 1746. //*

X. G. SMITH'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

1. 1752: 8vo: BM-London & UL-Utrecht. (K.2650)

Den Volkomene // Engelsche Spraakkonst, // Voor // Heeren en Juffrouwen

⁹⁷ Prof. A. Gabrielson, *Studia Neophilologica*, II, 1924, p. 128, mentioned a 4th ed. *Partly enlarged and Improv'd by James Teissier, Amsterdam, 1783*. In a letter of June 17th 1958. Prof. Gabrielson wrote that this 4th edition is the 4th edition of the *Compendious Guide to the Low Dutch Language* which is in his possession.

// Behelsende // I. Een Nieuwe welgeschikte Engelsche Spraakkonst: // II. Een wel gesteld, en wydloopig Woorden Boek // III. Gemeene Spreekwyzen. IV. Zamenspraaken // op alle manieren van onderwerpen. V. Engelsche // en Nederduytsche Brieven. VI. Een verzaamling // van uytgeleezene Spreekwyzen, Engelsch en Ne- // derduytsch. //

The Compleat // English Grammar // For // Gentlemen and Ladies // Containing // A New Methodical English Grammar. II. A well // digested and copious Vocabulary. III. Familiar Phrases. // IV. Dialogues on all manners of subjects. V. English // and Dutch Letters. VI. A Collection of choice proverbs, // English and Dutch. // Door / George Smith. //

Tot Utrecht // By Abraham de Knyff, Boekverkooper, 1752. //

*1r, Title-page; *1v, Signature of author; *2r-*3v, Dedication to *de Burgermeesteren en Raden in de Vroedschap der Stad Utrecht*, in Dutch; *4r-*5v, Preface to the Reader, in Dutch; 1-124, Part I, *Korte // Aanleidinge // Tot de // Engelsche // Spraakkonst*. // 125-231, Part II, An English and Dutch Vocabulary, according to subjects; 232-277, Part III; 278-377, Part IV; 378-391, Part V; 392-405, Part VI; [406], Corrigenda.

2. 1758: 8vo: UL-Liverpool & RL-Hague. (K.2657)

Volkome // Engelsche Spraakkonst, // Behelsende // I. ... (*I to V as in the 1752 edition*) VI. Brieven rakende den Koophandel. VII. Een verzameling // van uytgeleezene Spreekwyzen, Engelsch en Ne- // derduytsch. //

The Compleat // English Grammar, // Containing // I ... (*I to V as in the 1752 edition*) VI. Letters con- // cerning the Commerce. VII. A Collection of choise // proverbs, English and Dutch. // Door // George Smith. // Tweede Druk, veel verbeterd en vermeerderd. //

Te Rotterdam, By J. D. Beman, H. Kentlinck, // en J. Bosch. 1758. //

1r, Title; *1v, blank; *2r-*3v, Dedication of 1752; *4r-*5v, Preface; 1-122, Part I: *Korte Aanleidinge*; 123-229, Part II; 230-275, Part III; 276-375, Part IV; 376-383, Part V; 384-399, Part VI; 400-413, Part VII; [414], blank.

3. 1775: Not located.

Naamregister van de bekendste en meest in gebruik zynde Nederduitsche Boeken Welke sedert het jaar 1600 tot het jaar 1761 zyn uitgekomen .. voorheen uitgegeven door Johannes van Abkoude ... tot het jaar 1787 vermeerderd door Reinier Arrenberg, Rotterdam. 1788, mentions (fo. 479): Smit (G.) Engelsche Spraakkonst | 1775, Rotterdam | J. Hendriksen. 8. derde druk.

4. 1786: 8vo: UL-Amsterdam.

Volkoomen // Engelsche // Spraakkunst: // ... (*as in 1758*) // The Compleat // English // Grammar; // ... (*as in 1758*) door // George Smith. // Vierde Druk, veel verbeterd en vermeerderd. //

Te Rotterdam, // By J. Hendriksen, // MDCCCXXXVI. //

*1r, Short title; *1v, blank; *2r, Title; *2v, Signature of printer; *3r-*4v, Preface; 1-122, Part I: *Korte Aanleidinge*; 223-[414], as in 1758.

5. 1821: Not located.

Alphabetische Naamlijst van Boeken, welke sedert het jaar 1790 tot en met het jaar 1832, in Noord-Nederland zijn uitgekomen ... Strekkende ten Vervolge op het Naamregister van Nederduitsche Boeken van R. Arrenberg, Amsterdam, 1835, mentions, (p. 558): Smith (G.) volkomen Engelsche spraakkunst, 5de druk, 8vo. 1821, Rotterdam, J. Hendriksen.

XI. E. EVANS'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

1. 1757: 8vo: BL-Oxford.

English title: Wanting in Oxford copy; see Second Edition.

Dutch title: Nieuwe en Volkomene // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkunst, // Behelzende al het geene noodig is, om den Leer- // ling te volmaken in de Engelsche Taal. // Begreepen in Drie Deelen. // Inhoudende: // I. Een Engelsch Alphabeth, met de noodige Aan- // merkingen op alle de Letters, zoo als dezelve // elk in 't byzonder, en in t'samenvoeginge met // andere worden uitgesproken, als mede van zoo- // danige Woorden, welke anders uitgesproken // als geschreeven worden; mitsgaders een Verkla- // ring van de agt Spraakdeelen, enz. // II. Een wyd uitgebreid Woordenboek, en een goed // aantal van Nieuwe Samenspraken, over verschei- // dene Onderwerpen; maar voornamentlyk geschikt // ten gebruike van Kooplieden en Winkeliers. // III. Het voornaamste dat in den Koophandel voor- // komt, benevens 51 brieven, by verscheide ge- // legentheden gebruijckelyk, enz. // Alles tot gemak der Leerlingen t'samengesteld, // Door // Edw. Evans, // Engelsche Schoolmeester te Rotterdam. // Te Rotterdam, // By Ph. Losel, H. van Pelt, // A. Douci, en J. Losel. // 1757. // met Privilegie. //

*1r, Short title and *1v, English title, wanting in Oxford copy; *2r, Dutch title, *2v, blank; *3r, Privilege, dated Rotterdam, February 6th 1747; *3v, Advertisement concerning teaching at the author's school; *4r-*8v, Preface in Dutch, dated September 15th 1757.

Part I: First Part // of the // English and Dutch // Grammer, // Containing, // I. Necessary information concerning the Pro // nuntiation of the Letters, &c. // 2. An Explanation of the Eight Parts of Speech. // 3. The Stops and Marks, with their place and // use in Writing. //

Eerste Deel. // van de // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkunst, // Behelzende // 1. Het noodig berigt aangaande de Uitspraak // van de Letteren, enz. // 2. Een beschryving van de Acht Spraak- // deelen. // 3. De Zinsnydinge en Merkteekenen, met // hunne Standplaatzen en gebruijken, in het // Schrijven. //

[1], Title-page; [2], blank. 3-137, Grammar in English and in Dutch; [138], blank; [139], Title of Part II; [140], blank.

Part II: Second Part // of the // English and Dutch // Grammar, // Containing, // 1. An extensive Vocabulary. // 2. A good quantity of New and

very Extensive // Dialogues, upon various Subjects; but especially // design'd for Merchants and Shopkeepers. //

Tweede Deel // van de // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkonst, // Behelzende, // 1. Een wyd en uitgestrekt Woordenboek, // 2. Een goede meenigte van Nieuwe en zeer // wyd uitgestrekte Samenspraken over verscheide // Onderwerpen; maar voornamentlyk geschikt // voor Kooplieden en Winkeliers. //

Title page is on p. 139 of Part I; 1-119, English and Dutch vocabulary, according to subjects: 120-320, Dialogues and other texts.

Part III: Third Part // Of the // English and Dutch // Grammar, // Containing the Principal Things occurring in Mer- // chandizing ... // and further 51 Letters ... //

Derde Deel // van de // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkonst, // Behelzende 't voornaamste dat in den Koop- // handel voorvalt .. // En verder 51 Brieven .. //

[1], Title-page; 2-107, Things occurring in merchandizing and letters; [108]-[112], Table of Contents of the three parts.

2. 1778: 8vo: UL-Leyden.

A New Complete // English and Dutch // Grammar // Wherein is comprised all that is requisite to // perfect the Learner in the English Tongue. // Consisting of Three Parts // Containing: // I. An English Alphabet with necessary observations // on each Letter, but especially as being connected // with one another; as also of such words as are // pronounced otherwise than that they are written; // together with an explanation of the eight Parts of // Speech, &c. // II. An extensive Vocabulary, Familiar Phrases, and // several Dialogues altogether new, on several // Subjects; but especially adapted to the use of // Merchants and Shopkeepers. // III. The Chief things occurring in merchandizing, as // also a sufficient number of Letters, on several // occasions, &c. // Composed for the benefit of the Learner, // By Edw. Evans, // English Schoolmaster in Rotterdam. // The Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. // Rotterdam, // Printed for J. De Leeuw, // Bookseller in the Hang by the great // Market, 1778. //

Nieuwe en Volkomene // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkonst, // ... door Edw. Evans, // ... De Tweede Druk, verbeterd, en vermeerderd. // Te Rotterdam, // By J. De Leeuw, Boekverkooper // in 't Hang by de groote Markt. 1778. //

*1r, Short-title; *1v, English Title; *2r, Dutch title; *2v-*8r, Preface in English and Dutch, dated Rotterdam, September 1st 1778; 8v, Advertisement concerning teaching in the author's school.

Part I : [1], Title-page; [2], blank; 3-137, English Grammar; [138], blank.

Part II : [1], Title-page; [2], blank; 3-121, Vocabulary; 122-339, Dialogues and texts; [340], blank.

Part III: [341], Title-page; 342-451, Things occurring in merchandizing and letters; [452], blank.

3. 1792: 8vo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

A New Complete // English and Dutch // Grammar, ... by Edw. Evans // The Third Edition, corrected. // Rotterdam, // Printed for J. Hendriksen, // Bookseller in the Hang by the great // Market, 1792 //

Nieuwe en Volkomene // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkonst, // ... door Edw. Evans, // De Derde Druk, naauwkeurig verbeterd. // Te Rotterdam, // By J. Hendriksen, // Boekverkooper in 't Hang, by de // Groote Markt, 1792. //

*1r, Short-title; *1v, English-title; *2r, Dutch title; *2v-*8v, Preface in English and Dutch, dated Rotterdam, November 1st. 1792.

Part I : [1], Title-page, [2], blank; 3-137, English Grammar; [138], blank.

Part II : [139], Title-page; [140], blank; 141-477, Vocabulary and Dialogues; [478], blank.

Part III: [479], Title-page; 480-589, Things occurring in merchandizing; [590], blank.

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a French translation of this third edition.

The English title is A New Complete // English and Dutch // Grammar // ... by // Edw. Evans. // The third Edition, corrected. // Rotterdam, // Printed for J. Hendriksen, // Bookseller in the Hang by the great // Market, 1792. // *(Same title as that of Dutch edition.)*

The French title is Nouvelle // Grammaire // Complete, // Angloise et Française // ... Par // Edw. Evans // à Rotterdam, // Chez J. Hendriksen. // Libraire dans la Hang, près du Grand // Marché, 1792. //

The book is completely similar to the Dutch edition, the Dutch having been replaced by the French.

4. 1806: 8vo. BL-Oxford.

A New Complete // English and Dutch // Grammar, // Wherein is comprised all that is requisite to // perfect the Learner in the English Tongue. // Consisting of // Three Parts. // By Edw. Evans. // The Fourth Edition, exactlij corrected // and altered after the modern spelling by // J. van Bemmelen, // Master of a Boardingschool at Leyden. // Rotterdam, // Printed and Sold by J. Hendriksen, // in the Highstreet. // MDCCCVI. //

Nieuwe en Volkomene // Engelsche en Nederduitsche // Spraakkunst, // Behelzende al wat noodig is, om den Leer- // ling in de Engelsche Taal te volmaken, // Vervat in // Drie Deelen. // Door // Edw. Evans. // De Vierde Druk, naauwkeurig verbe- // terd, en naar de Hedendaagsche Spelling veranderd door // J. Van Bemmelen, // Kostschoolhouder te Leijden. // Rotterdam, // Bij J. Hendriksen, Drukker en Boek- // verkooper op de Hoogstraat. MDCCCVI. //

*1r, Short title; *1v, English Title; *2r, Dutch title; *2v-8v, Preface, dated Rotterdam, November 1st 1792.

Part I : [1], Title-page; [2], blank; 3-125, English Grammar; [126], blank.

Part II : 127, Title-page; [128], blank; [129]-237, Vocabulary; 238-432, Dialogues and texts.

Part III: [1], Title-page; 2-103, Things occurring in merchandizing; [104], blank.

E. Evans also published *A Clear, Natural, and Easy Method of Instruction in the Spelling, and Pronunciation of the English Tongue or Een Klare, Natuurlijke, en gemakkelyke Leerwyze in 't Spelden en Uitspreken der Engelsche Taal*. (Short title: *English Spelling-Book or Engelsch Speldenboek*)

ML-Rotterdam possesses a copy of the second edition of 1778, and UL-Leyden one of the fourth edition of 1808, with Preface dated December 26th 1796.

The first edition was published before 1773, as it is mentioned in: *Naamregister van de bekendste en Nederduitsche Boeken ... door Johannes van Abkoude ... tot in het jaar 1772 vermeerderd door Reinier Arrenberg*, Rotterdam, 1773, p. 132.

XII. JOHN HOLTROP'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

1. 1780: 8to: RL-Brussels.

The English Grammar // Enlarged; // And Explained in // Dutch; // Wherein it is attempted to show, in the most methodical, clear, // and comprehensive manner, the true Spelling, Reading, // Writing, and Speaking of the English Lan- // guage; the acquisition whereof, is as necessary // to the Scholar, as to the Merchant. // To which are added: // I. A Copious Vocabulary. // II. An Alphabetical List of Law- // terms. // III. A Collection of Nouns Ad- // jective. // IV. A Collection of Verbs. // V. Familiar Phrases. // VI. Dialogues on various subjects. // VII. A Collection of Idioms, or an // English and Dutch Phraseo- // logy. // VIII. A Collection of Proverbs. // IX. A Collection of Epistles or Let- // ters, Bills and other writings, // mostly relating to mercantile // affairs. // By John Holtrop. // Dort and Amsterdam, // for A. Blussé and Son, and W. Holtrop, // MDXXLXXX. //

Uitvoerige // Engelsche // Spraak-konst; // in 't // Neder-Duitsch // Ontvoud; en waarin men getracht heeft, op de geschikste, // duidelykste, en volledigste wyze aan te toonen; hoe de // Engelsche Taal, waarvan de kennis-verkry- // ging, den Letter-oefenaar zoo noodig is, als den // Handeldryvenden, recht gespeld, gelezen, // geschreeven, en gesproken moet worden. // Waarby gevoegd zijn: // I. Een Wydloopig Woordenboekje. // II. Eene Alfabetische Lyst van // Rechts-benaamingen. // III. Eene Verzameling van Byvoeg- // lyke Naamwoorden. // IV. Eene Verzameling van Werk- // woorden. // V. Gemeenzaame Spreekwyzen. // VI. Samenspraaken over verschil- // lende onderwerpen. // VII. Eene Verzameling van Eigen- // aartige Spreekwyzen, of Engel- // sche en Deutsche Taal-eigen- // schappen. // VIII. Eene Verzameling van Spreu- // ken, of Spreekwoorden. // IX. Een Bundel van Brieven, Reke- // ningen, Wisselbrieven en ande- // re Schriften, meestal tot den // Koophandel betrekkelijk. // Door // Johannes Holtrop. // Te Dordrecht en Amsterdam, // By A. Blussé en Zoon, en W. Holtrop. // MDCCLXXX. //

[i], Short title; [ii], English title; [iii], Dutch title; [iv], blank; [v]-viii, Preface in Dutch, dated Dordrecht December 16th 1779.

1-2, *Inleiding // tot de // Engelsche // Spraak-kunst.* // 3-336, *Engelsche // Spraak-kunst.* // 337-428, English and Dutch Vocabulary, according to subjects; 428-443, Terms of law; 444-457, Adjectives; 457-472, Verbs; 473-483, Familiar phrases; 483-569, Dialogues; 570-668, Idioms; 669-681, Proverbs; 682-727, Letters, Bills, Mercantile writings; 728-739, Index; 740-741, Errata; 742-744, Advertisements.

2. 1791: 8to: RL-Hague & RL-Brussels.

A complete // English Grammar, // In which the Method of Spelling, Reading, Speaking and // Writing the English Language is taught in the // easiest and most comprehensive manner. // To which are added: // I. ... IX. ... // By // John Holtrop. // The Second Edition, // Revised and Corrected by Benj: Choyce Sowden, // Minister of the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam. // Dort and Amsterdam, // For A. Blussé and Son, and W. Holtrop. // MDCCXCI. //

Uitvoerige // Engelsche // Spraak-kunst, // in 't // Nederduitsch, // Waar in men getracht heeft, ... // Waarby gevoegd zyn: // I. ... IX. ... // Door // Johannes Holtrop. // Tweede Druk, // Nagezien en, met betrekking tot het Engelsch, verbeterd, // door Benj: Choyce Sowden, Predikant by de // Engelsche Episcopaale Gemeente te Amsterdam. // Te Dordrecht en Amsterdam, // By A. Blussé en Zoon, en W. Holtrop. // MDCCXCI. //

[i], Short-title; [ii], English title; [iii], Dutch title; [iv], blank; [v]-viii, Preface. 1-338, *Engelsche Spraak-kunst*; 339-430, Vocabulary; 430-445, Law-terms; 445-458, Adjectives; 459-474, Verbs; 474-485, Familiar phrases; 485-571, Dialogues; 571-667, Idioms; 668-680, Proverbs; 681-727, Letters; 728-739, Table of Contents; [740], blank.

3. 1804: 8to: BM-London.

English title as in 1791 as far as ... John Holtrop; then: Revised and Corrected by Benj. Choyce Sowden, // Minister of the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam. // The Third Edition. // Dort and Amsterdam, // For A. Blussé and Son, and W. Holtrop. // MDCCCIV.

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As in 1791, but 740-742, advertisements of books.

J. Holtrop was also the author of *A New English and Dutch Dictionary or Nieuw Engelsch en Nederduitsch Woorden-Boek*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1789, and of *Nieuw Nederduitsch en Engelsch Woorden-Boek* or *A New Dutch and English Dictionary*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1801 (both in RL-Hague and UL-Leyden), revised by A. Stevenson in 1823 and 1824 (RL-Hague and BM-London), but no Grammar was added.

Some Aspects of Satire in Wycherley's Plays

Critics of Restoration Comedy usually concern themselves at some point with the moral implications of the plays which they are discussing; and though Lamb's view that there are no moral implications, the whole action taking place in the realms of 'fancy', still finds a few supporters, most criticisms are either attacks or defences. The principal defence is that when disagreeable actions or situations are represented they are not necessarily condoned, and that, the purpose of comedy being to correct faults by ridicule, a number of these representations of vice are in fact inspired by the moral purpose of exposure. Opinions about Wycherley are particularly sharply divided, since he has always enjoyed the reputation of a satirist: Dryden praised 'The satire, wit and strength of Manly Wycherley', and Evelyn promised the playwright immortality in his triplet

As long as men are false and women vain,
While gold continues to be virtue's bane,
In pointed satire Wycherley shall reign.

We cannot, of course, place much reliance on the mere assertion by a dramatist that his purpose is to correct morals, for this assertion was traditional by Wycherley's time. Nevertheless, when the falsity of most of his contemporaries' pretensions to satire is recognized, Wycherley's reputation continues to be upheld. Bateson and Krutch allow him to have genuine and deep satiric intentions, and Dobrée, who finds seriousness in the most important writers of Restoration Comedy, makes special claims for Wycherley; so that what Macaulay sees as Wycherley's profligacy, Dobrée sees as Wycherley's considered and unsparing demonstration of the profligacy of the age.¹ Accordingly, there seems to be room for further discussion of Wycherley's satire, since the questions of its quality and of its extent should surely be considered in attempting to judge his plays as dramatic literature. When Dryden and Evelyn praised Wycherley's 'satire', did they necessarily find it, as Dobrée does, widespread in the three other plays as well as in *The Plain Dealer*? Does the satire extend to Manly in *The Plain Dealer* and Horner in *The Country Wife*, or is it more local, confined to the obvious butts, the Plausibles and the Pinchwifes? Does Wycherley, even in the evidently satirical parts of *The Plain Dealer*, lash wildly about him like 'some tortured creature that cannot understand why it is being hurt' (Dobrée, 90)? In short, is Wycherley's satire persistent or occasional, and how serious does it seem to be? These are questions which cannot be opened without more detailed analysis of the plays than has hitherto appeared, and although *The Plain Dealer* and *The Country Wife* are universally agreed to be Wycherley's

¹ F. W. Bateson, *English Comic Drama 1700-1750* (Oxford, 1929), 122. — J. W. Krutch, *Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration* (New York, 1924; reprinted 1949), 40-47. — B. Dobrée, *Restoration Comedy 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1924; reprinted 1951), 78-102.

most important work, they are illuminated by the two earlier plays, which must therefore also be considered.

Love in a Wood is a lively play, the liveliness resulting rather from the complicated intrigue than from the individuality of the characters. The two plots are scarcely connected except by Dapperwit's appearance in both, and they are very different in tone. It will later be suggested that all Wycherley's plays, with the possible exception of *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, exhibit disunity. In this first play there is a sharp distinction between the 'romantic' and the 'satiric' plots (both these terms are used with reservations, which will shortly appear), the former dealing with the inconstant Ranger and the jealous Valentine and their mistresses, the latter with the marriage schemes of Dapperwit, Sir Simon Addleplot and Lady Flippant.

That Wycherley's handling of this latter group is satiric and derisive is obvious. The dramatis personae are scornfully described ('Alderman Gripe, seemingly precise, but a covetous, lecherous, old Usurer of the city'; 'Mr. Dapperwit, a brisk, conceited, half-witted fellow of the town'), and they exhibit themselves grotesquely, incurring the ridicule of each other and of the characters in the main plot. At times this ridicule appears in direct commentary, such as Wycherley continues to write throughout his career:

Lady Flippant. ... nobody but you could have debauched me to the Park, certainly. I would not return another night, if it were to redeem my dear husband from his grave.

Lydia. I believe you: — but to get another, widow.²

Yet little of the 'satire' in this play really lashes the abuses of the age, though the unpleasantness of some of the speeches may at first seem to have no other explanation:

Lady Flippant. Unfortunate lady that I am! I have left the herd on purpose to be chased, and have wandered this hour here; but the Park affords not so much as a satyr for me, and (that's strange!) no Burgundy man or drunken scourer will reel my way. The rag-women, and cinder-women, have better luck than I. (106-7).

However, Lady Flippant's unselective appetite is usually presented, in its context of confused marriage-plots, as an object of ridicule rather than of disgust, the audience being invited to laugh at the contrast between her hypocritical hatred of re-marriage and her real eagerness for it (as in her scene with Ranger, 28-31), and the ugly language here may be intended to give comic point to that contrast. In fact, her grotesque style and her grotesque actions (the scene with Sir Simon in his disguise, for example, 82-3) combine to make her character too unreal to have any satirical effectiveness. Alderman Gripe similarly displays so gross a

² Wycherley, ed. W. C. Ward (London, 1896: 'Mermaid' edition), 34-5: cf. 74-5. All page-references to Wycherley's plays in the following pages are to this text.

contrast between his professions and his practices that he cannot be taken seriously: he is a caricature of Malvolio and Tartuffe. Wycherley is, of course, 'satirizing' the Puritan bourgeoisie, but he has created a figure so preposterous as to arouse not contempt but laughter of the easiest and least thoughtful kind, a figure whose indulgence in Puritan cant makes him as impossible as Sir Simon Addleplot with his mechanical 'faith and troth' or as Dapperwit with his automatic similes. None of these characters is representative enough to embody serious moral criticism. They are a lunatic fringe of Restoration society, and the audience can laugh at them without any mortifying reflections. Spectators are not likely to see themselves mirrored in the fooleries of these minor characters when they are offered the more urbane Ranger, Vincent, Valentine, Lydia and Christina in the main plot to identify themselves with.

There does not seem to be any latent satire in Wycherley's treatment of these, though one might expect Ranger at least to receive some, since this plot is (as Dobrée notes, 83) concerned with 'the happy mean of the classical school'. It is quite clear, however, that both Ranger and Valentine are treated indulgently. Valentine's jealousy becomes no more than a piece of mechanism by which the plot is kept moving, and the same may be said of Ranger's more important inconstancy. Though near the end both lovers are temporarily repulsed by their justly indignant mistresses, there is little to suggest that Wycherley has given their behaviour a serious thought, and at no point in the play has he ever presented it as more than a peccadillo.³ This is particularly noticeable since in Vincent, whose sole purpose is to be their common confidant, Wycherley has a ready-to-hand instrument for criticism. Yet when Ranger boasts of his inconstancy, Vincent's replies maintain the cynical tone:

Ranger. I have had just now a visit from my mistress, who is as jealous of me as a wife of her husband when she lies in: — my cousin Lydia, — you have heard me speak of her.

Vincent. But she is more troublesome than a wife that lies in, because she follows you to your haunts. Why do you allow her that privilege before her time?

Ranger. Faith, I may allow her any privilege, and be too hard for her yet. How do you think I have cheated her to-night? — Women are poor credulous creatures, easily deceived.

Vincent. We are poor credulous creatures, when we think 'em so.

Ranger. Intending a ramble to St. James's Park to-night, upon some probable hopes of some fresh game I have in chase, I appointed her to stay at home; with a promise to come to her within this hour, that she might not spoil the scent and prevent my sport.

Vincent. She'll be even with you when you are married, I warrant you. (23)

Vincent's function as commentator is indeed not to undermine Ranger's position but to fortify it by viewing it with kindly indulgence. When

³ Lydia is so shadowy a character that her exclamations of 'False Ranger!' (34, 42, 118) carry no weight; the play, like most Restoration comedies, is presented exclusively from the male viewpoint.

they enter St. James's Park for the evening's encounters, the tone is the same :

Ranger. Hang me, if I am not pleased extremely with this new-fashioned caterwauling, this mid-night coursing in the park.

Vincent. A man may come after supper with his three bottles in his head, reel himself sober, without reproof from his mother, aunt, or grave relation.

Ranger. May bring his bashful wench, and not have her put out of countenance by the impudent honest women of the town. (32).

It might be thought that 'new-fashioned caterwauling' and 'mid-night coursing' reflected Wycherley's disgust; but this is no more likely than that Etherege is disgusted with the pursuit of Ariana and Gatty by Courtall and Freeman in *She Would if She Could*, where the imagery of the stable and of field sports is put to frequent use by those heroes. Surely Wycherley is indicating his sympathy with Ranger, moreover, by the characteristic paradoxical wit which he allows him ('bashful wench', 'impudent honest women'). 'New-fashioned caterwauling' is not derogatory, but mock-derogatory; Ranger, by the very act of laughing at himself and his friends, is proclaiming himself a true wit. Wycherley's fools never laugh at themselves; either they are quite humourless like Alderman Gripe, or they indulge in spiteful back-biting like Dapperwit.

The play emphasises the contrast, which it is useful to remember in assessing Wycherley's later plays, between the true wits and the false. Dapperwit passes for a wit among the fools, and their inveighings against 'wits' do not reach the Rangers and Vincents and Valentines (18, 56-7). The audience is to make the distinction which the unsympathetic characters do not make. That Wycherley intends this distinction to be made is obvious: when Lydia asks Dapperwit, 'Pray, sir, how are you dignified or distinguished amongst the rates of wits? and how many rates are there?' Dapperwit delivers a satirical catalogue, stepping right out of character and becoming witty and self-ridiculing (40-1). The satirical method here is as obtrusive and undramatic as in the heaviest parts (the opening scene, for example, or that in Westminster Hall) of *The Plain Dealer*.

In short the audience is never allowed, much less encouraged, to question the standards by which Ranger and his friends live. This is ensured by the characters' lack of individuality and by their subordination to the plot; Ranger's reformation is accomplished in a most perfunctory manner once the plot has run its course :

Lydia, triumph ! I now am thine again. Of intrigues, honourable or dishonourable, and all sorts of rambling, I take my leave; when we are giddy, 'tis time to stand still. (100)

In this main plot, Wycherley has not concerned himself with the morality of actions, but simply with what can be made of those actions in terms of entanglements and surprises. In the sub-plot, as has been suggested, though he uses the methods of satire this is for the purposes of comedy,

and in this sub-plot also it is the intrigue which predominates; at the end, all the fools are shown to be abused into ruinous marriages with each other, but the fact that the biters are bit arouses not moral satisfaction (as does the end of *Volpone*) but the merely intellectual one of an ingenious deadlock.

*

Love in a Wood is, comparatively, a trifle; and *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, Wycherley's next piece, more of a trifle still. From first to last it is a brisk farce, making great play with the humours of affectation, (Don Diego Formal and Monsieur de Paris) and of contrariety (Don Diego and Mrs Caution). Dobrée, however, while agreeing that the farcical element is abundantly present, insists that Wycherley is steadily moving towards a discovery of his satiric powers. 'The truth is that in these two plays Wycherley could not bear his fools; they irritated him beyond measure, and in a manner that debarred him from any sympathetic understanding of them. There was an icy deliberateness about him, an appalling consistency in his view of the characters, and it is through this that he becomes, if not a poet, at least a creator' (86). Yet there seems to be no evidence that Wycherley is suppressing his rage with difficulty when he heartily indulges the follies of (say) Dapperwit, Monsieur de Paris and Don Diego; and it is hard to see why an intelligent dramatist should be enraged by these bundles of stage-absurdities assembled by himself. But this question becomes a side-issue when Dobrée asserts that in this play Wycherley hates not only his fools but also his central characters, Hippolita and Gerrard: '...underlying all [her scene with Mrs Caution, I.] there is a hatred Wycherley has for Hippolita because she has the desires natural to the animal' (85); 'he [Wycherley] hated the man of fashion as much as he did the fanatic' (86).

Hippolita is admittedly a 'Restoration' young woman. Longing for a man at the age of fourteen, automatically hating the suitor chosen by her father, and full of stratagems by which to avoid marrying him, she may well be considered by a 'city' audience to be 'like one / Of us bold flirts of t'other end o'th' town' — so says Flirt, a prostitute in the play, speaking the epilogue at the 'new theatre near Salisbury-Court' (242). But as this same epilogue goes on to stress, this would be a mistake, for in the author's opinion such young women as differ from Hippolita do so to their own disadvantage; and the whole play demonstrates Wycherley's approval of her. When Gerrard admiringly exclaims 'So much wit and innocence were never together before' (163), he provides the cue for the audience. The exclamation is not, of course, without dramatic irony, for she is (in spite of her cloistered upbringing) a long step ahead of him in guile, and he cannot afford to patronize her understanding as he does; this situation reaches its comic climax in her aside, when he is failing to take her hint and carry her away, 'Dull, dull man of the town! are all like thee? He is as dull as a country squire at questions and commands' (160). It is repeatedly implied that woman has by nature more wit than man with

all his cultivation can achieve, and this native wit of Hippolita's enables her to test Gerrard's sincerity as well as to outwit her guardians. When, having tested him, she frankly offers him herself and her fortune, she justifies herself by attacking those prudes who might object to her actions if they were represented on a stage (226), and this is surely a clear indication that she has Wycherley's sympathy.

Wycherley, indeed, has made his approval of Hippolita plain from the opening scene. Her dialogue with Prue, while stressing her eagerness to have a man, also stresses her discrimination which makes her refuse Monsieur de Paris; the unselective Prue is here, as elsewhere, a foil to her (in the later scenes, Hippolita's hints to Gerrard are made to seem subtle by contrast with Prue's gross suggestions to Monsieur). In her following exchange with Mrs Caution, Wycherley, far from hating her, is carefully justifying her. Mrs Caution, as the play reveals, is a prude with a suspicious mind and a nose for indecent innuendo, and her objection here to masquerades is presented as cant, the crying of sour grapes :

Mrs Caution. ...I know you would be masquerading: but worse would come on't, as it has done to others who have been in a masquerade, and are now virgins but in masquerade, and will not be their own women again as long as they live. The children of this age must be wise children indeed if they know their fathers, since their mothers themselves cannot inform 'em! O, the fatal liberty of this masquerading age! when I was a young woman —

Hippolita. Come, come, do not blaspheme this masquerading age, like an ill-bred city-dame, whose husband is half broke by living in Covent-garden, or who has been turned out of the Temple or Lincoln's-Inn upon a masquerading night. By what I've heard, 'tis a pleasant, well-bred, complaisant, free, frolic, good-natured, pretty age: and if you do not like it, leave it to us that do. (140-41)

To this there is a parallel passage in *The Plain Dealer*, where Eliza (who exists simply in order to expose Olivia's hypocrisy) defends the Court :

Olivia. Nay, do not defend the court; for you'll make me rail at it like a trusting citizen's widow.

Eliza. Or like a Holborn lady, who could not get in to the last ball, or was out of countenance in the drawing-room the last Sunday of her appearance there. For none rail at the court but those who cannot get into it, or else who are ridiculous when they are there... (397-98)

After this demonstration of sympathy with Hippolita (whose boldness is evidently approved as vivacity), the audience is not inclined to scent satire when she says, accepting Gerrard's advances, 'Women formerly (they say) never knew how to make use of their time till it was past; but let it not be said so of a young woman of this age' (158); nor when, in the same scene, speaking of her feigned bashfulness, she says 'Well, 'tis harder playing the hypocrite with him, I see, than with my aunt or father; and if dissimulation were not very natural to a woman, I'm sure I could not use it at this time; but the mask of simplicity and innocency is as useful to an intriguing woman as the mask of religion to a statesman, they say' (157). It might well be suggested that in this second illustration Wycherley's

hatred is furtively appearing, but it seems far more likely, since the whole presentation of Hippolita is sympathetic, that he has merely seized the chance of introducing a stock cynical witticism even though it offers a false parallel: in a word, that Wycherley is here writing like Dapperwit.

In this play the nearest approach to moral satire is in the treatment of prudes like Mrs Caution on the one hand and the immodest men-chasers Flounce and Flirt on the other:

Gerrard. [to a waiter] Sirrah, tell your master, if he cannot protect us from the constable, and these midnight coursers, 'tis not a house for us...

Martin. ...there's hardly a young man in town dares be known of his lodging for 'em.

Gerrard. Bailiffs, pursuivants, or a city constable, are modest people in comparison of them.

Martin. And we are not so much afraid to be taken up by the watch as by the tearing midnight ramblers, or huzza women. (146-47)

What is wrong with Flounce and Flirt is evidently that they hunt out the men instead of encouraging the men to hunt out them, whereas Hippolita is truly feminine and allows Gerrard the pleasure of the chase by concealing her eagerness.

Gerrard, as the plot requires, is an honourably-intentioned *jeune premier* like his original in Wycherley's source. Though he has a large part, he has little character. It is indicative of Wycherley's indulgent attitude to the age, however, that where he has developed Gerrard he has developed him in the direction of rakishness. In the dialogue last quoted, he and Martin allude to their brushes with the watch; and when Flounce and Flirt appear he excuses himself from their attentions with 'to tell you the truth, you are come a little too early for me, for I am not drunk yet' (148).

As in *Love in a Wood*, Wycherley's purpose in the satire seems to be rather to amuse his audience than either to reform them or to express his own disgust for them and for himself. The affectations of French and Spanish behaviour are clearly not seriously attacked, and in Mrs Caution's prudery (as in Alderman Gripe's hypocrisy) he has a target which no creator of comic-satiric types could fail to hit. The most penetrating satire is that of the final scene in which Flirt, agreeing to become Monsieur's permanent mistress, insists on all the privileges of a wife; and it is notable that this is written in the same deliberate style as the classification of wits in *Love in a Wood*, and is thus marked off from the rest of the play (236-39). As satire, though, it is rather confused: on the one hand, in ridiculing modern 'keeping' for being in practice as permanent as marriage, it exhibits the cynical Restoration view of marriage as bondage; on the other, in condemning the refusal of wives to cohabit with their husbands and their insistence on a separate maintenance, it seems to uphold the traditional view of marriage.⁴

For his first two plays, then, Wycherley writes a comedy-romance and adapts a farce, neither of great importance. It is on *The Plain Dealer* and

⁴ Cf. Hippolita's attack on 'separate maintenance', 226.

The Country Wife that his reputation deservedly rests. In accordance with the view that *The Plain Dealer* was written before *The Country Wife* and revised later (Dobr e, 87), it will be discussed first. There are two plots, the Manly-Olivia-Fidelia plot and the Freeman-Blackacre plot. The connexion between these is slight, although some endeavour is made to link them, principally by making Freeman the true friend of Manly, and also by bringing Manly's misanthropy to bear on the lawyers in Westminster Hall. (The attempt to suggest in this scene that legal chicanery and social disingenuousness are significantly related to each other is not, I think, successful.)

In fact, the themes of the play are no more related than are those of *Love in a Wood*. The legal satire, mainly traditional, demands one kind of satiric treatment; the insincere social flattery and backbiting, and Olivia's false modesty, demand a second; the complete betrayal of Manly's trust by Olivia and Vernish demands a third, and it is questionable whether this (if treated seriously) is not rather a subject for tragedy than for satire. When the romantic-sentimental Fidelia and the happy ending are added to these, it is not surprising that there is disharmony inside the play, and that this can be seen reflected in the style.

The play's other weakness, in my view, is the lack of satirical neatness. Wycherley seems to be trying to enforce a moral point which does not naturally or consistently emerge, so that the action is repeatedly halting for the satire. This applies not only to Widow Blackacre's conversations in Westminster Hall (431-35) but also to the opening scene in which Manly and Freeman attempt to justify their different social attitudes in each other's eyes (383-84) or to the scene in which Olivia's false modesty and sham plain-dealing reveals itself (395-410). All these scenes, and others like them, make their satirical points at too great length, underlining them with excessive deliberation. The character of Eliza has no other function than to comment on Olivia's hypocrisy: so that, for example, when Olivia says to the coxcomb Novel 'You have a way with you so new and obliging, sir!', Eliza ironically interjects (aside) 'You hate flattery, cousin!' (400). An audience might be trusted to recognize the irony without this sort of assistance. It is a method that Wycherley has used from the first: a typical instance is in the opening scene of *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, where Monsieur elaborately disparages Gerrard for his persistently English mannerisms, adding,

And yet this man has been abroad as much as any man, and does not make the least show of it, but a little in his mien, not at all in his discour, *jarni*! He never talks so much as of St Peter's church at Rome, the Escorial, or Madrid; nay, not so much as of Henry IV, of Pont-neuf, Paris, and the new Louvre, nor of the Grand Roi.

Hippolita. 'Tis for his commendation, if he does not talk of his travels. (135)

When the satirical point is not stated in words it is presented with equally straightforward stage-devices :

Olivia. ...What men do I converse with? what visits do I admit? (*Enter Boy*)

Boy. Here's the gentleman to wait upon you, madam. (398)

and similarly, a little later in the same scene, Novel's invective against Plausible abruptly turns to flattery on Plausible's entrance (404).

Whether this heavy underlining of the satire is admired or not, we are certainly forced to conclude that where Wycherley's satire is intentional it is unmistakable; such scenes as these may serve as a yardstick by which to test the occasions where Dobrée finds him lashing his age and himself. In *The Plain Dealer*, the revenge which Manly takes on Olivia is such an occasion; to Dobrée, the hero is not intended to escape censure: 'Manly himself... must be made to appear as loathsome as the rest, as untrustworthy, and much more brutal' (87).

Against this it must be urged, not only that Manly is loaded with rewards at the end of the play (public admiration, restored wealth, marriage to Fidelia), but also that he has been represented throughout the play as an odd but essentially heroic character. In the opening scene, Manly's rudeness in sending off Plausible is condoned, and his virtue established, by the sailors' dialogue. Freeman's offer of friendship which follows this (382-85) is clearly designed to show Freeman as the honest complier with his age, and Manly as the equally honest social nonconformist, with the insincere Plausible as the foil to both. And although Manly's invectives against Olivia are in fact gross and brutal, Wycherley seems to intend to portray heroic jealousy:

Her love! — a whore's, a witch's love! — But what, did she not kiss well, sir? — I'm sure I thought her lips — but I must not think of 'em more — but yet they are such I could still kiss — grow to — and then tear off with my teeth, grind 'em into mammocks, and spit 'em into her cuckold's face. (445)

This stands in debased relation to *Othello* and *Philaster*, just as Fidelia's blank verse derives from Fletcher's plays.

The tastelessness of Manly's speech leads naturally to his revenge. Here the play's moral pretensions crumble, and intrigue and excitement get the upper hand. The revenge — to impersonate Fidelia and lie with Olivia — is obviously inconsistent with Manly's honesty, and must have made even Wycherley's contemporaries uneasy, yet Wycherley provides no explanatory commentary here, where it is wanted far more than in the exposure of Olivia. The reason seems, regrettably, that in Wycherley's eyes the revenge is morally insignificant and that he is indifferent to its effect on Manly's character as seen by the audience. Confidence in Wycherley as a moral satirist is severely undermined if he so casually sacrifices his hero's character to exciting intrigue; and it is no less weakened if he does not recognize anything amiss with Manly's action except that it pains the disguised Fidelia.

To make matters worse, Wycherley's attitude towards Fidelia develops ambiguously while Manly's revenge is in preparation and execution. She is, on the one hand, given plaintive soliloquies which fish for the audience's

sentimental sympathies. But she also makes active attempts to dissuade Manly from his revenge, and since these attempts are not disinterested, this scene is full of unpleasant dramatic irony. Manly, of course, thinks that this youth envies *him* ('What, you are my rival then!' 473), but such remarks of hers as 'But are you sure 'tis revenge that makes you do this?' (473) seem designed to remind the audience that it is Olivia whom she envies.

In short, though there are effective satirical thrusts in the play, its claims to moral seriousness cannot be upheld when the effect of its main plot is morally repugnant. The satire, furthermore, is rather a matter of ridiculing and exposing the stage's perpetual butts than one of forcing the spectators to search their own consciences. The character of Freeman is of the first importance here. As Manly's true friend (though at first rejected by him), he is evidently meant to engage sympathy, and to increase it by his humorous legal triumph over the Widow Blackacre. And yet this sympathetic character is 'a complier with the age' (*dramatis personae*), cheerfully admitting the usefulness of a little social hypocrisy:

Why, don't you know, good captain, that telling truth is a quality as prejudicial to a man that would thrive in the world, as square play to a cheat, or true love to a whore? Would you have a man speak truth to his ruin? (383)

— a principle which his wooing of the Widow Blackacre shows him putting into practice, for purposes of self-interest. Wycherley's audience, if they identified themselves with Freeman, need not have been embarrassed when the unscrupulous Vernish appeared on the stage, any more than the wits felt themselves touched by Dapperwit in *Love in a Wood*. The dramatist's laugh, is, as usual, with his fashionable public.

★

Wycherley's best play is undoubtedly *The Country Wife*. Its action is far more neatly constructed and balanced than that of any others. The main plot turns on the genial libertine Horner's stratagem by which he enjoys, among others, the country wife of Squire Pinchwife, who in his foolish jealousy tries to keep her in seclusion and ignorance. In the sub-plot, Pinchwife's jealousy is balanced by the idiotic complacency of Sparkish, whose sole desire is to pass for a man of wit and sense, and whose undervaluing of Alithea's affection opens the way for Harcourt, a true wit whose courtship of Alithea is honourable and has marriage as its object. These twin plots are brilliantly inter-related, while at the same time Horner pursues his scheme of indiscriminate seduction with the wife and relations of Sir Jasper Fidget. The theme of jealousy gives a deeper unity to the play. Pinchwife can see Sparkish's folly ('Insensible fop, let a man make love to his wife to his face!' 271), and the opposition between their follies is shown in farcical action when Pinchwife tries to separate Harcourt and Alithea while Sparkish struggles to hold him back (272). Later, Pinchwife (who is a surly middle-aged

man with a dissolute past, and whose outwitting thus permits no sympathy) thinks to delude Horner by dressing his wife as a boy. Horner, who sees through the trick, behaves very affectionately to the pretended child, and Pinchwife is in a fury: 'How! do I suffer this? Was I not accusing another just now for this rascally patience, in permitting his wife to be kissed before his face?' (302). Sir Jasper Fidget, Horner's other dupe, is transformed, by believing the false report of Horner's impotence, from a jealous fool like Pinchwife to a complacent fool like Sparkish, a change which is pointed throughout the play by his differing treatment of Horner and of Horner's friends.

The other theme of the play is dissimulation. Sparkish's first entrance is introduced by a series of variations by Horner and his friends on 'Most men are the contraries to that they would seem' (257), which, though Wycherley's usual prolixity may be responsible for its length, serves to remind us that Horner himself is not what he pretends to be. Lady Fidget and Horner's other mistresses are, as Horner recognizes, most accomplished hypocrites: '... your women of honour, as you call 'em, are only chary of their reputations, not their persons; and 'tis scandal they would avoid, not men' (254). The virtuous Alithea, conscientiously loyal even to the unworthy Sparkish, is provided as a foil to these.

When there is added Wycherley's robust handling of hilarious situations (the substituted letter; the 'china' scene), *The Country Wife* must be agreed to be a skilful and lively comedy. There is, however, room for disagreement on the subject of satire. Nobody, of course, denies that Pinchwife, Sparkish, Sir Jasper and the reputation-conscious ladies are presented for ridicule. The question is whether the satire also extends to Horner. Thus Wilcox suggests that 'successive situations make the same cynical revelation of the bitterness implicit in a life devoted to the pursuit of pleasure' and that 'the closing spectacle of victorious Horner suitably rewarded with the punishment of one more exigent wench on his hands is a triumph of irony';⁵ and to Dobrée, Horner ('the only triumphant figure') is 'the type of all that is most unselectively lecherous' and 'seems to derive such a sorry enjoyment from his success' (94).

While agreeing that Horner is a glutton rather than a connoisseur, one cannot agree that he does not relish his successes, nor that Wycherley does not enjoy presenting them and invite the audience to enjoy watching them. Horner's triumph is complete and his seductions leave him without any disagreeable responsibilities. He speaks the final couplets of the play, which are highly complimentary to himself. He is presented as a man of wit and fashion, far above Sparkish, Pinchwife and Sir Jasper. To the extent that brilliance and resource make a sympathetic stage figure, Horner is one. The strongest argument against interpreting him satirically is, however, that Wycherley allows him to comment disparagingly on most of the other characters, but provides no disparaging commentary on him. The

⁵ J. Wilcox, *The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy*, (New York, 1938), 94, 90.

position seems to be like that in the other plays. Actions do not speak for themselves in Wycherley; if he disapproves, he tells us so.⁶

The very fact that room has been found for disagreement about Wycherley's fundamental intentions (and the question whether a hero is satirized or not is surely central) suggests that his plays are not completely satisfying, and this judgement must be applied to *The Country Wife*, good though it is. In spite of being far more of a whole than *The Plain Dealer*, it still suffers the characteristic Restoration weakness of being hollow at the centre. Wycherley makes some apt points about jealousy and security, but unlike Jonson and Molière he does not make them add up to any consistent, positive principles. This can best be illustrated by returning to the plot. *The Country Wife* has here been discussed as though Horner were the hero. So, of course, he is; but so also is Harcourt, the wit who marries Alithea; and the two heroes embody completely different and conflicting moral codes. The Harcourt-Alithea-Sparkish story might have come out of Molière.⁷ Its moral, like that of *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, is that a worthy lover rightly triumphs over an unworthy one. But Horner's activities are merely the pursuit of sexual conquest, with no more than a collector's interest. While we ridicule the jealous husband and the hypocritical ladies, Horner merely excites amused admiration; we stop judging and start counting. His stratagem, being morally preposterous and factually incredible, demands a setting of outrageous farce, with which the moral and common-sense story of Alithea is incompatible. Nevertheless, the Alithea story is kept at the level of witty exchanges, so that its lack of moral harmony with the Horner story is not so obtrusive that the play is spoiled like *The Plain Dealer*.

The conclusion to be drawn appears to be that although Wycherley is, in a sense, a satirist, his satire is not intended to be more than a source of amusement for his fashionable audience, and does not spring from a consistently moral view of society as does that of Jonson and Molière in their best plays; if it did, Wycherley could not commit such grave inconsistencies as *The Plain Dealer* in particular exhibits. These moral flaws reveal that his real interest was theatrical effectiveness, for which he was content to lose the greater world of the truly serious comedian.

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T. W. CRAIK.

⁶ Often through the mouth of the character concerned: e.g. in this play, Lady Fidget: 'Our virtue is like the statesman's religion, the quaker's word, the gamester's oath, and the great man's honour; but to cheat those that trust us' (349-50).

⁷ Curiously enough, it is the Pinchwife story that has some links with Molière; it does not, however, recall *L'École des Femmes* in the reading. The reason is perhaps that Horner is presented to us before Pinchwife, and accordingly we are invited to see the situation from his viewpoint; whereas the centre of Molière's play is Arnolphe and his absurd theory, exposed in the important opening scene.

Some Aspects of Virginia Woolf's Imagery¹

Virginia Woolf's dissatisfaction with the Edwardian novel because it failed to express 'reality', led her to create a new form of fiction which could convey her own sense of life, or, as she called it, '(the) luminous halo, (the) semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end' (*The Common Reader*, I, p. 189). What in fact she wishes to express is an apprehension of the essence of reality. The sentient mind, on which emotions, perceptions, thoughts, impinge thus becomes in her novels the channel through which reality is viewed; we are immersed in the flux or stream of consciousness, which both reflects and colours the world outside. This is a purely subjective method, since the world outside has no reality except as perceived by a sensibility, since the meaning of life consists in the quality that this sensibility perceives or creates.

Such a method clearly derives from a fundamental scepticism as to the nature of reality, a scepticism which can only be overcome by raising personal intuitions of values to the level of intimations of truth. The author's and the characters' immersion in their sensibility is an indication of their lack of 'belief' and of their search for meaning; it also reveals the essential solitude of the individual. Virginia Woolf's characters are all confronted with the same problem: what is the meaning of life? But the answer vouchsafed to those who 'have their vision', is expressed in terms of harmony created, of meaningful relations between elements: it is the answer of the aesthetic sensibility to the apparent confusion of life, an answer that cannot be translated into conceptual terms. The characters are also obsessed by their separateness: it is at once their most precious treasure and the source of their isolation; they try to overthrow the barriers between selves and to reach out to each other, but they also resent any intrusion into the privacy of their soul. Finally, being immersed in the subjective world of perceptual experience, the characters cannot but see everything — themselves, others, and the world around — as dominated by change; and they try to find permanence or stability, something that endures in the midst of the flow. Hence the main themes of Virginia Woolf's whole work: life and death, time and the absolute, singleness and oneness, confusion and order. Hence also the main problem for the novelist: to render the flux and yet let a pattern emerge.

Given such a view of life, it is not surprising that Virginia Woolf should have rejected the conventions of plot and character as used traditionally to bring order and significance into the raw material, and should have resorted to means which properly belong to poetry in order to convey the

¹ Lecture given at the Senate House, University of London, on May 8, 1958. (University Lecture in English language and literature, arranged under the scheme for the interchange of British and Belgian lecturers.) — Owing to lack of space this article, with the author's consent, was held over from the Belgian Number of the Anniversary Volume 1959. (E.d.)

significance perceived or the value felt in experience. It is a commonplace to say that she composes her novels as lyric poems, and that images are an essential element of her style and composition. My purpose is to try and discover what function the images serve in her novels, and whether she can use them as structural elements on which to base her narrative. To this end I shall examine the images she uses in *Mrs Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, whether similes, metaphors, or other image-making processes.

The effect of most images in *Mrs Dalloway*² is to blur the hard outline of objects and to translate them into a world where fancy endows them with a new face and gives them a significance which facts cannot convey. Thus, a newspaper placard going up in the air is seen as a kite, and its playfulness at once makes light of the business on which people are intent. Rumours move about the streets of London 'like a cloud, swift, veil-like upon hills', thus endowing people and things with a dream-like quality. After Lady Bruton's guests have gone, she sighs and snores on the sofa 'drowsy and heavy like a field of clover in the sunshine ... with the bees going round and about and the yellow butterflies' (p. 169); the image suggests a freedom from conventions which gives Lady Bruton another dimension. The point of such comparisons is to make us wonder whether what we have accepted as everyday world is really so. The effect is exhilarating, because the world suddenly appears strange and new to our eyes.

The impression of strangeness is even stronger when, for instance, an eye becomes 'a cup that overflowed and let the rest run down its china walls unrecorded' (p. 248), where the strangeness is enhanced by the literal application of the image eye/cup; but the implied comparison does not add anything to the experience, it presents it in a startling way, and therefore draws attention to itself. There are a good many images of this kind in *Mrs. Dalloway*, which critics have occasionally praised as 'metaphysical' or as truly of the imagination. At the risk of appearing as a philistine, I must confess that I would rather rank them with Butler's lobster, which Coleridge singled out as a creation of fancy. They remind one of the experiments of modernist poetry; if the term 'metaphysical' is applied to them, it should only be with the connotation that Dr. Johnson gave to it.

Sometimes, the fantasy which creates the images is that which spins fairy tales, and all the characters in *Mrs. Dalloway* weave stories around the people they encounter. It is not surprising therefore to come across images that distinctly call up a fairy-tale atmosphere. Thus Clarissa, remembering Peter's criticism of her, takes up her needle and 'like a queen whose guards have fallen asleep and left her unprotected ... so that one can stroll in and have a look at where she lies with the brambles

² *Mrs. Dalloway*, London, The Hogarth Press (quotations from the 1933 edition).

curving over her summoned to her help the things she did, the things she liked' (p. 68). For a moment she becomes the Sleeping Beauty, and Peter half prince, half enemy, threatens her privacy. But at once the vision vanishes, and they are seen as knights challenging each other in the lists. These impressions only flash through the mind; we are not given time to look at the image too closely, because all that it implies need not, and in fact should not, be brought into play. The charm of such images lies in their vagueness, so that for a moment we half descry worlds in which one is not tied to facts and figures. But the setting of this novel does not allow for a full acknowledgement of such worlds and they are felt as fantasies.

Sometimes the meaning of the image cannot be grasped until a scene from the past is evoked, a scene which the present emotion recalls. Thus Peter, remembering that he had wanted to marry Clarissa 'was overcome by his own grief, which rose like a moon looked at from a terrace, ghastly beautiful with light from the sunken day' (p. 65). The scene in the moonlight at Bourton is then recalled, and we understand that for Peter the moon is inseparable from the pain he then felt and has become a symbol of his grief. It is almost as though the image could not speak for itself, and the following reminiscence was necessary to make its burden clear. Similarly, when we read that the evening light 'paled and faded above the battlements and prominences', and began to disappear, but 'London would have none of it, and rushed her bayonet into the sky, pinioned her, constrained her to partnership in revelry...' (p. 243), we are baffled by the unaccountable feeling that turns buildings into bayonets and leads on to a partnership in revelry. The image makes us pause; then we remember a similar image earlier on in the novel. As Clarissa muses over death, wondering whether it matters that she must cease completely, she feels that she will survive on the ebb and flow of things 'being laid out like a mist between the people she knew best, who lifted her on their branches as she had seen the trees lift the mist' (p. 16). Somehow the later image is a reflection of the former, and therefore suggests the relation between life and death, between individual existence and survival in others, between singleness and merging.

These and other images suggest the relation in a painting between verticals and horizontals, or rather horizontally undulating lines, a relation which is somehow significant of two attitudes at once opposed and interdependent. If that is so, then the apparently baffling image of the bayonets pinioning the sky may have a thematic significance, as have several other images in the novel.

Before considering these, I should like to mention a few images of a different nature, which serve to express the nature of a character; they are generally less fanciful, more simple and pregnant. They mostly appear in connexion with a secondary character, who can be summed up more easily, or who only expresses a fleeting vision of another. Thus, Sir William Bradshaw swoops and devours (p. 154); Lady Bradshaw is

'wedged on a calm sea, where only spice winds blow' (p. 143); Elizabeth is compared to a dumb creature, longing to gallop away (p. 200); to Clarissa, she appears as a 'hyacinth sheathed in glossy green, with buds just tinted, a hyacinth which has had no sun' (p. 186), thus as a budding flower that is still ignorant of life. Akin to this is the repetition of a gesture (e.g. Peter Walsh fingering his pocket-knife) or incident which thus acquires a symbolical value. I will consider three: the shilling thrown into the Serpentine, the old lady seen in her room, and Clarissa holding the hot-water can.

As Clarissa is walking in the morning, her thoughts turn now to the people around, now to scenes from her youth. 'She remembered Sylvia, Fred, Sally Seton — such hosts of people; and dancing all night; and the waggons plodding past to market; and driving home across the Park. She remembered once throwing a shilling into the Serpentine. But every one remembered.' (pp. 15-16). As we read, this strikes us as one of the many things she remembers, like the waggons plodding to market, a trivial incident which for some reason happens to be stored in her memory. For Virginia Woolf does leave room in her novel for trivial incidents, e.g. seeing Jorrock's *Jaunts and Jollities* in the shop-window, for the odds and ends of things, because the hints and guesses one is to follow to get at the meaning of life must emerge from the apparent confusion of things. Though the reminiscences of Clarissa are followed by a meditation on death, though flinging the coin into the Serpentine *may* suggest destruction, it is only at the end of the novel (p. 277) that the meaning appears, when the sentence is repeated: Clarissa remembers 'throwing a shilling into the Serpentine, *never anything more*'. The additional words relate her gesture to Septimus' death, of which she has just heard, since he has flung *his* life away.

It is fashionable nowadays when discussing imagery to assume that images, in poetic drama for instance, can affect the reader or spectator, even though he remains unaware of them at the moment; and that there happens a kind of recognition when the same, or a similar, image is used later on, so that some link is established, however unconsciously. I cannot but wonder, however, whether such effects can be relied upon in a context that is not a closely organised poem. In this particular case, it seems to me that few readers are likely to remember that a hint has been given at the beginning of the novel. Virginia Woolf's use of a device primarily poetic takes no account of certain conditions of fiction.

I would say that her use of the other two motifs is more successful. In the morning Clarissa remembers her love for Sally Seton; she remembers 'standing in her bed-room at the top of the house holding the hot-water can in her hands and saying aloud, "She is beneath this roof"' (p. 53). The ecstasy, which had then made her feel 'if it were now to die, 'twere now to be most happy', had brought her a kind of revelation. At the end of her party, she suddenly sees Sally and feels that 'one might put down the hot-water can quite composedly' (p. 258). Though the motifs are as

far apart as in the first example, here the relation appears at once, simply because on the first occasion the motif was part of a significant moment, which remains embedded in our minds. Othello's words are repeated a little later too, when Clarissa hears of Septimus' suicide. The two scenes are linked easily: when Clarissa paused to hold the moment in her hands, and when the moment has lost its significance.

A similar pattern is established by the motif of the old lady moving about her room. Clarissa sees her just after her encounter with Miss Kilman and in the evening after hearing of Septimus' suicide. In both cases, the old lady going about her own business, undisturbed, answers Clarissa's wish to let 'everybody merely be themselves' (p. 191). Her sense that there is something solemn about the privacy of the soul (p. 191) is gratified by the sight of the old lady 'quietly going to bed alone'. Both Miss Kilman, from whom Clarissa has just escaped, and Sir William Bradshaw, from whom Septimus has escaped, try to intrude into other people's souls. In both cases, the significance remains implicit, and the reader is likely to remember the former occasion only because it follows on the expression of violent feelings. On the other hand, the incident does not call attention to itself as does Clarissa's remark about the hot-water can at the party. The motif works less obtrusively, but is sufficiently clear to suggest a pattern of emotions.

The images I have discussed so far suggest a variety of impressions and qualities; they weave around people and things a luminous halo that endows them with value. Other images, however, are capable of suggesting the significance of life as felt by a character. Such is the image of the nun, as applied to Clarissa. The main quality of the image is its ambivalence; as such it can convey Clarissa's attitude to life, her love and her fear of it, her longing for privacy and her wish to merge; it can also express the twofold movement of withdrawal and gift, and imply the relation of self to other selves.

After her walk through London, Clarissa comes home and enters the hall 'as cool as a vault'; she feels 'like a nun who has left the world and feels fold round her the familiar veils and the response to old devotions' (p. 45). The image implies the religious feeling, the sense of offering and thankfulness; it implies a serenity and acceptance of life which gives value to the world she has just left. This is a moment of peace at the centre of the whirling world. But the peace is soon shattered by 'the shock of Lady Bruton asking Richard to lunch without her' (p. 46). The cool vault becomes a tower, the nun withdraws from the world into the emptiness at the heart of life (p. 48), solitude becomes isolation, and virginity is no longer equated with purity but with coldness, with the fear of giving oneself away. Yet devotion and isolation, purity and coldness must be taken together to arrive at the meaning of life as Clarissa sees it. The bed with the sheets stretched tight across it becomes a symbol for the separation of the individual as opposed to the moments of sudden

revelation, when the world comes closer. The moment of revelation is presented in such terms as to suggest a kind of mystical experience. It therefore seems as if the nun's seclusion and her coldness, the attic room and the narrow bed were conditions of the momentary illuminations, as if withdrawing 'into the world of perpetual solitude' were the necessary preparation for the final coming together.

Later in the day, remembering that Peter criticises her for her parties, that Richard thinks it foolish of her to get excited over them, she realises that they are wrong, and, 'lying on the sofa, cloistered' she says that her parties are an offering, though she wonders: an offering to whom? (pp. 183-84). Thus, more than a hundred pages later, here is the image of the nun and her devotion, even with the same scepticism that had made her exclaim in the morning that 'not for a moment did she believe in God' (pp. 45-46). It is probably because of this scepticism that Virginia Woolf can use this image only sparingly, and turns to the waves and the sea to suggest the twofold movement.

The image appears already in the opening sentences. When Clarissa leaves her house, the early morning air is fresh 'as if issued to children on a beach', and she *plunges* into it as when she stepped out into the garden at Bourton. The solemnity of the morning at Bourton is later transferred to the pause in the traffic and to the hush before Big Ben strikes. The flow of people and of carriages through Westminster brings to Clarissa the same excitement and awe as diving into a strange element, so that the love and fear of the everflowing life around her, the wish to be taken into it and the fear of being swallowed by it, are suggested at this early stage in the novel. Yet there is also the suggestion that this exciting pageant is a vain show, that Clarissa's absorption in the life around her, as later on her love of parties and of assembling, leaves unsatisfied a deeper desire in her. Even while immersed in the flow, she seems to be groping for the 'still point of the turning world'. Just as the moment of June is an intersection of past and present, so time and timelessness intersect, and even Big Ben's 'lead circles dissolve in the air.'

Clarissa loves the divine vitality that makes people move about and lifts the leaves in the Park on its *waves*, as she had loved dancing and riding. The image of the waves first brought in to express the freshness of the morning air, expands to contain the 'waves of divine vitality'; being firmly established, it can endow a mere statement with a weight of significance far beyond the actual words: 'To dance, to ride, she had adored all that' (p. 13). Properly speaking, this is no image, but who shall say now where image and statement of fact can be divided from each other? It is just the purpose of Virginia Woolf to abolish the distinction between dream and reality; she effects this by mixing images with gestures, thoughts with impressions, visions with pure sensations, and by presenting them as mirrored on a consciousness. As a consequence, almost everything becomes an image projected on a screen.

By the time Clarissa reaches the Park Gates, the memory of Peter Walsh

impinges more and more on her thoughts, and this brings to the fore the other theme, her sense of loneliness and of being an outsider. Peter had often scolded her for her coldness; now as she watches the taxicabs, she has a sense of 'being far out at sea, and alone'. The image derives from the actual situation, but renders more than a sensation. Its connection with the plunge into the morning air and the fear of being lost in the waves relates it to the basic image developed from the start, and leads on to the incident she remembers: of once throwing a shilling into the Serpentine.

As incidents and persons float up in her memory, so she may now imagine surviving on the ebb and flow of things, here in the streets of London (p. 16). There comes the consoling thought that we are part of everything and live in each other. By now, the image of the sea, the waves, the flux, has developed into a symbol of life; the fear of loneliness and the fear of being lost in the flux, the love of the flux and the love of independent existence, the twofold movement of merging and separating, of existing individually and being annihilated, are subsumed in the image, which, thanks to its ambivalence, can be used to express both aspects of the theme.

Whenever things come together and harmonise, Clarissa feels secure as if borne up on a wave, lifted on its crest, submerged by it; when the wave falls, leaving the body on the beach, the heart is at peace. Thus, in the flower-shop, she feels 'as if this beauty, this scent, this colour, and Miss Pym liking her, trusting her, were a wave which she let flow over her ... and it lifted her up and up' (p. 22). When she sits in her room, mending her dress, quiet descends on her. 'So on a summer's day waves collect, overbalance, and fall; collect and fall; and the whole world seems to be saying "that is all" more and more ponderously, until even the body which lies in the sun on the beach says too, That is all. Fear no more, says the heart. Fear no more, says the heart, committing its burden to some sea, which sighs collectively for all sorrows, and renews, begins, collects, lets fall.' (p. 61). Thus, committing one's burden to the sea allays the fear of the sun. The phrase from the dirge recurs several times through Clarissa's rêverie and it is echoed in Septimus' nightmare, thus linking the worlds of 'the sane and the insane', as Virginia Woolf called it in her diary (14 Oct. 1922).

Sometimes the sea appears as a dangerous element and the individual as lost in the midst of it, fearing to be carried away by it. This happens in moments of separation, when the self seems to be threatened. These moments come and go, as the waves collect and fall, for there are 'tides in the body' (p. 171), and memories float up or sink. Like the traffic, the mind ebbs and flows, the train of thoughts or impressions moves rhythmically from past to present, from joy to sorrow, and man is borne by the waves or left on the beach. The image of the sea and the waves is fundamental to this kind of composition, and very often, as in the passage quoted, the very sentences mould themselves on the movement of the waves.

Clarissa's 'double', the shell-shocked Septimus, is haunted by the same fear and love; he is at once relieved and appalled by his loneliness; he, too,

has his revelations and tries to communicate. He is repeatedly presented as a drowned sailor on a rock, far out at sea; he has gone under the sea and has been dead, and yet is now alive, and he feels himself drawing to the shore of life (p. 105). He sees the trees of the Park rising and falling like waves, and to him the sun is now terrifying now gentle. All these link the two characters and their search for meaning. The same peace descends on him when he lies on the sofa as when Clarissa sews quietly in her room. His thoughts at this moment are a variation on Clarissa's dream of waves collecting and falling; they embrace the same elements, and end on the same comforting note: 'Fear no more, says the heart in the body; fear no more' (pp. 210-211).³ As Clarissa muses on his suicide, the words she had read that morning in the shop-window once more recur to her: 'Fear no more the heat of the sun' (p. 280).

The phrase recurs to link the parts, and implies that the sun is the enemy. Yet again the image is ambivalent, for sometimes the heat of the sun is kind and gentle, whether to Peter in the Park, or to Septimus at peace on the shore of the world, or about to kill himself. But everyone is suffering from the heat, and Septimus is terrified of the world bursting into flames, of falling through the sea into the flames (p. 215); when Clarissa hears of his suicide, 'her dress flames, her body burns' (p. 277) with the pain of the rusty spikes going through his body.⁴

From these few examples, we may conclude that in *Mrs Dalloway* many images are used to release objects and people from their matter-of-fact ordinariness and to reveal some essence perceived by fancy or imagination. By such means, Virginia Woolf achieves what David Daiches has called 'the dissolution of experience into tenuous insights'. A more important purpose is served by ambivalent images which can suggest a complex relation of people to life, because they can expand so as to include contraries and imply a rhythm or tension between these contraries. This latter kind of images contributes to the inner organisation of impressions and thoughts, and the movement of the novel is partly at least determined by them.

But only partly. For it is true that *Mrs. Dalloway*, as a critic has said,⁵ is 'rigidly structured and mechanically fitted together'. The mechanical devices which Virginia Woolf uses to give the novel a 'skeletal structure' are too well-known for me to dwell on this point. Her use of them suggests that she could not rely entirely on her imagery to provide the organisation from within. Perhaps the central 'incident' in the novel cannot bear the

³ The variation is of course in a different key, since Septimus' dreams are the delusions of a madman, and the false promise of peace will bring about his destruction. But the irony is linked with the ambivalence of the sea and sun images.

⁴ In an article in *Modern Fiction Studies* (Febr. 1956), Dean Doner discusses the ambivalence of this image and its use as narrative device, i.e. as contributing to the progress in time of the story. The article is partly an answer to William Troy's objection that poetic symbols in fiction interpose a space-world in the march of the time-world of the novel. I cannot but agree with Dean Doner's conclusions, though I would not be prepared to treat, as he does, every single use of *sun* in the novel as significant.

⁵ Dean Doner, *loc. cit.*

weight of meaning that it is intended to carry: Clarissa's party is her solution to the mystery of isolated selves, an instance of communication, her offering. But assembling people in a drawing-room does sound a little trivial as an answer to the problem of life. Because the objective correlative is hardly adequate, the images which express some aspects of the theme fail to fuse, and the need is felt to establish the relations by means of other devices.

It is therefore interesting to examine her next novel, to see why in *To the Lighthouse* she could dispense with such mechanical devices, since the problems raised here are the same as in *Mrs. Dalloway*: survival and annihilation; isolation and communication; individual existence and harmony; time, change and the meaning of life.

In *To the Lighthouse*⁶ we still encounter a number of images that jostle us out of our complacent attitude to ordinary life. The main images, however, are related to the central elements in the picture: the sea and the lighthouse; and many others derive from the incident or the situation in which they occur. The picture of the lighthouse and the sea already suggests a relation between stability and movement; but each image implies contraries, and becomes associated with other images whose meaning is unambiguous. Thus a whole network of relationships can be established, in which tensions vary according to the terms linked together.

One of the themes of the novel is the tyranny of self, a theme which is announced from the first when Mr. Ramsay dashes his son's hopes to go to the lighthouse. Little James at once wishes to seize an axe or a poker to kill his father. Mr. Ramsay, the tyrant, is 'lean as a knife, narrow as the blade of one' (p. 12); when he insists upon pursuing truth without any consideration for other people's feelings,⁷ Mrs. Ramsay will bend her head 'as if to let the pelt of jagged hail ... bespatter her unrebuked' (p. 54). Mr. Ramsay is also the desolate sea-bird standing alone 'on a spit of land which the sea is slowly eating away' (p. 72). Whereas his son feels nothing but resentment for this assertion of self, his friends and his wife recognise in that desolation 'a vigilance which spared no phantom and luxuriated in no vision' (p. 72), and they feel gratitude and reverence for him, 'as a stake driven into the bed of a channel upon which the gulls perch and the waves beat inspires in merry boat-loads a feeling of gratitude for the duty it has taken upon itself of marking the channel out there in the floods alone' (p. 72).

Thus, assertion of self is linked by these images both with tyranny and cruelty, and with resistance to the flood. All these images, however, have something in common: the firm outline, thrusting upward or forward, and

⁶ *To the Lighthouse*, London, The Hogarth Press (quotations from the 1955 edition).

⁷ When demanding sympathy, he will appear as a 'beak of brass', plunging itself in the spray of life (p. 62), as the 'arid scimitar' smiting mercilessly (p. 63); when they actually go to the lighthouse, James will feel him as a fierce 'sudden black-winged harpy, with its talons and its beak all cold and hard' (p. 283).

cutting across; the last particularly cannot but suggest the other tower that also marks the channel in the floods, alone. It asserts itself and defies the sea, as Mr. Ramsay defies ignorance and rejects phantoms.⁸

To Mr. Ramsay, the sea is the enemy, that threatens the little island on which he stands; and he hopes that his children will continue to stem the flood (p. 110), to resist the encroaching sea. The words of Cowper's *Castaway* suit him as well as those of Tennyson; he repeats that 'we perish each alone' and he is whelmed in deeper gulfs, beneath a rougher sea (p. 257). Yet in the end he does go to the lighthouse and before landing, he at last relinquishes his self: this seems to be a necessary requirement for reaching the lighthouse, which suggests that the lighthouse symbolises more than the stake driven into the channel to guide boats through the floods.

Another kind of images appears to express the essence of being. Lily's impressions of Mr. Banks tilt up and pour down in an avalanche; but 'then rose in a *fume* the essence of his being' (p. 42). The fume which rises from the avalanche of impressions reminds us of the 'fountain of white water' which spurts irregularly from the waves (p. 36), and which Mr. Banks and Lily watch with delight, for unlike Mr. Ramsay, they turn to the water for relief. When Mr. Ramsay stands demanding sympathy, his wife raises herself and seems 'to pour erect into the air a rain of energy, a column of spray . . . burning and illuminating' (p. 62); little James 'standing between her knees, *very stiff*' feels 'all her strength flaring up to be drunk and quenched by the beak of brass' (p. 68). This column of spray cannot but recall the fountain of white water and the fume on the avalanche; but on the way other images have become associated with it: Mrs. Ramsay is like a nurse carrying a *light* across a dark room to reassure a child, and her son feels her 'rise in a rosy-flowered fruit-tree laid with leaves and dancing boughs' (p. 63). Thus, while the self is a cold scimitar and always demands, the fountain of essence refreshes and gives warmth, for the spray burns and her strength is drunk and *quenched*.

Whereas Mr. Ramsay resists the tide, Mrs. Ramsay leans to things. Hers is an outgoing movement, to meet others, to meet otherness. To her, the 'community of feeling with other people which emotion gives' abolishes the walls of partition so that all is one stream (p. 175). As she rose to answer her husband's demand, so in solitude, 'there curled up off the floor of the mind, rose from the lake of one's being, a mist, a bride to meet her lover' (p. 102). Over against the isolated self, Mrs. Ramsay is the merger, who pairs off people, smoothes differences, assembles round the dinner table, exhausts herself in giving, so that 'there is scarcely a shell of herself left for her to know herself by' (p. 63). Mr. Ramsay

⁸ He is also the leader of a doomed expedition, 'across the icy solitudes of the Polar regions' (p. 57), the leader of a 'forlorn party which . . . has climbed high enough to see the waste of the years and the perishing of stars' and who will die at his post, the fine figure of a soldier (p. 60). He stands on his spit of land, like the red-hot pokers guarding the break in the hedge, through which can be seen the blue waters of the bay (p. 35).

wraps himself about to protect his privacy (p. 52) and slams the door on the intruder; but after exhausting herself, Mrs. Ramsay 'seemed to fold herself together, one petal closed in another ... in exquisite abandonment' (p. 64). It is only in solitude, when 'she need not think about anybody' (p. 99) that she can be herself, and find peace in this complete loss of personality. When she has shed all attachments, there remains only 'a wedge-shaped core of darkness' (p. 99). Being emptied of self, peace descends on her and things come together. Then she can attach herself to the long steady stroke that comes to her across the waves, to the stroke that purifies.⁹ This might be compared to the *ὁδὸς κάτω* which Eliot invites us to take in *Burnt Norton*.¹⁰ Allowing for the differences, we can however recognise a similar experience, which prepares the way for the meeting with otherness, with the not-self, and which leads to a kind of identification with this Other. The wording seems intended to suggest some kind of mystical experience, breaking the limitations of self and giving a sense of oneness.¹¹

If this is so, then the lighthouse stands for the Other, the not-self, that which remains above the movement and change. And the images of fume and spray can be related to it, as expressing essence, that which endures. It is significant that when looking steadily at the light and becoming 'the thing she looked at', Mrs. Ramsay should add 'We are in the hands of the Lord' (p. 101). It is equally significant that at once she should be 'annoyed with herself for saying that'. We remember Clarissa Dalloway adding carefully that 'not for one moment did she believe in God' (p. 43).

It seems, then, that Virginia Woolf will not have us attach any transcendental meaning to these experiences; that she wishes us to interpret them as strictly aesthetic, not as religious experiences. And we cannot but think of Roger Fry's determination to stop on the edge of the gulf of mysticism. Virginia Woolf's own correlative for such experiences is the vision of the artist, of an artist in fact who seems to have been brought up on Fry's aesthetics!

⁹ In his article: 'Virginia Woolf, The Novel of Sensibility' (in *Symposium*, III, 1932, reprinted in *Literary Opinion in America*, ed. by Morton Dauwen Zabel, 1951), William Troy quotes the passage and comments: 'Through solitude these people are able to relieve themselves from the responsibilities of living, they are able to complete their divorce from reality even to the extent of escaping the burden of personality. ... Once one has abandoned the effort to act upon reality, either with the will or the intellect, the mind is permitted to wander in freedom through the stored treasures of its memories and impressions' (p. 326). This seems to me to be a misrepresentation of Mrs. Ramsay's experience.

¹⁰ 'Descend lower, descend only / Into the world of perpetual solitude, / World not world, but that which is not world, / Internal darkness, deprivation / And destitution of all property, / Desiccation of the world of sense, / Evacuation of the world of fancy, / Inoperancy of the world of spirit;'

¹¹ Cf. the steady light, pitiless and remorseless, which is 'so much her, yet so little her', which strokes 'with its silver fingers some sealed vessel in her brain whose bursting would flood her with delight'; and also the intense happiness, the ecstasy that 'burst in her eyes', and the feeling: It is enough! (p. 103-104).

Mrs. Ramsay has the same feeling of peace during the dinner party, when everything is right, i.e. when all her guests are drawn into the harmony and a pattern emerges. The moment is perfect and as such partakes of eternity. Once more, the essence of the moment rises upwards, 'like a smoke, like a fume' (p. 168). Mrs. Ramsay herself, having reached security, feels 'like a flag floated in an element of joy' (p. 162), an image which calls to mind the buoys in the harbour. She also feels that she hovers 'like a hawk suspended' (pp. 162, 163), high above the elements. Thus she seems to be looking on the world from some high station above, and from there to discover a pattern in the endless movement. The words she uses (p. 168) to express her feeling implicitly relate it to the *stability* of the lighthouse, *shining out in the face of the flowing*, and to the moment when she stared at the stroke of the lighthouse.

Her feeling that 'here was the still space that lies about the heart of things, where one could move or rest' (p. 168) again seems to suggest something like Eliot's 'still point of the turning world ... neither from nor towards ... neither arrest nor movement' (*Burnt Norton*). This feeling is figured by the hawk suspended, and the image is recalled when Lily's brush 'for a moment ... stayed trembling in a painful but exciting ecstasy in the air' (p. 243). Again it is associated with rising above the flux and reducing it to harmony. Lily's experience requires first that she should subdue 'the impertinences and irrelevancies that plucked her attention and made her remember how she was such and such a person, had such and such relations to people' (p. 243), in other words, the first stage is shedding of self and rising to a pinnacle where she feels 'like an unborn soul, a soul reft of body' (p. 245).

Having divested herself of personality, having exchanged 'the fluidity of life for the concentration of painting' (p. 245), Lily can attain the impersonal vision of the artist and discover a pattern in the complexity of things, 'as the waves shape themselves symmetrically from the cliff top, but to the swimmer among them are divided by steep gulfs and foaming crests' (p. 244). Thus it is only when she is 'drawn out of community with people' that she can 'come into the presence of this formidable ancient enemy of hers — this other thing, this truth, this reality, which suddenly laid hands on her, emerged stark at the back of appearances and commanded her attention' (p. 245). The similarity with Mrs. Ramsay's experience meeting the stroke of light is at once clear; the cliff, the pinnacle from which reality can be seen whole, the waves shaping themselves symmetrically relate the experience to the lighthouse, which appears both as the vantage point from which to view life and as the 'other thing' that emerges stark from the fluidity of things. Just as Mrs. Ramsay had felt at the beck and call of the merciless light, so 'this other thing' lays hands on Lily: in both cases there is a kind of rapture, and the other is 'a formidable enemy'.

Once these relations between the images become clear, we can grasp the symbolical value of the trip to the lighthouse; why to little James it had seemed that the *wonder* was 'after a night's darkness and a day's sail,

within touch' (p. 11); why Mr. Ramsay must dash these hopes, since to him life is a passage to 'that fabled land where our brightest hopes are extinguished, our frail barks founder in darkness' (p. 13);¹² why the boat only lands at the lighthouse when Mr. Ramsay and his children have made up their differences and shed their tyrannical selves.

But why then are the images related to self so often linked with the lighthouse? In this novel the problem of significant form is presented on two levels: that of human relationships and that of art; the creation of harmony depends in both cases on the successful integration of the elements. This can only be achieved by someone who can recognise and take into account each individual element, each self. This implies the capacity to meet another self, to establish an I-thou relation which allows the other person to be fully himself. And the person who is capable of an I-thou relation with his fellow-men may, to use Buber's words, achieve such a relation with the eternal Thou. The lighthouse it seems to me, symbolises both the other selves, and the Great Other, 'this formidable ancient enemy', the non-self.¹³

It is easier to grasp the significance of the sea-images, probably because the sea has long been associated with mutability. But again Virginia Woolf uses them to suggest opposite meanings: the sea is both destroyer and protector; it engulfs the individual elements and brings them together; it threatens the ordered world and creates harmony. To Mr. Ramsay, the sea is the enemy, and he defies the flood from his spit of land. To Mrs. Ramsay, the sound of the waves can be like 'a ghostly roll of drums remorselessly beat(ing) the measure of life', it can make her 'think of the destruction of the island and its engulfment in the sea' and warn her that everything is ephemeral (p. 30). But the waves falling on the beach also beat a 'measured and soothing tattoo to her thoughts' and repeat consolingly 'I am guarding you — I am your support' (p. 30).

Indeed the individual feels his nothingness in front of the sea, because it seems, as Lily says, 'to outlast by a million years the gazer and to be communing already with a sky which beholds an earth entirely at rest' (p. 37). The indifference of nature and the survival of the earth, whatever happens to man, will be presented in the interlude: Time passes. To the

¹² The words of course recall Arnold's (and Clough's) image of the sea. It is clear that Virginia Woolf's treatment of it is her answer to her forbears, whom Mr. Ramsay resembles in many ways.

¹³ The ambivalence of the lighthouse is made clear, I believe, when James draws near it and remembers how, as a child, he longed to go there: 'The lighthouse was *then* a silvery, misty-looking tower with a yellow eye that opened suddenly and softly in the evening. *Now* ... He could see the white-washed rocks; the tower, stark and straight; ... so that was the lighthouse, was it? — No, the other was also the lighthouse. For nothing was simply one thing' (p. 286). The relation between meeting others and meeting 'the Other' is suggested at the close of the first part, when Mrs. Ramsay, feeling quite close to her husband, gets up to look at the light-house, and then turns smiling to Mr. Ramsay so that 'he knew that she loved him', and smiling looks out at the window again.

assertive self, engulfment can mean nothing but annihilation: that is probably the reason why to Mr. Ramsay the sea is nothing but the enemy. To those, however, who attempt to merge, who dread separateness, it is a relief to be carried away by the flood. So Mrs. Ramsay feels 'out of the eddy' (p. 130) when things remain separate. Yet to her also, order appears as a victory won over the waters. When the candles are lit, the party round the table is 'composed' and seems 'to be order and dry land'; they all make a party on an island, having 'their common cause against that fluidity out there' (p. 152). Indeed, if life is the flux, significance and permanence can only be achieved by such creation of order. So when the link 'that bound things together ha(s) been cut, they float up there, down there, off, anyhow'; floating at random becomes an image of chaos, and the sea is once more a symbol of disintegration.

Yet, Lily and William Bankes stroll down every evening to the break in the hedge to look at the sea, as if 'drawn by some need'. The sea seems to release unknown powers in them, makes them expand beyond the limitations of self. So that in the third part, when Lily tries to grasp her vision, she turns again and again to the sea. It is as though contemplation of the sea and the bark sailing on it brought into proper perspective the relation of time and timelessness, of individual objects and the whole to which they belong. As David Daiches has shown,¹⁴ blue is the colour of the impersonal artist, and it is the sea that enables men to reach the impersonal vision. Cam looking at the island from the boat sees it become 'steadily more distant and more peaceful' (p. 281), and her mind wanders in the underworld of waters 'where in the green light a change came over one's entire mind and one's body shone half transparent enveloped in a green cloak' (p. 281). The sea, then, reveals the luminous halo, and Lily trying to get her canvas into perspective feels as 'on a narrow plank, perfectly alone, over the sea' (p. 265). There she can satisfy her 'need of distance and blue' (p. 279), she can see things in their proper relations. Her vision is an insight into the nature of life and death, dissolution and permanence, individual being and the surrounding world. Only by maintaining the proper balance between the two terms in each pair can significant form be achieved. That is why the main images in the novel must be ambivalent symbols, for Virginia Woolf, like Lily, must achieve 'the razor edge of balance between two opposite forces' (p. 296).

The correlative of this significant form in *To the Lighthouse*, as so often in Virginia Woolf's work, is the *wave*. When Lily first tries to express her vision of the Ramsays and their world, and grasps the perfect integration of the scene, she feels 'how life, from being made up of little separate incidents which one lived one by one, became curled and whole like a wave which bore one up with it and threw one down with it, there, with a dash on the beach' (p. 76). When ecstasy bursts in Mrs. Ramsay's eyes at the stroke of the lighthouse, 'waves of pure delight race over the floor of her

¹⁴ David Daiches: *Virginia Woolf* (1945).

mind' (p. 103). The mind at peace rises and falls with the sea, and the rhythm of the waves makes it lose itself and go under (p. 231). The regular beat of the waves on the beach reassures and brings peace (p. 30). Looking at the sea from a cliff top, one sees the waves shaping themselves symmetrically (p. 244). As Lily paints, she attains a dancing rhythmical movement, and the lines on her canvas image the movement of the waves (p. 244). They bring messages of peace to the shore and, when the party at last returns to the house, the waves break gently and 'the sigh of all the seas breaking in measure round the isles' soothes the sleepers (p. 220). When at last Mr. Ramsay and his children are freed from their resentment, the boat sails 'buoyantly on long rocking waves ... with an extraordinary lilt and exhilaration' (pp. 316-317) and they can hear the waves 'rolling and gambolling and slapping the rocks as if they were wild creatures who were perfectly free and tossed and tumbled and sported like this for ever' (p. 317).

The exhilaration of the waves has its counterpart in the lines running up and across in Lily's picture, with its greens and blues, and its attempt at something. In the sudden intensity of her vision, Lily draws her line and the form emerges. One would be very much surprised indeed if the relation of masses, lights and shadows in the picture did not portray the rising and falling of the waves, which echoes throughout the novel.

In her picture, Lily wishes to render ordinary experience in such a way that one may feel 'simply that's a chair, that's a table, and yet at the same time, it's a miracle, it's an ecstasy' (p. 310). The problem which she here defines is the problem that Virginia Woolf tried to solve, and did solve in this novel: how to base the novel, as she said in an essay, 'on Smith, and have one toe touching Liverpool', and 'take off into whatever heights (one) pleases' (*The Common Reader*, I. pp. 72-73); that is, how to render ordinary experience so as to show 'eternity in a grain of sand'.

The success of this particular novel is due, I believe, to the relevancy of the imagery through which the 'miracle' is suggested, to the ordinary experience from which the characters 'take off' in their musings on life. We thus move from the level of 'that's a chair' to 'It's an ecstasy' with perfect ease. The setting is a suitable background for the 'dissolution of experience into tenuous insights'. The people are isolated from the world, surrounded by sky and sea, and the slight haze from the sea helps to tone down the colours, to merge the objects and unite them in the general concord. The situation lends itself particularly well to the working out of the theme: a group of people who, though they live together for a time, can only be integrated through the power of Mrs. Ramsay. They are the elements that must fall into place without being destroyed in the process. Within the group, a character who in another way is in quest of form or the unifying spirit, and who tries to express in her art the harmony that Mrs. Ramsay tries to create in life; Lily Briscoe's painting is truly the objective correlative of this kind of harmony.

The images on which the working out of the meaning depends are based on elements of the scenery, and the very rhythm of the sentences often suggests that the rêverie of the characters — or of the author, for the distinction does not matter — moulds itself on the movement of the sea. Indeed, the sea is the bass that beats a measured tattoo to their thoughts, just as it is the point where they all stop in their walks. The lighthouse towers over the bay and sends its light across the rooms. Everybody looking out to sea must feel it as an element of stability and safety in the midst of the moving waters, and the light that pierces the darkness at night cannot but be felt as a sudden illumination. It is essential that the light should be intermittent: only in moments of revelation does the meaning emerge; for, as Lily says towards the end, 'the great revelation perhaps never did come. Instead, there were daily little miracles, illuminations, *matches struck unexpectedly in the dark*' (p. 249).

The thoughts and impressions of the characters oscillate between the house on the island and the sea, as their movements bring them towards, or away from, the shore. It is quite natural that the relation between shore and sea should colour their vision of the relation between the individual and the group by which he is surrounded; between the present moment and all the moments that surround it, whether past or future; between life and the luminous halo that envelops it.

The term is particularly appropriate here: in the first part, the evening is drawing near; in the third part, it is a fine morning, 'the sea and sky look all one fabric', and the air is 'a fine gauze which (holds) things and (keeps) them softly in its mesh', (p. 280). We do feel in such an atmosphere that things are somehow unreal, and yet more vivid, that they are both themselves and something wonderfully strange.

Thus, setting and incident naturally give rise to the kind of meditation on life which is the main purpose of the novel. Whereas the 'identification' of Clarissa and Septimus in *Mrs. Dalloway* strikes us as arbitrary, and the meaning as forced, the relation between Mrs. Ramsay and Lily appears quite natural. Moreover, Mrs. Ramsay's task of merging as well as Lily's attempt at significant form are as such far more meaningful than Clarissa's party. They are adequate correlatives for the search for meaning.

Virginia Woolf uses these 'images' to convey the nature of the problem, and it is in the images that she explores the various aspects of the problem. The world she presents becomes at once more real and more luminous, because the symbols spring from the actual picture. Thereby, they have greater authority, and what Virginia Woolf has to say about life and reality no longer strikes us as fantastic. She too has succeeded in merging the world of facts and figures and the world of the imagination.

To win freedom from the 'materialists' world, it was no doubt necessary first to let the fancy roam, and to discover the endless possibilities of meaning offered to the intuitive mind. Virginia Woolf's early stories, such as *The Mark on the Wall*, show her weaving an attractive web of fantasies which can reduce 'Whitaker's Almanack' to its proper status.

There was exhilaration at discovering that the 'real things' were 'indeed half phantoms' (*The Mark on the Wall*, p. 44): but at that stage, the reader was left with the question that the author herself asks: 'What now takes the place of those things I wonder, those real standard things?' (p. 44). Significance began to appear when the fleeting impressions could be organised round a central, or a few central images. When writing *Mrs. Dalloway*, Virginia Woolf noted in her diary that she wanted 'to be more close to fact than in *Jacob*' (14 Oct. 1922). So she was, but the fantasy had to be disciplined by rigid elements from outside. *To the Lighthouse*, on the contrary, presents to us emotional values and insights into life which can be re-created in our minds because the objective correlative is there in the novel for us to view it. In it, it seems to me, Virginia Woolf has proved her point against the 'materialists' and successfully demonstrated that a novel can be written like a lyric poem. Thanks to her new method she has made us discover 'the luminous halo that surrounds us from the beginning of consciousness to the end'.

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

Notes and News

A Middle English Wheel of Fortune Poem

I.

The concept of Dame Fortune, usually whirling her cruel wheel, was common in both the literature and the iconography of late medieval England.¹ The attention of the student of the history of ideas and sentiment is therefore claimed by tracing this concept from the times when it still retained an unmistakable metaphysical reference, as in the *Inferno* (vii, 67 ff.: '... agli splendor mondani / Ordinò general ministra e duce / Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani'); through its temporal didactic reference in the fifteenth century, as in the ME poems on the subject of the mutations of Fortune printed in Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XV Century*

¹ E.g., St. John's, Cambridge, MS 256 (xiv cent.), p. 139, has an elaborate illustration of the wheel with four kings suspended thereon in variant stages of worldly condition. Several good illustrations are provided in the standard treatment of the topic: Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927). This book should be supplemented with Samuel C. Chew, 'Time and Fortune', *ELH*, VI (1939), 83-113; Don C. Allen, 'Renaissance Remedies for Fortune: Marlowe and the *Fortunati*', *SP*, XXXVIII (1941), 188-197; William Peery, 'Tragic Retribution in the 1559 *Mirror for Magistrates*', *SP*, XLVI (1949), 113-130; D. W. Robertson Jr., 'Chaucerian Tragedy', *ELH*, XIX (1953), 1-37.

(Oxford, 1939), pp. 259-262; to the jocular use of the concept, as in Ancient Pistol's ranting (*Henry V*, III. vi, 29-41) about 'giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel'. Such a tracing would, from one point of view, support Lovejoy's theory about the 'dilution' of philosophical ideas when they appear in literature;² from another point of view it might point to the growth of secular emphasis. For the student of literature, however, it is most useful to think of an idea as the verbal formulation of the poet's response to a given problem, or challenge presented by the confrontation of another personality.

The purpose of this article is to present some hitherto unprinted ME fifteenth century verses which exploit the concept of Fortune's wheel.³ They are anonymous, and are preserved uniquely in apograph fair copy in Bodleian MS Douce 78 (*Summary Catalogue* No. 21652), which is best known for the text of the ME *Titus and Vespasian* which it contains. The verses are acephalous, and are followed on fol. 1^v (in the same scribal hand) by the ME poem 'In a Tabernacle of a Toure', which was printed by Furnivall in EETS OS No. 15, pp. 148-150, from the Lambeth MS 853 copy. They deserve to be printed as an interesting illustration of fifteenth century didactic verse which glances at affairs of court and integrates the exemplum of the sad fate of Richard (see 1. 17 below) with moral reflections on the fall of princes.⁴ I assume that the reference is to Richard II since the Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* regards the MS as belonging to the third quarter of the fifteenth century; although, of course, the poet may have had Richard III in mind. The verses may be compared to the ME wheel of fortune poem which Carl Horstmann printed from British Museum MS Royal 17.B.xvii in *Yorkshire Writers*, II, 70-71; to Chaucer's *Fortune*; and to the examples mentioned above in Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. The transcription which follows silently expands several obvious abbreviations, introduces modern capitals, and inserts two prepositions which the context demands.

II.

I

(fol. 1r)

- 1 3utte Y se but fewe canne sece
 But to þe whele in haste þay doþe hye.
 Welle is hym þat þer to may prece —
 Euery man desyrethe to sytte so hye.

² See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 17. This notion has been sharply controverted by Lionel Trilling in his *The Liberal Imagination* (New York, 1950), pp. 190-191.

³ See Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), No. *78.

⁴ The most detailed poem on the alleged misrule of Edward II used to be called *Richard the Redeless*: it is now called *Mum and the Sothsegger* (EETS OS No. 199, 1934).

II

- 5 Or þat þu clyme beþenke þe þrye:
 Þu schalte downe falle, þerfore do weele.
 Haue þu mynde howe þu moste dye;
 Be ware lest þat Fortune turne hur whele.

III

- 10 Dame Fortune wit þi face so bryzte
 Þi lokynge is full dysseuyable.
 He þat wyll tryste to þi symple myzte
 Schall wel knowe þu arte vnstable.

IV

- 15 Thy cownse is euer movynge and mutable
 Þerfore we wyllle done ryzt weele.
 Let vs be [in] all vertuys able
 Leste þat Fortune turne hur whele.

V

- 20 Aftur þat Kynge Richarde to dethe was brozte
 Bothe kynges and other of hye estate
 Hur owne dethe & his hathe be dere bozte,
 Boþe ferre ago and also ryzte late.

VI

- For suche myschevys & oþer dyvers also
 Y consayll you me þynkyth ryzte weele
 Þu [in] þe begynnynge þenke wel what ye do
 Leste in þe ende Fortune turne hur whele.

VII

(fol. 1v)

- 25 Oure kynge þat regnythe nowe in his regalite
 God sende hym grace & goode governance
 Þat pece & plente be wit vs, and jolyte.
 And kepe hym & vs fro all comberaunce.

VIII

- 30 Saue þis londe from all myschaunce
 And graunte vs grace euer to do weele.
 And to fle from euery sory chaunce
 Of Fortune, yefte þat sche turne hur whele.

Explicit

University of Florida.

R. H. BOWERS

The Folger Library. In 1942 the then Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dr Joseph Quincy Adams, published a report covering the first ten years of the Library's existence. It had been a period of great development and change. Henry Clay Folger's original creation had been what its name said: a Shakespeare library, though in the widest sense, exemplifying

the works of Shakespeare (seventy-nine First Folios) as well as giving them and their author a setting in the period to which they belonged. Adams was an Elizabethan scholar and a bookman, and he took full advantage of whatever opportunities offered to increase the Library's holdings, particularly in the STC period, but also for the later 17th century. Of these the most exciting was the acquisition of the Harmsworth collection in 1938, by which the Library suddenly became the holder of rather more than half of all STC titles, second only to the British Museum.

Dr Adams died in 1946, and in casting about for a successor the Administrators of the Library, the Trustees of Amherst College, took much thought and sought much advice on the question of the Library's future. They wisely decided that the time had come to consolidate the position, and mould the Library into 'an active scholarly institution contributing to the advancement of significant learning in the literary, intellectual, and social history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'. For their new Director, therefore, they selected a historian and administrator, a man who had successfully assisted in a similar task at the Huntington Library, Dr Louis B. Wright.

Dr Wright set about his task with great zeal, and that he has made a success of it everyone can see who reads the report which he has now issued for the period 1950-1960¹ — or, better still, visits the Library. Characteristically, the title of the report omits Shakespeare. Though it is still a Shakespeare Library — and an even better one than its founder left behind — Dr Wright is still at pains to dispel the notion that that is all the Folger is. When he came he already found it the possessor of the basic materials for research in all fields of human activity for the period 1475-1715. Under his directorship these materials have not merely been added to whenever possible, either through purchase of the written or printed documents themselves or through photography (notably the Cecil papers), but they have been rounded out with all the secondary works needed by scholars throughout the field, and they have been placed in a European rather than an insular setting. Thus it is doubtful whether the Library's Erasmus holdings can be paralleled anywhere in Erasmus's native country, except possibly in his native Rotterdam.

Moreover, everything has been done to make these materials available to those best qualified to use them. This manifests itself not merely in the Research Fellowships which the Library awards annually (full directions for application are given on p. 31 of the report) but also in the extremely friendly and helpful atmosphere so characteristic of this magnificent institution. — J. G.

¹ *The Folger Library: A Decade of Growth, 1950-1960*. Washington, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960. vi, 49 pp.

Reviews

Compounded names of peoples in Beowulf, a study in the diction of a great poet. By Dr. GODFRID STORMS. Utrecht-Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt N.V. [1957]. 26 pp.

This Nijmegen inaugural lecture takes up anew a problem discussed by W. F. Bryan some thirty years ago in the Klaeber homage volume. Dr Storms comments as follows on the work of his predecessor:

Bryan is best, and to my mind completely convincing, where he speaks of the contextual significance of *Gar-Dene* and *Here-* and *Sige-Scyldingas*. In several other cases his remarks are enlightening and suggestive, though it may be worth while to make some additions. That is what I propose to do here, while at the same time I shall attempt to explain the use of the geographical compounds, which so far have baffled all *Beowulf* commentators. [p. 6].

The author approaches his theme in the spirit of an advocate. It is his purpose to vindicate the poet 'from the charge of being at times a mere versifier, who chose his compounds to fill the needs of alliteration and metre, ...' [p. 6]. His frankness here is refreshing and I am not the one to take him to task, since more than once I have done the same thing. Much humbug has been written about objectivity. If I mistake not, most investigations owe their driving power to a thesis that the investigator is trying to prove. Wisdom requires only that you turn critical after you have brought together your evidence and that you keep this critical spirit in passing judgment on your results. But a failure to do this, though bad for the investigator, need not be so for the advancement of knowledge, since reviewers and other critics may be counted on to point out weaknesses, sometimes, alas, without giving due credit for achievements.

The author himself lays stress on his explanation of the geographical compounds and since my space is limited I shall restrict myself almost wholly to these. The poet mentions many peoples in the course of the poem but only the Danes are ever spoken of in terms of the cardinal points, *Norðdene* occurring once, *Suðdene* and *Westdene* twice each, and *Eastdene* thrice. Simple *Dene* occurs thirty times, and *Dene* compounded with elements that are not geographical occurs nine times. Inasmuch as the sixth-century historian Procopius bears witness to a division of the Danish people into tribes — unhappily he did not tell us how many — we have grounds for taking the geographical compounds as tribal names, in origin at least. Yet the Danes of *Beowulf* are one people, politically. They were ruled by the Scylding royal house, with Lejre on the island of Seland for capital. The poet begins by sketching the rise of the Scylding dynasty. In a very short passage he tells us that before this line of rulers came to power the Danes had been without a king *lange hwile* 'for a long time' [16a]. Presumably during this period regional chieftains had ruled, each in his own part of the country, and this state of things is reflected in the

tribal names *Norð-*, *Suð-*, *East-* and *Westdene*. Certainly Procopius' reference to the tribes of the Danes fits the political situation in pre-Scylding times as this was envisaged by the English poet. Elsewhere in the poem we learn something of Heremod, an earlier Danish king, and we gather that after his calamitous reign the kingdom crumbled and remained divided 'until the God-sent Scyld inaugurated a new dynasty'.¹

How did the poet use these inherited geographical compounds? Dr Storms is following Bryan when he says of *Suðdene* that 'it is used twice and on both occasions from the point of view of the Geats' [p. 12]. But if this compound reflects Geatish usage it seems reasonable to think that the others do too, since the poet obviously had a special interest in the Geatas and a special fund of knowledge about them. If we identify the Geatas of the poem with the West Gautar of the Scandinavian peninsula we can interpret the compounds simply enough, in terms of the geography of the area. Beowulf in his voyage from Hygelac's royal seat to Lejre was going south. His destination, the Danish capital, lay directly south and nearly all the way he had Denmark both to his east and to his west: to his east were, first, the Danes of the Scandinavian peninsula and, later, the Danes of the island of Seland; to his west were the Danes of Jutland. I take it, then, that for the Geatas the West Danes were those of Jutland and the islands adjacent; the East Danes, those of the Scandinavian peninsula and the islands east of the Great Belt. The East Danes fell into two parts: North Danes on the peninsula and South Danes on the islands. We have no indication that the West Danes were similarly divided.

If this interpretation of the compounds is right, it ought to be borne out by the text of the poem. In testing it we begin with *Suðdene*. King Hygelac of the Geatas uses this name in line 1996 and he, if anybody, ought to speak in a Geatish manner. He mentions the trouble that Grendel was making in Heorot and calls Grendel's victims *Suðdene*. Since the Danes who were having the trouble lived due south of Hygelac's royal residence, the king's name for them could hardly be bettered for accuracy, from a Geatish point of view. King Hroðgar of the Danes also once used the name *Suðdene*. In his reply to Beowulf's speech offering help against Grendel he said of the hero's father that *he gesohte Suðdene folc* [463]. Dr Storms translates, 'he fled south to the people of the Danes' [p. 12]. This translation will not do. For one thing, *gesohte* does not mean 'fled'. For another, when Ecgðeow went from the land of the Wylfings (i.e. from Hither Pomerania) to the people of the South Danes (more precisely, to Lejre), he was going north-northwest, not south. In my opinion the poet is here bringing out the Danish king's courtesy: Hroðgar, in addressing his guest, Beowulf the Geat, courteously made his own the Geatish name for the Danes of Seland and the islands adjacent.

¹ F. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the fight at Finnsburg*, in note on lines 901-915.

If *Westdene*, like *Suðdene*, reflects Geatish usage it ought to apply to the Danes of Jutland and especially to those of North Jutland, who lived to the west of the Geatas. Dr Storms says that 'in both cases (383, 1578) *West-Dene* refers to the inhabitants of the district round Heorot, Hroðgar's royal residence' [p. 12]. Let us first look at *Westdenum* 1578. From what follows we learn that this name denotes *Hroðgares heorðgeneatas* [1580], who were presumably drawn from all parts of the kingdom. Why then are they called West Danes? I can think of only one explanation, if alliterative convenience is excluded: in the tradition that the poet was following, King Hroðgar's dright may have been made up preponderantly of Jutlanders. The Scylding house belonged without question to Seland in the east, not to Jutland in the west, but we know that it fell into factions: Hroðgar and his son Hreðric on one side, Hroðulf on the other. It seems possible that Hroðulf drew his support mainly from Selanders and that Hroðgar was able to maintain himself only by the backing he got from the west. Grendel ate adherents of both sides with equal relish, but if Hroðgar had taken steps to purge the dright of disloyal members Grendel's raids might indeed have brought about the death of a disproportionate number of West Danes. (This in the traditional account, of course!)

In the other passage Hroðgar's *to Westdenum* [383] varies his *us* [382] and we may reasonably conclude that here the king is identifying himself with the West Danes. Long ago I suggested that he did this out of courtesy: he was speaking to Wulfgar, a *Wendla leod* 'man of the Wendlas [in North Jutland]', and since Wulfgar was a West Dane his lord with thoughtful graciousness made a West Dane of himself for the moment. As I see it now, the courtesy remains but the identification shows feeling as well as friendly consideration. Dr Storms rightly points out that Hroðgar's *us* carries with it 'a touch of personal emotion' [p. 12 bottom]. He mentions my explanation and calls it 'very ingenious' but rejects it. Like me, he failed to note that it is supported by the king's choice of words in line 463, for which see above.

Next comes *Eastdene*. Dr Storms restricts the scope of this name to the Danes of the Scandinavian peninsula and takes *Westdene* to apply to all Denmark west of the Øresund. Geographically this is possible, though the Great Belt gives a more natural dividing line, but the division that Dr Storms makes cannot be reconciled with any plausible pattern of Geatish usage. For my part, I take *Eastdene* to be a name fitting for all Danes that lived east of the Great Belt, both the islanders and those of the mainland. The East Danish capital, Lejre, was the seat of the Scylding royal house and Hroðgar, as a Scylding, was an East Dane. When Wulfgar the Jutlander in the king's name bade Beowulf and his men welcome to the Danish court he called Hroðgar *sigedrihten min, aldor Eastdena* 'my victorious lord, prince of the East Danes' [391b-392a]. Nine lines earlier Hroðgar had identified himself with the West Danes. Dr Storms finds the contrast to be of 'political, and artistic, significance'

[p. 13] and I agree with him, but we part company when we come to interpret this significance. His interpretation is not wholly clear, to me at least. He says, 'reference is made to that part of the Danish kingdom which is nearest to the country of the Geats', but one still does not understand why such reference should be made or what the political allusion is. Reading between the lines, I take it that Dr Storms interprets Wulfgar's words as emphasizing the unity of Denmark against attack from without and more particularly against attack by the Geatas. If so, Wulfgar was bidding the Geatas welcome but at the same time expressing his suspicions of them. This is no proper welcome and the interpretation seems far-fetched.

I find it easier to read Wulfgar's words in the light of the factional strife between the adherents of Hroðgar and those of Hroðulf. If Wulfgar was actually alluding to this strife — and this is by no means certain — his choice of words may have meant something like this: the West Danes, whose spokesman I am, recognize Hroðgar as their rightful lord and as king of the East Danes and give him their support against his East Danish rival Hroðulf. But I must confess that my earlier explanation of the *Eastdene* of this passage still strikes me as the better one. The king has just identified himself with the West Danes and Wulfgar shows his appreciation by emphasizing the fact that an East Dane is his lord. In this way he gives courtesy for courtesy and expresses a loyalty that is national or personal rather than tribal.

Eastdene here occurs in a speech. The other two occurrences of the name are in narrative passages; that is, the poet is speaking in his own right. In line 616 we are told that the Danish queen in her ceremonial service of drink gave the cup *ærest Eastdena eþelwearde* 'first to the hereditary (or ancestral) guardian of the East Danes' (i.e. to King Hroðgar). The emphasis here is on the legitimacy of Hroðgar's kingship. Among the East Danes he is the senior and ranking member of the royal family and his sovereignty came to him by hereditary right. Hroðgar is the duly constituted guardian of the land of the East Danes, the land that is native to him and to his house. Here if anywhere he ought to have the loyalty of all. The poet here seems to have in mind the sad fact that many of the king's fellow East Danes are not loyal to him. But Dr Storms interprets the line in terms of hostility between Geatas and Danes, and this in spite of the witness that the poem bears, in the person and the conduct of the hero and in various utterances, to the friendship of the two peoples.

Dr Storms rightly points out that 'the third occurrence of *East-Dene* has no political significance' [p. 14] but his restriction of the scope of the name to the Danes of the Scandinavian peninsula gets him into needless difficulties. The poet's words, *Hæfde Eastdenum / Geatmecga leod gilp gelæsted* [828b-829], evidently refer to earlier passages like 424 ff., 610b ff., and 632 ff., not to mention 677 ff., a *gilp* indeed but one heard only by Beowulf's Geatish fellows. Dr Storms is forced by his thesis to ignore

these passages and take it instead that before the voyage to Heorot, on some occasion not mentioned by the poet, 'Beowulf or another Geat had boasted that they would rid Heorot of Grendel...'

Finally we come to *Norðdene*. Here, I am glad to say, Dr Storms has thrown new light on the poet's choice of words by linking the name to the widespread belief that hell lies to the north. To quote,

Grendel, as an inmate of hell, has come from the north and when he perceives that he will be defeated by Beowulf, he tries to escape to the north. ...When the 'Danes in the north,' i.e., those guarding the northern wall of the royal residence, hear Grendel's cries of pain, they are terrified. [p. 17].

Dr Storms shows, by quotations from Chaucer and *Piers Plowman*, that in 14th-century England the devil was supposed to live in the north. It is a pity he did not mention the 17th Blickling homily, a 10th-century composition in which hell is specifically localized to the north. His explanation of *Norðdene* as 'those guarding the northern wall of the royal residence' finds no support in the text of the poem and cannot be accepted. Hroðgar entrusted the guarding of Heorot against Grendel to Beowulf and his men [655 ff.], not to Danes, and the poet says nothing about Danish guards at the wall. If the poet's *Norðdene* is rightly connected with the northern localization of hell, we must suppose that the poet seized upon the inherited regional name and used it in a special sense of his own, one applicable to all Danes. His North Danes would then be simply the Danes, a people who lived in the north, whence, as he presumably took it, the *norð-* that was sometimes prefixed to their name. In this passage the poet chose to prefix *norð-* and thus to make much of the northernness of the Danes because he had localized Grendel's hellish abode in the immediate neighborhood of the Danish capital. So taken, *Norðdene* is indeed full of meaning and anything but a mere device for making the Danish name alliterate with *niwe geneahhe* [783].

Dr Storms' study, which is limited to fifteen compounds, leads him to conclude that the poet's way of using these 'is justified, not only as far as sense and metre is concerned, but also as to poetic connotation and artistic significance' [p. 22]. He goes on to say: 'if we bear in mind that *Beowulf* was composed *extempore*, ... then the author's unfailing choice of the right word at a moment's notice cannot but excite our admiration'. Here Dr Storms has gone sadly astray. The *Beowulf* poet was no minstrel, strumming a harp and composing verse as he strummed. He was a sophisticated literary artist, who gave careful thought to what he was doing and did not rest content until he had found the right words for what he had in mind. The use of traditional diction is one thing; improvisation is something else again. The two need not go together and in *Beowulf* they most emphatically do not.

In two paragraphs, one set at the beginning, the other at the end of his lecture, Dr Storms gives us a bird's-eye view of Beowulfian scholarship. The first paragraph includes a diagnosis, none too favorable, of studies

before 1929. The last, mostly on later studies and those to come, ends with a highly favorable prognosis. I hope with all my heart that the author's bright vision of the future will come true and that he will play a leading part in making *Beowulf* better understood and appreciated for what it is — a great work of literary art.

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KEMP MALONE.

Tre Drammi Elisabettiani, a cura di MARIO PRAZ; *Drammi Pre-Shakespeariani*, a cura di BENVENUTO CELLINI. (Collana di Letterature Moderne, Sezione Inglese diretta da Elio Chinol, II, IV.) Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1958. 492, 712 pp.

Although the titles of the two selections might point to dramatic work belonging to the same time, they are clearly distinguished from each other not only by the period treated but also by the treatment accorded to the available works within the chosen period. In his introduction Benvenuto Cellini gives an account of Pre-Shakespearian drama which is more than a selective introduction. It is rather a history, a comprehensive survey of all the extant works from the beginnings to the drama of the University Wits. Its value consists above all in the detailed treatment of the textual history and the chronological problems, in its clear delineation of the main lines of development and in its succinct comments on most of the plays mentioned. As an introduction to the Pre-Shakespearian drama as a whole it is excellent, but the space allotted to the discussion of the selected texts sometimes (as in the case of *Tamburlaine*) seems hardly adequate. Of the selected plays of the University Wits (*The Spanish Tragedy*, *Tamburlaine I*, *Endimion*, *James IV*, *The Old Wife's Tale*) *The Spanish Tragedy* receives the most detailed comment. As regards the date of composition Cellini argues that the play was composed in 1586, but in the light of the most recent and most scholarly edition (Edwards in 'The Revels Plays', 1959) his evidence can hardly be regarded as convincing. As to the structure of the play Cellini concludes from the length of the third act that ('per un evidente errore tipografico') the chorus at the end of the third act was dropped so that the original fourth act became the second part of the third, and thus the play was reduced to four acts. The argument is plausible, but again Edwards, though aware of the problem, comes to a different conclusion.

While the introduction aims at completeness the selection of the texts, which are accompanied by careful footnotes, seems to be dictated by the consideration of their literary value. This may make for more interesting reading, but the result is a somewhat one-sided picture of Pre-Shakespearian drama. In the introduction 83 pages are devoted to the drama before the

University Wits, 52 pages to the University Wits; in the text the plays of the University Wits occupy 500 pages, the earlier drama only 50. So there is only room for one miracle-play (*Christ's Ascension*) and one morality (*Everyman*), but none for an interlude, a farce or an early classical comedy or tragedy. Although it does not quite compensate for such omissions the inclusion of a jig, the most original feature of the selection, is one more piece of evidence for the editor's independent judgment and detailed acquaintance with the Pre-Shakespearian drama.

While Cellini in his selection as well as in his introduction attempts to cover the whole range of Pre-Shakespearian Drama, Mario Praz under the vague title of *Tre Drammi Elisabettiani* concentrates on a special type of Jacobean and Caroline tragedy, the revenge or horror play. The selected specimens are *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Duchess of Malfi* and *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*. Each of the plays is preceded by an able characterisation of the author's work in general and the selected drama in particular (of special interest is the discussion of the influence of *The Maid's Tragedy* on *The Duchess of Malfi*) and in each case the story of the fame of the work is traced in some detail, especially Ford's influence on the French *décadence*. But the most important part of the critical comment consists in the introductory chapters on the tradition of Seneca and the legend of Machiavelli, which show not only the author's erudition but also his critical ability in details, as in the comparison of the rhetorical characteristics in the original Senecan drama and its Elizabethan translations. As regards the relative importance of Seneca's and Machiavelli's influence on Elizabethan drama Mario Praz comes to the conclusion that Seneca is more important to the Elizabethan dramatists and that without the example of Senecan drama Machiavellism would not have achieved such a prominent place in Elizabethan drama: 'Concludiamo fissando questo punto: che per quanto la leggenda di Machiavelli fosse popolare in genere, godette della massima voga tra i drammaturghi di tutto perché s'era adattata a meraviglia al carattere dello scellerato di derivazione senechiana'.

Cologne.

RICHARD GERBER.

The Elizabethan Love Sonnet. By J. W. LEVER. London: Methuen, 1956. Price 25/—.

Scorn not the Sonnet; Critic, you have frown'd,
Mindless of its just honours; with this key
Shakespeare unlock'd his heart; the melody
Of this small lute gave ease to Petrarch's wound;
A thousand times this pipe did Tasso sound;
With it Camoëns sooth'd an exile's grief;
The Sonnet glitter'd a gay myrtle leaf
Amid the cypress with which Dante crown'd

His visionary brow: a glow-worm lamp,
 It cheer'd mild Spenser, call'd from Faery-land
 To struggle through dark ways; and when a damp
 Fell round the path of Milton, in his hand
 The thing became a trumpet; whence he blew
 Soul-animating strains — alas, too few!

When Wordsworth admonished the critic not to 'scorn the sonnet' in a poem confined to that same 'scanty plot of ground', he unwittingly compressed in what followed the essence of Mr. Lever's book. The latter, unlike the literary commentator addressed by the great Romantic roughly a century-and-a-half ago, is indeed 'mindful of its just honours' and undertakes to show in great detail how these honours were won. And therein lies both his strength and his weakness.

For, while presenting us with a wealth of information about the Italian inheritance of the sixteenth-century Sonneteers,¹ the author's learned and often surprisingly rewarding examination of what can happen when the lyric of self-revelation popular in one civilization gets grafted on to another is limited in scope to the great names and in treatment to that of the 'Eng. Lit.' historian. Thus Mr. Lever is extremely illuminating on the much underestimated Wyatt and Surrey, but the chapters on Sidney and Spenser are less interesting, and one misses badly at least a general consideration of the minor poets of the 1590's. Should this be seen as a 'défaut de ses qualités'? Petrarch and Petrarchism as such, at any rate, are given a more than fair deal — a difficult feat by any count in an age when thinking sympathetically in terms of poetic categories of a remote past seems particularly hard — and the characteristic differences in the poets' handling of form as well as theme are marshalled with most painstaking scholarship.

One cannot help wondering, however, about the extent to which a certain national bias, consciously or unconsciously, played its part in the passages where the famous sea-change is expounded to the reader. For the Anglo-Saxon temperament was hardly the only 'Northern' temperament where love, courtly or otherwise, was not accepted with the same gay abandon as in the Mediterranean world, even if, for argument's sake, this abandon and the implied uniformity of feelings in 'the South' are taken for granted. It may not be amiss, moreover, to caution against the tendency too readily to equal sixteenth-century English traits with their twentieth-century counterparts. And if the zenith of the Anglicising process was reached with Shakespeare's sonnets; if there is 'no parallel in the whole corpus of Renaissance poetry to Shakespeare's sustained exploration of the theme of friendship through more than 120 sonnets'; if thereby 'Shakespeare freed himself from all the encumbrances which hampered the sonnet-poets of his time'; surely, to be asked to recognize in the Fair Friend 'the archetypal, all too human *monndryhten* of Northern

¹ For the French influence we have to fall back on Janet Scott's *Sonnets Elisabethains* (1929).

epic and lay, such a fated hero as was Beowulf or Sigemund' etc. and to see that in this figure 'the English spirit is triumphantly ascendant', is a tall order...

There is no doubt about it: having to include Shakespeare in any analysis of a literary genre is always a most disconcerting business. But even so, is it feasible for an expert of Mr. Lever's calibre to devote 110 out of 227 pages of an investigation into the origin and development of the Elizabethan love sonnet to Shakespeare and to the rearranging of the admittedly puzzling order of Master Thorpe's collection without concerning himself seriously with value or poetic craftsmanship other than its strictly technical variety? It is remarkable, incidentally, that the author drives home with great skill the point that the Renaissance ideal in the love lyric was far more impersonal than that of the Romantics and yet, in spite of his protesting to the contrary and not stooping to hazardous identifications, seems to act on the assumption that these sonnets are 'the key to Shakespeare's heart'. A case could as well be made out, and perhaps better, for the view that they are a key to Shakespeare's art. We all know that the Quarto of 1609 is, in the end, no more than a miscellaneous collection written on several occasions, for different purposes, and at different times. That they were written with very different degrees of poetic intensity, therefore, must be self-evident.

But then, it is on this 'modern' level, precisely, that Mr. Lever's book with its countless useful glosses, summaries, and catalogues of debts, technical devices and influences, tends to disappoint. The reader, one feels, could have been shown with profit how often, when Shakespeare is ostensibly concerned with a personal relationship, there is involved something of far greater interest to the poet than the compliments, pleas and complaints which provide the occasion of his writing. Few sonnets have been quoted so regularly in order to demonstrate Shakespeare's weariness of his profession as nr. cx. But, 'Alas 'tis true, I have gone here and there / And made myself a motley to the view' can also be seen in a much broader sense and be taken to refer to the way in which a sensitive intelligence had displayed its wares of wit and observation in common intercourse. In support of such an interpretation — which was first given, years ago, by Professor L. C. Knights — the drop in intensity can be pointed out when Shakespeare turns to address the Friend directly. This occurs over and over again, whenever the Fair Youth is given something more than merely perfunctory recognition. For in those cases Shakespeare is addressing his own conscience. And it is this which gives these sonnets their special significance in the context of the poet's development as a dramatist. After all, it is obvious from the strikingly different way in which they recur in his later plays, that for the expression of certain themes — often metaphysical themes in a pre-'Metaphysical' time — the sonnet in conjunction or not in conjunction with certain personal experiences, had seemed the most suitable medium to the poet at that stage in his career.

As to the perennial fascination of having a game of Patience with the sonnets as playing-cards, Mr. Lever's arrangement is into one series for 'The Mistress' and one for 'The Friend', the latter being sub-divided into sets he entitles 'The Invitation to Marry', 'The Poet in Absence', 'The Friend's Fault', 'The Poet's Error', and 'The Immortalization'. Is it necessary to emphasize how dangerous such an arrangement must be and how questionable its validity from a literary angle? Besides, it is all very well to know that lines, such as 'Not marble, nor the gilded monuments / Of Princes shall outlive this powerful rime' have an ancestry reaching back at least as far as Horace: it is as important to be familiar with the theme of mutability and the various forms of watered-down Platonism as absorbed in 'the Elizabethan spirit'; but a convention is only something very general in thought, attitude, and manner of presentation, and a discussion of Shakespeare's sonnets from this viewpoint alone tells us little more about them — as has been asserted elsewhere — than an account of the background of the Elizabethan Revenge Play tells us about *Hamlet*.

In other words, what seems to detract from an otherwise profound and most thought-provoking study is the fact that chief among the few aspects left insufficiently explored are variations of tone, degrees in the poet's precision, shades in the complexity of diction. It is from this latter angle that a comparison of the variety in the language of the sonnets with the development of Shakespeare's use of blank-verse in the plays is as revealing as any tracing of analogies of theme. And 'language' is here used in its broadest sense, of course. That this would have brought in a detailed consideration of ambiguity — worth its while not only in Shakespeare but also in Sidney, for instance — stands to reason. So does, that another desideratum would then be an up-to-date treatment of the essential difference in the psychology of imitation, in Renaissance criticism and in our own, and in the psychology of comedy and tragedy in love. For would not a deeper insight into these matters determine one's final evaluation of any sixteenth-century love lyric? But the book might well have become too long as a result.

We may conclude accordingly that, as it stands, Mr. Lever's contribution to the literature about the Elizabethan sonnet is a most stimulating one. He has effectively shown where many of the roots lie and how universal was the taste for its fruits. He has succeeded in many respects in relating Shakespeare's to the general trend in this major literary phenomenon of the period. Above all, he has provided a well-equipped base for the student to raise the sonnet out of the abyss of neglect into which certain twentieth-century preferences had cast it with a scorn not even fathomed by Wordsworth. Indeed, he has demonstrated that, to speak with Rossetti,

A Sonnet is a coin: its face reveals
The Soul — its converse, to what Power 't is due ...

Doctor Johnson and Others. By SIR SYDNEY ROBERTS, formerly Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 176 pp. Price 18s. 6d.

This volume contains a series of essays upon a number of Englishmen who vary greatly in their character and importance. Most readers, knowing the author, will turn first to 'Pepys and Boswell' and then to Doctor Johnson as 'The Moralist', 'The Churchman' and 'The Biographer' and, with some surprise, to 'Dr Johnson and the Fairies'. The comparison of Pepys and Boswell shews that they had a good deal in common in addition to their conjugal infidelities. To decide which of the two made the greatest contribution to English literature and the knowledge of contemporary social habits is a question which would involve long debate and would produce acute division. But Boswell has nothing to shew which can be compared with Pepys' contribution to the British navy and to the establishment of our civil service.

The assessment of Dr Johnson as, severally, Moralist, Biographer and Churchman shews Sir Sydney operating on his own particular ground. His immense and expert knowledge of the *Life* and of all other relevant literature enables him in a few pages to paint three charming portraits of the Doctor in these varied capacities. I venture to regard the essay on 'The Biographer' as the weightiest. The vast majority of readers who delight in reading about Dr Johnson find difficulty in reading him. Few who had to choose between the possession of a copy of Dr Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* would take the former. Sir Sydney's essay on 'The Biographer' is a valuable reminder that to appreciate Dr Johnson at his best as a writer one must go to his biographies. It is perhaps not surprising that the best biography in the English language should concern the man who, in Boswell's opinion, 'excelled all mankind in writing the lives of others'.

The essay on 'Thomas Gray of Pembroke' seems to me to be the most important in the volume, in the sense that it throws new light upon a somewhat strange figure. Gray moved from Peterhouse to Pembroke in 1756, and it seems that he found himself more at ease there, became less solitary, and entered upon a happier period of his life. He had always had many friends in Pembroke. Sir Sydney by means of his local knowledge and domestic research has been able to tell us more than has hitherto been known of Gray's life as a member of Pembroke, as the reader who will turn from this essay to Leslie Stephen's article in the *D.N.B.* will, I think, agree. That Gray had a poor opinion of the Cambridge ladies is evident from his advice given to a married friend, a physician, who was thinking of settling in Cambridge (p. 119 of Sir Sydney's book):

another Inconvenience your wife, rather than you, will feel the Want of Company of her own sex; as the Women are few here, squeezey and formal, and little skill'd in amusing themselves or other People.

'The Others' referred to in the title of this book include Thomas Fuller, and Max Beerbohm, whom Sir Sydney knew; this last delightful essay shews how important it is that others who knew him should place their recollections on record.

I have said enough to indicate that this book contains much that informs and much that charms — particularly for those whose interests lie in the eighteenth century.

I may also mention here a volume entitled *Bicentenary Essays on Rasselas* collected by Dr Magdi Wahba, Lecturer in the University of Cairo and published as a Supplement to *Cairo Studies in English* (1959), which contains a mass of curious and interesting information on *Rasselas*.

Cambridge.

McNAIR.

The Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins and T. S. Eliot in the Light of the Donne Tradition. A Comparative Study. By D. MORRIS. (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten. 33 Band.) Bern: A. Francke. 1953. 144 pp. Price S. Fr. 10.—.

Mr. Morris has faced squarely a subject about which much has been written in the last thirty years, but always in too general a fashion. The relation between Metaphysical poetry and the poetry of Hopkins and Eliot has recently been taken very much for granted, especially in view of Eliot's rediscovery of the Metaphysicals, and of the realization of a striking affinity in mood between the age of Donne and the 'twenties and 'thirties of this century. It is no doubt significant, given this kinship of mood, that a poet like Hopkins, unknown to his contemporaries, should have been appreciated by the people who had just discovered how relevant the Metaphysical tradition was to their own living poetical experience. The Donne-Hopkins-Eliot triangle was soon established and specific debts of the two later poets to the earlier one have frequently been pointed out.

Mr. Morris has set himself the task of methodically examining the influence of what he calls the Donne tradition on Hopkins and Eliot, starting from a precise definition of the separate characteristics of the tradition itself, and looking for the same characteristics in the two modern poets. Yet the expression 'Donne tradition' seems to me slightly ambiguous. Does he mean the Metaphysical school in general? From the context I believe not: Mr. Morris deliberately excludes any consideration of poets like Herbert or Crashaw, although there is no doubt of their having influenced Hopkins. He is concerned with specific echoes of Donne's poetry rather than with the tradition as such. Having identified as the four main characteristics of Donne's poetry 1) intellectual complexity,

2) passionate thinking (the fusion of thought and feeling), 3) wit and metaphysical conceit, 4) the analytical method, Mr. Morris proceeds to point out their recurrence in the two modern poets considered. Further chapters are devoted to the similarities in subject matter and treatment between Donne and, respectively, Hopkins and Eliot, and to a detailed analysis of analogies in versification, diction and syntax. His findings are set out very clearly and convincingly, interspersed with some penetrating remarks, such as those on Hopkins' prosody and metrical experiments (pp. 41-55). In this section Mr. Morris, taking into account Mr. Gardner's examination of Hopkins' versification, draws attention to the affinity of sprung rhythm with the dramatic counterpoint used by Donne — the tension created by the non-coincidence of metrical with logical stresses; he does not mention, however, that the same practice was followed also by Shakespeare, especially in his last plays.

He deals with extra and missing syllables in the metrics of both Donne and Hopkins, but I should like to question whether one of the examples quoted (from Donne's *Satire III*) is as irregular as he takes it to be. For although Grierson and Hayward print the lines as: *Know thy foes: The foule Devill (whom thou, yet in the 1669 edition of Donne's poem it appears as *Know thy foes: The foule Devill (he, whom thou, where the missing syllable is, as I believe, correctly restored. But on the whole Mr. Morris's analysis is sound, for there can be little doubt that Eliot has a much closer metrical affinity with Donne than Hopkins has. And indeed the conclusion of the section on Hopkins is fittingly cautious:**

Superficially, it would seem as though we are as far away as ever from proving any direct influence on Hopkins of Donne himself, though his indirect influence is beyond question...

With Eliot Mr. Morris is on much surer ground, and I would like to point out his admirable summary of Eliot's interpretation of the Metaphysicals, his intuition of the dramatic structure of Eliot's major poems (dramatic in a very different sense from that in which Donne's poetry can be called dramatic), and finally the subtlety and the accuracy with which he points out Eliot's progressive alienation from Donne's manner — an alienation in the development of which *Ash Wednesday* marks the turning point, so that by the time we reach *Four Quartets* 'the intense fusion of thought and feeling in the image has been almost wholly abandoned'.

In one respect, therefore, Mr. Morris's book is more than a mere tracing of influences: it helps us to understand the poetry of a major English contemporary writer, and to follow its evolution. As such it is a definite contribution not only to scholarship, but also to criticism; in view of this it is the more regrettable that the printing process used should have seriously impaired the readability of the work, as it did not allow for proof correction. But this irritating shortcoming cannot be imputed to the author.

The reader might, instead, have wished that he had provided a more

precise definition of certain critical terms: what are, for instance, the Classic and Romantic 'vogues' or 'traditions' which, as Mr. Morris says, condemned to obscurity for two hundred years the Donne tradition? The terms are obviously not used to indicate definite periods of literary history; they are rather considered as general categories or 'constants' in literature. If this is so, should not Donne be considered romantic? In any case, the distinctions should be made clear by illustrating the acceptations in which these terms are used.

These are only very minor blemishes in a work which deserves attention for its thoroughness, and must remain as a very useful aid to all who are interested in the influence of 'metaphysical' on modern poetry.

Turin.

GIORGIO MELCHIORI.

A Dictionary of American-English Usage. Based on Fowler's *Modern English Usage*. By MARGARET NICHOLSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xii + 671 pp. Price in U. K.: 30/— net.

Amerikanisches und Britisches Englisch. Zwei Studien zum Problem der Einheit und Verschiedenheit einer Weltsprache. Von HANS GALINSKY. München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1957. 96 pp. DM. 7.90.

American English. By A. H. MARCKWARDT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. xi + 194 pp. Price \$ 4.50.

The publications listed above are as different as three books ostensibly dealing with the same subject can be. The first is an adaptation for an American public of H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. The second is based on two lectures delivered, one in Germany, the other in America, by the author of *Die Sprache des Amerikaners*, a work in two volumes, the former of which was reviewed in *E. S.*, June 1954. The third is largely historical; its principal aim is 'to present a synthesis of the growth and development of the English language in America'. Let us see how much each of them may contribute to our knowledge of American English to-day.

Like Fowler's *Dictionary*, Miss Nicholson's adaptation is mainly intended as a manual of stylistic behaviour. There is no need for yet another critique of the principles and prejudices underlying *Modern English Usage*; suffice it to say that the American adapter's linguistic outlook is essentially the same as that of her English exemplar, and that the principal difference between the two editions consists in the attention paid to 'peculiarities of American speech and writing not recorded by Fowler'. On the lowest

level, that of orthography, Miss Nicholson has little to add to Fowler's comments on such doublets as *honor-honour*, *center-centre*, or *program-programme*. His plea for the *e* in *judg(e)ment* and similar words is replaced by the statement that 'Modern US usage favors *judgment*; Brit. sometimes *judgement*'. Little is said of American pronunciation as distinct from British, apart from such differences as between '(US) *hostil*, (Brit.) *-il*', and the statement that *i-* instead of *ē-* in *either* 'will probably prevail in parts of the US'. Here and there one comes upon an interesting item of information, as when we are told that *dahlia* is 'Pronounced *dālya* in Brit. and by many US garden-club members. Standard US is *dā-* or *dā-*'.¹ But no mention is made of such a pronunciation as ['ɪŋkwəri] for *inquiry*, which I heard from an American lady who would certainly have qualified for membership of a garden-club.

Information on the semantic peculiarities of American English is equally scanty. There are notes on such words as (dollar) *bill* and *toilet* in the sense of bathroom, water closet (without mention of their British equivalents (pound) *note* and *lavatory*), and on the cluster *kerosene*, *paraffin*, *petrol*, *gasoline*, *petroleum*; but none on *automobile* v. *motor-car*, *sidewalk* v. *pavement*, *subway* v. *underground*, and scores of others. We are told that '*through* = arrived at completion &c. (as soon as he gets *through*, nearly *through* my work) is US colloq.'; but not that 'English history from the beginning through the death of Queen Elizabeth' is common American, and means '... up to and including ...'. Under *visit*, v., the reader is informed that it 'makes *-tor*', but not that in 'Within this theater he stages *Romeo and Juliet*, visits backstage with the manager, and describes the acting style of the King's Men', the author of a book on *Shakespeare's Stage* visits the manager. Here again, though, an occasional observation shows what the adapter might have been capable of if she had oftener struck out on her own instead of echoing her master's voice. Thus it is enlightening to be told that a *pinch hitter* in baseball is not a mere substitute, but a 'batter sent in when a hit is particularly needed. Hence someone supposedly better (at batting) than the person whose place he takes'. But such sidelights are all too rare.

It is, however, when we come to the level of grammar, especially syntax, that the treatment becomes not only incomplete but definitely inadequate. As far as one can see, Miss Nicholson has here confined herself to some modification of Fowler's pronouncements on American usage, without betraying awareness of aspects not touched upon by the English lexicographer. In the matter of *shall* and *will*, she quotes Sir Ernest Gowers (apparently her only, if a minor, authority since Fowler) to the effect that for 'the Celts' as for the Americans 'I will go' is the plain future. 'Nevertheless', she goes on to say, 'the majority of Americans still use the traditional forms in formal & literary writing, and many do in speech'. Under *will*, however, she admits 'that the distinction between *shall* & *will*

¹ With the vowel-sound of *father* or that of *hat*.

in futurity &c. is fast disappearing in US'. Rather than accept the fact, though, she continues: 'For those who wish to preserve it, the following comments & examples' — taken, of course, from Fowler — 'may be helpful'.²

Another well-known difference between American and British English, the almost unlimited use of *to do* with *to have* in the present tense, is not even recognized as such, evidently because Fowler does not qualify it as American. His argument against *... although I do not have any statistics . .* and similar cases is copied unaltered, on the tacit assumption, apparently, that what is frowned upon in England cannot be established usage in the US.

The lack of first-hand knowledge of grammatical phenomena is even more glaring in the article on the Subjunctive, which is a mere condensation of Fowler's. One looks in vain for any reference to the undeniable fact that the subjunctive is regularly used in American English in such cases as *The doctor insisted he remain in bed*.³ The adapter also seems to have no inkling of the fact that the preterite is often used where British English would use the perfect tense: *We just saw a new film called . .* From the point of view of the grammatical moralist, these blind spots represent as many missed opportunities.

Miss Nicholson forms no exception to the rule that prescriptive grammarians often unconsciously violate their own taboos. She *has* observed that Americans frequently say and write *all of his motions, all of the people*, where an Englishman would omit *of*. She disapproves of its insertion: 'It is usually unnecessary, and, though permissible, undesirable'. That no reason is given for this somewhat schoolmistressy pronouncement is, of course, in the best tradition of prescriptive grammar. Equally in the tradition, however, is the fact that she is overtaken by the special nemesis that pursues the grammatical moralist when, on p. 27, she writes: 'All of these are now in constant use'.

For the sake of significant contrast A. H. Marckwardt's book on American English may be considered next. Its principal thesis is 'the close interaction of linguistic and cultural factors in the growth of American English'. The second chapter, 'The Language of the Colonists', relates the speech of the settlers in the New World to the varieties of English spoken in the mother country about 1600. The third, entitled 'The Melting Pot', discusses the Indian, French, Spanish, Dutch,⁴ and German influences

² We need not go into the question how far the 'English' rules for *shall* and *will* are a matter of theory rather than practice.

³ See *E. S.*, Febr. 1954, p. 37. — Here is another (from an article by Thornton Wilder in *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1952, reference to which I owe to Prof. Galinsky's Bibliography — see end of this review): *Americans do not ask that life present a soothing face*.

⁴ It strikes a Dutch reader as a little curious to see the overseas possessions of the Republic of the United Netherlands referred to as 'the far-flung empire of the House of Orange' (p. 47). — *Sint Nikolaas*, on p. 50, should be *Sint*.

on American English. 'The Colonial Lag' deals with the important question of archaic survivals in America. Instances in the vocabulary include *loan* v., *progress* v., *bug* = insect, *druggist*, *sick* (attributive), *baggage* (but the word is still used by English customs officials), *bloody* = bleeding, *fall* = autumn, etc. In pronunciation, there is the [æ:] sound in *fast*, *calf*, *bath*, which in Southern English was replaced by [ɑ:] as late as 1800, the use of retroflex *r*, the [ɑ]-like vowel in words like *got*, *crop*, *hot*, *God*, the retention of secondary stress in such words as *secretary*, *oratory*, the pronunciation of the final syllables of *fertile*, *hostile*, with the vowel of *fill*, not that of *file*, and some other peculiarities. Lastly, there are certain structural features: *gotten* by the side of *got*; a more restricted use of plural verbs after words like *government*, *company*; the author might have added adverbial genitives such as *nights*, *summers*, the use of *him* and *his* to refer to *one* (*one should always do his duty*), and the construction exemplified by *as young as I am*. These forms and phrases are paralleled by what Professor Marckwardt calls 'post-colonial survivals of earlier phases of mother-country culture', such as quilt-making and folk-ballads.

The chapter on 'Yankee Ingenuity and the Frontier Spirit' discusses 'the innovations in the English language which have developed on this side of the Atlantic. These are evident chiefly in the vocabulary, but it will be found that matters of grammar and structure enter into the problem as well.' It might, perhaps, have been stated more clearly that most of the innovations enumerated are the results of tendencies that operate in British English too: 'functional change' (nouns used as verbs, verbs as nouns, etc.), 'fondness for compound formations', derivation by means of suffixes like *-ette*, *-ee*, *-ite*, *-ster*, *-eer*, *-ize*, back-formation (*jell* v. < *jelly*), blends (*motel*), acronyms (CARE). Many of the examples given do, indeed, seem 'to have the earmarks of an indigenous style', but no new structural principles are involved. Again, one might have expected some reference to the extension of the *for*-construction, as in *I want very much for my son to be happier than I have been*, and of the accusative with plain infinitive, as in *Look at that horse jump!* And what about a construction like *The fine was suspended on condition that he not enter his home again*,⁵ with *not* before the subjunctive? One sometimes gets the impression that American 'structuralists' have no better eye or ear for the syntactic pattern of their own language than English prescriptionists.

The remaining chapters deal with 'The Genteel Tradition and the Glorification of the Commonplace', 'Regional and Social Variations', 'The Names Thereof', and 'The Future of English'. From the last we will quote the author's conclusion that 'when all is said and done, English, despite the vast number who speak it and its widespread dissemination over the globe, is still but a single language'. That is why he rejects the question-begging term 'the American language', and speaks of 'American English' instead, like the author of another good book on the subject,

⁵ See *E. S.*, June 1954, p. 124.

Thomas Pyles, whose *Words and Ways of American English*⁶ in many respects supplements or confirms that by Marckwardt.

After the publication of *Die Sprache des Amerikaners*, a somewhat bookish book, Professor Galinsky spent nine months in the United States, where he sat at the feet of the structuralists of Ann Arbor. Here he was impressed by C. C. Fries's warning: 'First see correlation in the linguistic material as such, before you establish correlation between linguistic and socio-cultural features'. With due deference to this principle, however, in the second of the two lectures reproduced in this small volume he adduces five sets of examples to illustrate one of the angles from which, he says, the outsider likes to look at American English: the angle of language as an index to culture. Formations like *supermarket*, *king-size*, on the one hand, *giftette* (= small gift shop), *luncheonette* (small luncheon place), on the other, suggest to him 'a common appreciation of the quantitative, of the bigger and smaller'; *cinerama*, *Fordomatic*, etc. 'a culture whose classical heritage is shrinking fast, yet still serving as a useful quarry out of which to fetch stones for word-buildings in semi-classical style'. It would be ungracious to say that there needed no philologist come from Europe to tell them this; taken in their full context, Professor Galinsky's observations and tentative conclusions are well worth considering. So are his remarks on the other angles from which an outsider may look at American English: 'AE as an example of what becomes of a European language, when it is transplanted into a colonization area across the Atlantic', and 'AE as a partner in the current "give-and-take" between his own language and AE.' The latter amounts to a study of American linguistic influence in Germany since 1945, and contains valuable data for the general history of English infiltration into the language of Europe which will have to be written some day. We have not sufficient space to mention, let alone discuss, the various other lines of thought that converge in these papers; but, since dialectic, according to Hegel, is the very nature of thought,⁷ let us set one of Galinsky's main conclusions beside that of Marckwardt quoted above: '...that English has ceased to be a specific term and has changed into a generic one, that there are two major species of English spoken in the world, leaving out for the moment such other species as Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African English'.

Professor Galinsky has rapidly become one of the principal exponents of American English in Europe. Of considerable interest, too, is an essay on American and British English which he recently contributed to volume 2 of the *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*. His *Amerikanisches und Britisches Englisch* includes a 14-page Bibliography.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

⁶ New-York, 1952, and London, 1954.

⁷ See OED s.v. *dialectic* sb.¹ 2.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XXXIX

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XLI, No. 2, April 1960

120. At first sight it seems rather odd that when we invite a man to be seated, we should enquire whether he will *not* sit down: *Won't you take a seat?* The negative form of such questions, however, becomes intelligible when we realize the circumstances under which they are used and compare them with their structural opposites, the positive questions. According to Jespersen (MnEGr. V, 25, 1) it is of little importance whether we say *Will you* or *Won't you have a glass of beer?* The difference may be of little importance, but it must not be thought that these two forms express the same thing and that they can be used indiscriminately. As Dr. Maria Schubiger, Basle, points out, a doctor's receptionist, inviting a patient to go into the consulting or X-ray room, does not use the negative question; she says *Will you step in here, please?* Similarly we say *Will you pass me the salt, please?*, to the exclusion of the negative form.

On the other hand *Won't you come in for a moment?* strikes us as the form indicated by the occasion when an acquaintance sees us working in our front-garden and stops to pass the time of day with us, just as *Won't you sit down?* and *Won't you have a cup of tea?* are the natural thing to ask when he has complied with our request to come in. When, however, after due invitation, we pay a formal visit to friends, a question like *Won't you come in?* or *Won't you sit down?* is again incongruous. Our mental reaction would probably be 'Well, what do you think? Isn't that what I am here for? I don't expect to be entertained on the doorstep and am not in the habit of standing during a visit.' It is clear, then, that the positive and the negative questions are by no means interchangeable.

Verbal questions expressing a request, offer, invitation or suggestion are positive:

a. when compliance on the part of the person addressed is taken for granted (*Will you step in here, please?* *Will you pass me the salt, please?*).

b. when the speaker has no idea of the answer he will get and does not particularly care whether his offer will be accepted or not (*Will you have a glass of beer?*).

The questions under a. are really polite commands; they only differ from imperatives (*Step this way, please; Pass me the salt, please*) in being less peremptory. By using the interrogative form the speaker courteously represents compliance with his injunction as dependent on the pleasure of the person addressed. The command is disguised as a request. Those under b. express neutrality with respect to the wishes of the other person,

who may say *No, thank you* without disappointing the speaker. The question is merely a request for information.

In negative-interrogative sentences of the type under discussion (*Won't you come in, sit down, have a cup of tea?*) the negation expresses that the speaker is aware of the possibility that the invitation may be declined. When our hostess asks *Won't you have a cup of tea?* the suggestion is 'Will you have a cup of tea, or rather something else, or perhaps nothing at all?' Most correspondents felt that the negative questions make the impression of being more modest and courteous than their positive counterparts. We are inclined to agree and suggest that this is because they intimate something like 'I realize you may have reasons to decline my offer; if so, don't hesitate to tell me, for I'm prepared to defer to your decision'. The negation, then, takes into account and by its form anticipates, the possibility of the negative answer. The actual syntactic mechanism at work here is easy enough to guess, but incapable of proof. It is probably a case of shifting of negation, as when *Let us not tell father* becomes *Don't let's tell father* or the logically correct *I think he will not come* turns into *I don't think he'll come*. The man who says *Won't you come in?* is thinking of two things at the same time: *Will you come in?* and *but perhaps you won't*, which two thoughts are next amalgamated to *Won't you come in?*

But there is more to it. By that curious ambivalence of meaning attaching to certain modes of expression, the man who says *Won't you come in for a moment?* may suggest something else as well. By implying that he is aware of possible reasons for us to decline his invitation he may actually intimate that he would not be sorry for us to do so. The addition of *for a moment*, Dutch *even(tjes)* is significant in this respect. Under the guise of the most impeccable courtesy the speaker subtly hints that a refusal on our part to accept his invitation would suit him very well. From denoting the awareness of a possibility, the negative question comes to express a veiled suggestion. We personally never have an invitation of the sort extended to us without feeling that it may only be a sop to conventional civility and that we may not really be welcome, for which reason we are apt to decline it. We found on enquiry that we are not alone in feeling this but that the sentiment is shared by other speakers of Dutch.

We have explained the negative question as an anticipation of a possible negative answer. Such anticipations, of course, are by no means uncommon. We may remind the reader of questions like *You know English?*, where the affirmative word-order presupposes an affirmative answer. Or the use of *some* in cases like *Is there some difficulty in this?* (implication: there seems to be), as distinct from *Is there any difficulty in this?*, where the speaker has an open mind on the subject. An extreme instance in Dutch is afforded by certain expressions in the language of shopkeepers and shop-assistants, who may sometimes be heard to ask *Had U 't thuis-bezorgd willen hebben, mevrouw?* (literally: would you have liked to have

it delivered at your house, madam?), where we have to do with courtesy on the rebound, so to say, since the form of the question reflects an unspoken, but very modestly worded wish 'Ik had 't graag thuisbezorgd willen hebben' (literally: I would *have liked* to have it delivered at my house) on the part of the customer.

The motive preventing a man from accepting an invitation to come in, take a seat, have a cup of tea, etc. will generally and correctly be ascribed by the speaker to modesty, diffidence, fear of inconveniencing his host(ess) on the part of the invitee. But when the speaker suspects a breach of manners, a failure to observe the rules of civilized conduct or some boorishness in the other person, negative questions of the type described take on the character of a reproach. They are especially frequent in the language employed to children: *Zou je Oma niet eens netjes bedanken voor haar cadeautje? Zou je je niet eens wassen voor je aan tafel gaat? Jongmens, zou je niet eens opstaan voor die oude dame?* In all these cases, we take it, the suggestion is 'You may not have thought of doing so, but I put it to you whether you hadn't better act up to the suggestion.'

121. In *Mrs. Dixon — Miss Carless that was* the use of *who* is obviously excluded because it would suggest that the lady in question had died. The point to realize is that anaphoric relative *who* only refers to persons as persons, whereas here the reference is not to a person, but to a status, and hence to an inanimate idea: spinster versus married woman. Similarly in *The Archbishop of York — the Bishop of London that was*, where the reference is to a function, not to a person. Dr. Wood, who supplies this example, also quotes the classic example from *The Merchant of Venice* (Act II. Sc. 2): 'I am Launcelot, your boy that was, your son that is, your child that shall be', while in Rossetti's ballad *The White Ship* we find 'The Prince that was and the King to come, All in an instant gone to his doom.'

122. The difficulty is, of course, that *than if he must be accompanied by a niece and a nephew* at first and superficial glance looks like a clause introduced by two conjunctions, not forming a group, and expressing different meanings, one comparison (*than*) and the other condition (*if*), so that we have seemingly an adverbial clause with two incompatible meanings, a possibility classical sentence-analysis does not recognize. But the snag is only apparent. What those who felt stumped by this sentence failed to see is that *accompanied* is used as a predicative adjunct to the second *he*.

He was well aware is, of course, the main clause. The rest of the sentence is a sub-clause, compound in its turn, which is dependent on the predicative *aware*. Grammarians differ as to what to call this type of clause; we hold that it is not unreasonable to speak of an object-clause here, inasmuch as it completes the meaning of *aware* much as a direct object completes the meaning of a transitive verb (Zandvoort, *Handbook*⁷,

§ 649, 650, Kruisinga and Erades, *English Grammar*⁸, § 104.9.). This object-clause contains another sub-clause *if he must be*, which is naturally to be classed as an adverbial clause of condition, and a part as *a man by himself*, which is a predicative adjunct to the second *he*.

The whole sentence, then, must in our opinion be analysed as follows:

He was well aware	main clause
that . . . he was a more desirable asset than	
... accompanied by a niece and a nephew	object-clause to <i>aware</i> .
as a man by himself	predicative adjunct to the second <i>he</i> .
if he must be	conditional adverbial clause to <i>accompanied</i>
	<i>by a niece and a nephew</i> .

Answers were received from Dr. Maria Schubiger, Basle, Dr. F. T. Wood, Sheffield (both already mentioned), Mr. F. G. A. M. Aarts, Nijmegen, Mr. C. H. Hedeman, The Hague, Mr. P. J. Merckens, Aerdenhout, Mr. P. N. van Wageningen, Leeuwarden, and Mr. John Wilson, Voorschoten, all of whom we wish to thank for the interest they have shown in the problems set.

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

Chaucer and the Horse. By A. A. DENT. (Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, December 1959.) 12 pp.

The author was led into an investigation of the technical vocabulary of horses and all that belongs to them in Chaucer's works because he found that Stratmann-Bradley's *Middle English Dictionary* (1891) gives a wrong definition of the word 'peytrel', and because these terms are nowadays easily misunderstood.

He points out that in Chaucer's days horses were mostly used for riding, not for agricultural work, and proceeds to explain systematically all the equestrian terms that occur in Chaucer, and the differences and similarities in breed, saddlery, etc., compared with modern times. Finally, notes are given on reproductions of some of the Ellesmere Manuscript miniatures of the pilgrims and their horses. — T. v. H.

A History of the English Language. By G. L. BROOK. (The Language Library, edited by Eric Partridge.) London: André Deutsch. 1958. 224 pp. Price 15s. net.

Professor Brook has written a useful survey of the history of English for university students and for 'the general reader who is willing to seek in the past history of our language for

some explanation of the puzzling features of present-day English'. It is divided into nine chapters, on The Nature of Language, The Development of English, The Sounds of Speech, Phonology, Spelling, Accidence, Syntax, Semantics, and Present-Day Trends. If it does not contain many new revelations, it makes a thoroughly reliable impression; it also includes a well selected Bibliography. The reader for whom the book is intended will probably fail to notice the slip in the sub-title of Sievers-Brunner's *Altenglische Grammatik* (*neuarbeitet* for *neubearbeitet*). In the section on Syntax Curme and Jespersen are mentioned, but Poutsma and Kruisinga are not. — Z.

On the Linguistic Study of Languages. An Inaugural Lecture by W. S. ALLEN, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1957. 30 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

This lecture can be strongly recommended to students of linguistics as well as to students of languages — including, of course, those who happen to be students of both. In a necessarily brief notice the best that one can do is, perhaps, to give a few quotations from its eminently quotable contents: 'I have suggested that linguistics is concerned primarily with the living utterance.' — 'A further disquieting trend originates within linguistics itself; I refer to the denial, in certain quarters, of the relevance of meaning to linguistic analysis.' — 'There remains the question of method. It is a predominant feature of transatlantic linguistics that method is identified with procedure; and there are important handbooks now in existence which lay down detailed operational techniques for linguistic analysis. In this country the tendency has been to eschew the assembly-line process, and to leave the application of the theory to the genius of the individual craftsman.' One is distantly reminded of an amusing passage in the first chapter of Vladimir Nabokov's *Pnin*. — Z.

Der literarische Mord. Eine Untersuchung über die englische und amerikanische Detektivliteratur. Von FRITZ WÖLCKEN. Nürnberg: Nest-Verlag, 1953, 348 pp.

Dr. Wölcken's book has every feature of a 'Habilitationsschrift' with the exception of its better readability, and with one feature added. After an introductory note on the economic impact of detective literature, the author dutifully follows up the prehistory and early history of his chosen *genre* and its cognates (ch. I: 'Edgar Allan Poe', ch. II: 'The Nineteenth Century', ch. III: 'In Baker Street'), then proceeding to theoretical observations, based for a large part on those published in Howard Haycraft's collection *The Art of the Mystery Story*, to which not a few prominent writers have contributed (ch. IV: 'Forms and Formulas').

Far less typical of a philological dissertation is the last and longest chapter (ch. V: 'Murder and Ethics'), which gives a central position to the responsibility of the crime-story writer and the moral problems before which both he and his readers are placed. The minister's daughter Dorothy L. Sayers and the Quaker's son Raymond Chandler are the chief 'detective' authors dealt with in this personal and important part of the book.

It would have been a pleasure to enter into many interesting details. Too long a time, however, has elapsed since the present reviewer began his search for some of the

sources mentioned by Dr. Wölcken, so that he has to confine himself to this short announcement of a book which deserves the attention of every philologist who has not excluded the past hundred years from his field of study.

Hilversum.

C. A. ZAALBERG.

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² See *E. S.*, XXXV, 3, June 1954.

On the Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*

The authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* has for more than half a century been one of the most controversial subjects in Jacobean criticism. From the first questioning of the traditional ascription of the play to Tourneur,¹ to the recent article by S. Schoenbaum in which Middleton's authorship is assumed,² there has been no dearth of attempts to prove, or disprove, that *The Revenger's Tragedy* was written by Tourneur, whose name is officially connected with the play no earlier than in play lists of the 1650's and 60's. E. H. C. Oliphant's detailed study narrowed the problem to one of Middleton or Tourneur;³ but the contradictory conclusions arrived at during recent years show that it is still far from solved.⁴ Faced with the scantiness of external evidence, scholars have applied various internal tests, which in several cases have led to claims for Middleton's authorship. These claims have stressed, on the one hand, differences between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and the one undisputed Tourneur play, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and, on the other, similarities between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and plays by Middleton.

There have indeed been attempts to explain the striking differences between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy* — differences of theme and tone, of diction and versification — without attributing the plays to different authors. But those who have thus tried to see Tourneur's hand in both plays have generally done so, not by a study of the plays themselves as finished artistic products, but by making a hypothetical

¹ Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II (1891), 264, 272.

² 'The Revenger's Tragedy: Jacobean Dance of Death', *MLQ*, XV (Sept. 1954), 201-7. There are also chapters on *The Revenger's Tragedy* in Mr. Schoenbaum's book, *Middleton's Tragedies: A Critical Study* (New York, 1955): Chapters I and V; and R. H. Barker gives one chapter of his *Thomas Middleton* (New York and London, 1958) to the play 'once attributed to Tourneur' (p. 64).

³ 'The Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *SP*, XXIII (April 1926), 157-68; *TLS*, 18 Dec., 1930 (being a reply to the article on Tourneur in *TLS*, 13 Nov., 1930, which was later reprinted as 'Cyril Tourneur' in T. S. Eliot's *Selected Essays*.); 'Tourneur and Mr. Eliot', *SP*, XXXII (Oct. 1935), 546-52.

⁴ Arguments for Middleton: e.g. R. H. Barker, 'The Authorship of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *SAB*, XX (April and July 1945), 51-62, 121-33. — For Tourneur: R. A. Foakes, 'On the Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *M.L.R.*, XLVIII (April 1953), 129-38. — Two attempts to approach the authorship problem by a study of the imagery have led to exactly opposed conclusions: U. M. Ellis-Fermor, 'The Imagery of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*', *M.L.R.*, XXX (1935), 289-301, sees in the imagery of the two plays evidence that the same man wrote them; whereas Marco K. Mincoff, 'The Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *Studia Historico-Philologica Serdicensia*, II (1939), 1-87, thinks that the imagery is evidence for different authors, and argues for Middleton as the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Cf. I.-S. Ekeblad, 'An Approach to Tourneur's Imagery' *M.L.R.*, LIV (Oct. 1959), 489-98.

development of the author's — Tourneur's — mind account for the differences.⁵ Their approach is towards personality and opinion. This is a natural approach to *The Revenger's Tragedy*, for everyone must feel the presence of a strong personality behind the rapid action and tense verse of the play. It provides us with pieces of Tourneur's supposed mental biography, like: 'The later play [A.T.] chronicles a return to the orthodoxy that was Tourneur's fundamental position, after a disillusion which he immortalized in Italianate metaphor [R.T.]'.⁶ But this method of approach is hardly adequate when it comes to tackling the authorship problem. Here it necessarily leads to a comparison between incompatibles: opinions are compared with plays. For in Middleton's play we are struck with the absence, rather than the presence, of a personality, as T. S. Eliot justly remarks:

It is difficult to imagine his personality....Even Tourneur had a personality. But Middleton who collaborated shamelessly, who wrote plays as different as *Women Beware Women*, and *A Game of Chess*, and *The Roaring Girl*, remains merely a collective name for a number of plays....If we write about Middleton's plays, we must write about Middleton's plays and not about Middleton's personality.⁷

Another weakness of method lessens the value of the discussions on similarities between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and Middleton's plays. When comparing *The Revenger's Tragedy* with works by Middleton, critics have generally confined themselves to treating isolated features of style and dramatic technique, and thus neglected to view the play as a *whole* beside Middleton's plays. With this method considerations of such questions as, for example, metrical evidence, use of 'oaths and ejaculations', and, above all, supposedly 'parallel' passages, have come to obscure more essential questions.

There is a need, then, to approach the question of the authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, not by way of authors' personalities, but by way of the plays as entities; not by elements isolated from the poetic-dramatic whole of each play, but by a view as complete as possible of *The Revenger's Tragedy* in its relation to relevant dramatic traditions, to *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and to Middleton's dramatic works. As we have extant only two plays attributed to Tourneur, it is particularly important to study them in the tradition where they appear. If we had only, say, *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Tempest* left of what Shakespeare wrote, who would believe the two plays to be by the same author? Or, to go to Middleton, who would in a similar case see the same hand in *The Phoenix* and *The Changeling*? — I intend, then, to make a re-assessment of the case for Tourneur, on a basis which, if not scientifically absolutely

⁵ See especially Harold Jenkins, 'Cyril Tourneur', *R.E.S.*, XVII (Jan. 1941), 21-36; Henry H. Adams, 'Cyril Tourneur on Revenge', *J.E.G.P.*, XLVIII (Jan. 1949), 72-87.

⁶ Robert Ornstein, 'The Ethical Design of *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *ELH*, XXI (June 1954), 81-93.

⁷ *Selected Essays* (1932), 161.

valid, should in any case be more valid than a study of any single element in the plays involved.

I

Without an understanding of the form and structure of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, it is not possible to give an objective explanation of the features of the play which make it, in some respects, different from *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and, in some, reminiscent of Middleton plays. The need to make clear what the author was really meaning to do becomes obvious when we meet with definitions of *The Revenger's Tragedy* as varied as:

...a true tragedy in the revenge-horror style;⁸

...an outlet for the expression of his better judgment on man and his essentially gloomy view of human life;⁹

...a logical development from the medieval drama... The actions on the stage are symbolic, not realistic, and the incidents are related to each other logically, as parts of an allegory, or as illustrations of an argument.¹⁰

Yet, contradictory as the judgments above may seem, they all contain part of the truth about *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Taken together they at least point to a fact that it is essential to recognize: namely that in this play there operate various traditions, and that the play is a fusion of various traditional dramatic forms, each with its own characteristic mode of expression. For in *The Revenger's Tragedy* can be detected the following main components:

1. The Revenge play in the Senecan-Kydian tradition;
2. The dramatic Satire, risen to popularity around the turn of the century;
3. The Morality play, and the medieval homiletic tradition from which it emerged.

Of those components it is the tradition of the Revenge play that governs the plot. From Vindice's opening soliloquy, closely parallel to the opening of Chettle's *Hoffman*; to the final masque, which, via *The Malcontent* and *Antonio's Revenge* can be traced back to *The Spanish Tragedy* itself, the dramatic structure, with its whole web of revenges, shows that elements have been absorbed from all the chief plays in the tradition popularized by Kyd some fifteen years earlier.¹¹ The most spectacular dramatic effects

⁸ Allardyce Nicoll, *British Drama*, 185.

⁹ *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, VI, 168.

¹⁰ L. G. Salingar, 'The Revenger's Tragedy and the Morality Tradition', *Scrutiny*, VI (March 1938), 402-24.

¹¹ It is rather misleading, when discussing similarities of dramatic structure, to compare *The Revenger's Tragedy* solely with Middleton's plays, as is done by W. D. Dunkel, 'The Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *PMLA*, XLVI (Sept. 1931), 781-5 (see esp. 783-4). Mr. Dunkel compares the opening soliloquy of *R.T.* with the opening speech by Witgood in Middleton's *A Trick*, and finds in these two passages 'an example of the individual dramatist using a common device in an uncommon way'. Similarly he

draw upon the common stock of thoughts, phrases, and incidents belonging to the Revenge tradition: the central situation of Vindice, the Revenger, moving around in the midst of his enemies, the brooding over the skull, the portentous thunder, and the fiendish physical and mental torture of the old Duke, are just a few examples.¹²

The element of Satire is also partly inherent in the plot itself. The intrigue which is formed by Vindice's various disguises is a vehicle for the exposure and scourging of villainy; of vices such as they are personified by characters whose mere names place them in the satiric, 'humorous', tradition. The satiric intent of the play is made especially clear in speeches where the author seems to interrupt the Revenge action in order to give us a piece of poetry which — considering for the moment only its content — might have been part of a non-dramatic Satire of the period. Such a piece are the Bastard's words:

Faith, if the truth were knowne, I was begot
After some gluttonous dinner, some stirring dish
Was my first father; when deepe healths went round,
And Ladies cheekes were painted red with Wine,
Their tongues as short and nimble as their heeles
Vttering words sweet and thick; and when they rise,
Were merrily disposd to fall agen,
In such a whispring and with-drawing houre,
When base-male-Bawds kept Centinell at stair-head,
Was I stolne softly;....
(I.2.200-9; I quote from A. Nicoll's edition of Tourneur's *Works*.)

Thanks to the subject matter of imagery, often in seemingly non-satiric contexts — as when Vindice broods over his mistress's skull:

Oh she was able to ha made a Vsurers sonne
Melt all his patrimony in a kisse
And what his father fiftie yeares told
To haue consume

(I.1.29-32)

— we are, despite the trappings of Italianate Revenge, kept in constant touch with early seventeenth-century England and its changing economic and social world: with the breaking up of the traditional manorial order, 'Farmers sonnes' washing their hands and becoming City gentlemen,

neglects the conventional use of the masque in Revenge plays, and sees in this manner of resolving the plot another evidence of Middleton's technique. But it is obvious that if we are at all to give significance to 'parallels' of intrigue and incident, we cannot do so without reference to the Revenge tradition, by which Middleton in this period, as far as we can judge from his extant plays, was virtually untouched.

¹² Cf. for the disguise-intrigue *The Malcontent* and *Hoffman*; for the skull and the thunder *Hamlet* and *Hoffman* respectively; and for the torture, e.g., the treatment of Piero in *Antonio's Revenge*. For a detailed discussion of *The Revenger's Tragedy* solely as a Revenge play, see F. T. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, 132-8; and also Percy Simpson, 'The Theme of Revenge in Elizabethan Tragedy', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXI (1935).

exchanging simple country manners for 'the pleasure of the Pallace'; and with the growing acquisitive spirit, the amassing of wealth. From one point of view, then, the play is to be seen as a Satire on all the features of the early Jacobean period of material progress and spiritual and moral decay which are compressed in the two figures recurring in action and imagery: the whore and the usurer.¹³ The immediacy of the satiric attacks is shown by the frequent repetition of phrases like 'in these luxurious days', or 'in our days'.

What, however, distinguishes the satire of the play from that of, for instance, Marston's plays, is its backbone of orthodox moral purpose. Social, economic, or sexual, satire of seemingly topical import is constantly made ethical. It is, indeed, impossible to draw a borderline between what was denoted as the second and the third traditional component in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Satire and Morality here form a unity — that unity of realistic satire and dogmatic moralizing which is characteristic of the medieval homily.¹⁴ No less than in a traditional Morality does the pattern of the seven deadly sins underlie and shape the play. When, for example, Vindice is speaking over the skull:

Dos every proud and self-affecting Dame
Camphire her face for this? and grieve her Maker
In sinfull baths of milke, — when many an infant starues,
For her superfluous out-side, all for this?

(III.5.87-90)

we are very far from the conventional harping on ladies and their cosmetics. The key to these lines lies in 'proud' and 'sinfull': as in the medieval Morality the imagery of finery is pursued down to its moral significance, to its connexion with pride, the deadliest of the sins, and with the homiletic theme of waste and extravagance versus the suffering inflicted upon innocents.¹⁵ As has often been observed,¹⁶ the skull is here used as a true *memento mori*. It provides the occasion for a parade of sins:

...here's an eye,
Able to tempt a greatman — to serue God,
A prety hanging lip, that has forgot now to dissemble;
Me thinkes this mouth should make a swearer tremble,
A drunckard claspe his teeth and not vndo e'm,
To suffer wet damnation to run through e'm.

¹³ Cf. Vindice's 'conceit' (I V.2.90-1): 'A usuring father to be boyling in hell, and his sonne and Heire with a whore dancing over him'.

¹⁴ See G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, especially the chapters on 'The Preaching of Satire and Complaint'. — This article was written before the appearance of John Peter's *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* (Oxford, 1956), which contains an excellent study of Tourneur's tragedies in relation to 'the tradition of complaint and the type of tragedy that had evolved out of the Morality' (p. 287). Cf. also the same author's article 'The Revenger's Tragedy Reconsidered', *Essays in Criticism*, VI (April 1956), 131-43.

¹⁵ Cf. Owst, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 and 335.

¹⁶ See especially S. Schoenbaum on *The Revenger's Tragedy* as a Dance of Death.

Heres a cheeke keeps her colour; let the winde go whistle,

.....
it were fine me thinkes,
 To have thee seene at Reuells, forgetfull feasts,
 And vncleane Brothells; sure twould fright the sinner
 And make him a good coward, put a Reueller
 Out off his Antick amble
 And cloye an Epicure with empty dishes.
 Here might a scornefull and ambitious woman
 Looke through and through her selfe...

This scene strongly recalls the medieval homily,¹⁷ and not only in subject but also in the handling of the dramatic situation: the explicit case-by-case moralizing which does not shrink from breaking the dramatic illusion in order to drive home its points. To understand this passage as its author conceived of it, we should pay attention to how parts of Vindice's speech, while organically related to the rest of what he is saying, simultaneously serve as a kind of stage-directions.¹⁸ We must picture Vindice, with the skull 'drest up in Tires', coming downstage to make a direct appeal to the male members of the audience:

Who now bids twenty pound a night, prepares
 Musick, perfumes, and sweete-meates?

But no one 'bids'. So he continues:

all are husht.

Similarly, at the end of his speech, he again comes downstage, now to address the female audience:

....see Ladies, with false formes
 You deceiue men, but cannot deceiue wormes.

(III.5.100-1)

It is worth noticing how the return to theatrical illusion is accomplished through Vindice's ambiguous words: 'Now to my tragick businesse'. Vindice is now retiring upstage, to the action-area where Hippolito is lingering, in order to go on with what in two senses is his 'tragick businesse'.

Even in situations which at first sight have no element of moralizing in them, the dramatic treatment, and the language, are controlled by traditional religious morals. The scape-goats of the early seventeenth-century Satires are treated as deadly sins: in action by the structure of the plot which conveys to death every misdoer — first, of course, the lechers and gluttons, but eventually even Vindice since he has overstepped

¹⁷ See Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 344, for a description of the typical *memento mori* sermon, in which the preacher 'will point his audience to the skulls and bones of the departed...'.
¹⁸ This is one of many points where I have been helped by the stimulating suggestions of Mr. Francis Berry.

the bounds of human revenge and neglected the words *Vindicta mihi*; in language by the recurrence of words like 'sin' and 'damnation'. *Luxuria* is a main theme of action and language alike. The descriptions of the feasting at court, the 'gluttonous dinner', and the 'stirring meates / Ready to move out of the dishes', parallel condemnatory descriptions of immoderate feasts in medieval poetry, just as the concern with 'Lord-ships sold to maintain Lady-ships', or with 'Faire Medowes cut into Greene fore-parts', show the medieval attitude to 'getting and spending': an attitude governed, primarily, not by economic theory but by religious morality.¹⁹ Love in the play is seen only as lust, and lust as a way to damnation. Vindice's speech: 'Now tis full sea a bed ouer the world . . .', fascinated as it is with the vice it is supposed to scourge, could at first sight be taken from any of the contemporary Satires. But, again, in its disconcerting accusation of the very audience watching this play:

If euery trick were told that's dealt by night
There are few here that would not blush out right.

it also shows its relationship to the Morality.

The speech just referred to shows how important it is to recognize that *The Revenger's Tragedy*, unlike many of the Satires of the period, never leaves us at a loss as to how to take, in the sense of how to place within a moral scheme, a speech or an incident. In Vindice's tempting of Castiza the excited, accelerated, movement of images and rhythm almost seems to outstrip the listener's or reader's imagination, so as to drive him from a proper moral viewpoint:

O thinke upon the pleasure of the Pallace,
Secured ease and state; the stirring meates,
Ready to move out of the dishes, that e'en now quicken when their eaten,
Banquets abroad by Torch-light, Musicks, sports

(II.1.222-5)

But then, in its dramatic context of the *Comus*-like situation, Vindice's speech is the beguiling of the archfiend, and thus ethically impressive through its very quality of allurements.²⁰ Besides, characteristically, the sequel of the speech makes its true value abundantly clear:

VINDICE.

Nine Coaches waiting — hurry, hurry, hurry.

CASTIZA. I to the Diuill.

VINDICE. I to the Diuill [aside], to th'Duke by my faith [to Cast.]

¹⁹ See John Speirs, 'Wynnere and Wastour and *The Parliament of The Three Ages*', *Scrutiny*, XVII (1950), 132-53, especially pp. 134 and 136. — Cf. also the sermon story of the English knight who fleeced the poor to secure the money to provide his wife with new elaborate headgear (Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, 321, n. 1) with II. 1.246-7: 'Faire trees those comely fore-tops of the Field/ Are cut to maintaine head-tires — much untold.'

²⁰ The imagery makes the true nature of the situation quite clear: as Castiza enters, Vindice has another one of his Morality asides. Speaking out to the audience he prays:

Dramatic and poetic elements in *The Revenger's Tragedy* are, then, controlled by a moral, and often moralizing, attitude. But in saying this, one must beware of assuming that the play is adequately defined as a moral allegory. After all, what first strikes one — and what is very important in one's experience of a stage-production of the play — are the thrills of plot, the theatrical effects of the Revenge element, and the grim comic effects of the Satire. It has never been sufficiently stressed, I think, that in a sense *The Revenger's Tragedy* is a *farce*, just as *Volpone* and *The Jew of Malta* are farces.²¹ The play is permeated by a kind of grotesque humour which stretches from details of imagery to whole scenes like the stabbing of the already dead body²², or Vindice's 'dialogue' with the 'bony lady':

Madame, his grace [the Old Duke] will not be absent long.
Secret? nere doubt vs Madame; twill be worth
Three veluet gownes to your Ladyship — knowne?
Few Ladies respect that — disgrace?.....

(III.5.46-49)

This, if played right — with skilful ventriloquism — should be extraordinarily funny on the stage. — Again, this gargoylish grin, the blending of farcical joking with tremendous moral seriousness, reaches, through Jonson and *The Jew of Malta*, back to medieval dramatic and homiletic traditions. We need only think of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*.

What I am trying to say, however, is that we must be aware that any disentanglement of the various components of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, such as has been done above, is artificial. The various traditional elements do not exist separately, but are fused together; and exactly in this fusion lies the key to the peculiar qualities of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

Using the traditional components that we have just traced, the author, by an astonishing power of assimilation and creation, achieves a unity of effect. We may first see in single features of the play how this is accomplished. The skull is a melodramatic device of Revenge plays, but it is also a device for conveying moral meaning. The masque, spectacular climax of many Revenge plots, is also part of the satire on courtly revelling; it yet also possesses an allegorical value. The thunder, used purely for theatrical effect in a Revenge play like *Hoffman*, here also betokens God's active intervention. It is God's warning and vengeance, and so is the spectacular blazing star. Vindice is the arch-Revenger, but he is also the

'Meet her: troops of celestial soldiers guard her heart. / Yon dam has devils enough to take her part' (II.1.156-7). And after Castiza's unflinching resistance of the temptation, there is another revealing aside: 'O Angels, clap your wings upon the skyes / And give this Virgin Christall plaudities' (II.1.266-7). — Also should be noted the comment that the Mother later makes on this situation: '...one I never knew / Plead better, for, and against the Devill then you' (IV.4.96-7).

²¹ Cf. T. S. Eliot's comment on *The Jew of Malta*, *Selected Essays*, 123.

²² This, one might note, is a direct 'parallel' of plot with *The Jew of Malta*: Iacomo's stabbing of Bernardine's body in Act IV.

detached commentator of the satiric drama, and the traditional Malcontent, as well as being a moralizing preacher and an active moral agent, now of good, now of evil, depending on his disguise. The tempting of Castiza is clearly a Morality situation, with the disguised tempter assailing the 'Christall Tower' of virginal virtue; but it would be unfair to overlook the purely dramatic value of the way the situation is handled. Vindice disguised and using all his powers of allurements to wreck his sister, while hoping with all his heart that she will resist temptation — that is a situation dramatically even more effective than the Celia-scene in *Volpone*, which may or may not have influenced it, and infinitely more so than the pure good-evil opposition in *Comus*. In short, whether we consider the plot of the play, its characters, or its language, we find the elements of the three traditions co-existing and co-operating.

The unity of the play as a whole is a product of the balance of the various components of the play with each other. The tone of realism demanded by the 'decorum' of satiric verse serves in the total effect of the play to control the melodramatic effect of the Revenge plot. To illustrate this, we need only put side by side Vindice's introductory speech over his mistress's skull, with its startling directness of imagery, and the rhetoric in the — outwardly — similar situation in *Hoffman*. Satiric verse, on the other hand, is constantly deepened in significance by the ever-present moral frame-work, and often — again the skull-speech is the best example — by an allegorical situation where it occurs. Moral allegory, finally, never appears pure, with the theatrical gauntness of the Morality play. It is made dramatically effective, and even theatrical, by the handling of intrigue and incidents. — As for the language of the play, its characteristic quality lies, again, in its fusing of various modes. A single example will have to suffice: Vindice's words which are part of the central skull-speech:

Why dos yon fellow falsify hie-waies
And put his life betweene the Iudges lippes ?

(III.5.79-80)

Through the image of the 'Iudges lippes' this harks back to the trial of the Younger Son in Act I, and the Duchess's words: 'Death too soone steales out of a Lawyer's lip'. It thus has a kind of plot relevance; but also, in the two lines together, satirical references to actual high-way robbery and its legal consequences fuse with suggestions of the symbolical high-way to Heaven and the impending Judgment. And all this is simultaneous with the audience's picture of the skull, which makes the words into a *memento mori*. Here, as in all the climactic points of the play, a three-fold tradition is activated. — Building on, and drawing strength from, the traditions of Revenge tragedy, satiric drama, and Morality, *The Revenger's Tragedy*, when approached from the point of view of its artistic form, shows the tightness and coherence of a play composed with a firmly realized purpose.

II

Like *The Revenger's Tragedy*, *The Atheist's Tragedy* has assimilated many plot elements — and the theatrically most striking ones — from the Revenge tradition.²³ What has attracted most critical attention in *The Atheist's Tragedy* is the new turn which is here given to the Revenge formula:²⁴ Charlemont, like Hamlet, faced with the murder of his father by an uncle, is visited by his father's ghost who admonishes him, not indeed to revenge, but to 'leave revenge unto the King of kings'. — The other components from *The Revenger's Tragedy* are here, too: in the plot around Levidulcia, and in the 'Puritan' figure of Langbeau Snuffe, there is much of the stuff of the contemporary Satire; and, as I shall develop more fully presently, in the career of D'Amville the Morality element is strong. But the part of the action which is Charlemont's fulfilling of the ghost's admonition, 'the honest man's revenge', adds to the same three components as in *The Revenger's Tragedy* a fourth one: the study of the Christian-Stoic individual. That the existence of this new element does not in itself preclude identical authorship but instead reflects a general dramatic trend, we see on considering other dramatists — Chapman and Marston, for instance — who go from Juvenalian satire to neo-Senecan tragedy, built around studies of the 'Senecal Man'.

The action of *The Revenger's Tragedy* makes of the characters and their fates — with the one exception of Castiza — a series of *exempla horrenda*. In *The Atheist's Tragedy*, with the introduction of a new element, we are also invited to *admire* a character devised to illustrate a theory of moral excellence. The emotional scale of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is intense, but narrow. Its ruling emotion is that attitude to death which J. Huizinga describes as dominant in medieval literature:

...lamentation about the briefness of all earthly glory and jubilation over the salvation of the soul. All that lay between — pity, resignation, longing, consolation — remained unexpressed and was, so to say, absorbed by the too much accentuated, and too vivid representation of Death, hideous and threatening.²⁵

In *The Atheist's Tragedy*, on the other hand, just such emotions of 'pity, resignation, longing, consolation', call for expression in the Charlemont plot. What must happen, and what does happen, upon the introduction of a fourth element, is a dispersion of the unity of elements that characterizes *The Revenger's Tragedy*. For instance, the satire is detached from the main plot and relegated to the subplots of Levidulcia and Langbeau Snuffe:

²³ For a detailed discussion of *The Atheist's Tragedy* as a Revenge play, see Bowers, *op. cit.*, 139-44.

²⁴ See, e.g., H. H. Adams, *op. cit.*; Clifford Leech, 'The *Atheist's Tragedy* as a Dramatic Comment on Chapman's *Bussy plays*', *J.E.G.P.* LII (1953), 525-30; M. Higgins, 'The Convention of the Stoic Hero as Handled by Marston', *M.L.R.*, XXXIX (1944), 338-46; 'Chapman's "Senecal Man"', *R.E.S.* XXI (1945), 183-91; and 'The Development of the "Senecal Man"', *R.E.S.* XXIII (1947), 24-33.

²⁵ *The Waning of The Middle Ages* (1927), 135.

none of its realism and directness of language gives life to the frequently symbolic situations. Charlemont going into the charnel-house 'takes hold of a death's head; it slips and he staggers', whereupon he makes the following meditation:

Death's head, decei'ust my hold? Such is the trust to all mortalitie.
(IV.3.88-9).

These are words fit for the Christian Stoic, but we need only compare them with Vindice's speech over the skull: 'Do's the Silke-worme expend her yellow labours...', to see what has been lost in intensity and power by the disruption of the unity of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, and why *The Atheist's Tragedy* is the poorer play.

The only approach to the poetic and dramatic strength of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is in the few passages where the elements of that play are co-present, as in D'Amville's distracted words at the sight of the death's head:

Why doest thou stare vpon me? Thou art not
The scull of him I murder'd. What has thou
To doe to vex my conscience? Sure thou wert
The head of a most dogged Vsurer,
Th'art so vncharitable. And that Bawde,
The skie, there; she could shut the windowes and
The dores of this great chamber of the world;
And draw the curtaines of the clouds betweene
Those lights and me about this bed of earth
When that same Strumpet Murder & my selfe
Committed sin together.....

(IV.3.240-50)

Here are again the whore and the usurer of the Satires, in a situation which is simultaneously a traditional *Totentanz* and a traditional Revenge situation — the skull substituting for the ghost of the murdered man. Not only the imagery of sex and death, but also the whole structure of the speech points back to *The Revenger's Tragedy*. It suggests that Tourneur's peculiar strength lay in the fusing of those components. And that speech is part of a scene — the Churchyard scene — which as a whole mingles sex and death in a fashion strikingly reminiscent of *The Revenger's Tragedy* (the churchyard is the setting for an attempted incestuous rape and a meeting between Langbeau and his courtesan), and which is also full of the kind of grotesque joking which is so prominent in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. When Snuffe and Soquette seek out a corner of the churchyard and Snuffe dresses up like a ghost in 'a sheet, a hair, and a beard':

I will try how I can kiss in this beard.....

then one is inevitably reminded of the scene with the Bony Lady. The farcical-macabre tension of the situation is the same as that between the many meanings of Vindice's words: 'Age and bare bone are ere allied in action'.

But isolated passages are not sufficient to suggest that the same man wrote *The Atheist's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*. To do so, one must see how the separate elements are held together to a whole. An analysis of *The Atheist's Tragedy* shows that, although each element has, as it were, a plot to itself, each plot works out its own moral; and what unifies the form is the moral structure into which these separate morals fit. The chief dramatic interest in the play lies, as the title suggests, not in the fortune of 'the honest man', but in the spectacular rise and fall of the wicked man in whom one sin breeds the other: he adds lust and greed to his already unpardonable atheism. His development is a moralistic exhibition and condemnation of evil personified, a true *exemplum horrendum*. From his very first speech, piling up hypotheses which the audience would immediately recognize as wrong in terms of Christian doctrine, D'Amville shows in act and speech the course of the atheist and the 'naturalist' to a sure damnation.^{25a} His moral is delivered in the last scene:

But Nature is a foole. There is a power
Aboue her that hath ouerthrowne the pride
Of all my proiects and posteritie;

(V.2.283-7)

And to make it even more explicit that D'Amville fell, ultimately, through the deadliest sin, the word 'pride' comes back in the Judge's summary of D'Amville's fate: eternal providence has overthrown D'Amville's projects 'in their pride' (V.2.297-8).

Levidulcia, offspring of the Satire on women and lust, is a personification of lechery, speaking in sexual imagery, and living in adultery, until her proper punishment is brought about and she sees 'the hatefulnessse of lust' (IV.5.70). And, finally, Charlemont acts out 'the religion of his soul', expressing it in *his* last scene moral:

Onely to Heau'n I attribute the worke.
Whose gracious motiues made me still forbear
To be mine owne Reuenger. Now I see,
That, *Patience is the honest mans reuenge.*

(V.2.299-302)

Like *The Revenger's Tragedy*, then, *The Atheist's Tragedy* is conceived and constructed on the basis of traditional Christian morality. Fundamentally every element in the play is related to a strictly moral purpose. The differences in form and execution between the two plays may be seen as consequences of the intrusion of an additional dramatic tradition in the later play. There remains to be seen how the plays of Middleton compare to these two plays.

^{25a} Cf. Robert Ornstein, 'The Atheist's Tragedy and Renaissance Naturalism', *S.P.* LI (1954), 194-207.

III

Middleton's plays known to have been written before, or soon after, the composition of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, are all comedies, with Latin or Italian plots, or they take motifs and episodes from rogue pamphlets and contemporary London events.²⁶ More important than sources as such is what is done with the material used. With more or less justice all these plays can be called satiric comedies. At times the satire *seems* to be the organizing factor in a play, as, for example, in *Your Five Gallants*. This play has an unusually episodic structure, obviously on account of the author's wish to present fully each of the five rascals. The sacrifice of dramatic unity here has been attributed to Middleton's concern for 'the completeness of the satire'.²⁷ But one wonders, when reading the play, whether the lack of unity is not just as much due to the author's wish to squeeze as much as possible of his picaresque material into a play, for the sake of its intrinsic comic appeal. Similarly in all these plays we ultimately find ourselves, and the author, interested in intrigue per se, in effective dramatic situations and farcical incidents. Satire, then, in Middleton's comedies is not so much the *purpose* organizing the material, as the *effect* of intrigue and characters manipulated in the way which creates a maximum of possibilities for good fooling.

Nor is the satire in Middleton's comedies, as in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, deepened by an inherent moral purpose. *The Phoenix*, it is true, has a number of serious scenes and professes a moral purpose.²⁸ Like the Duke in *Measure for Measure*, Prince Phoenix goes in disguise around his country, revealing vices and in the end effecting appropriate punishments. That is the plot, and it may seem like a parallel to *The Revenger's Tragedy*: Vindice purging the corrupt court. But then we look in vain for the moral allegory that can always be traced behind events and characters in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Phoenix's disguise has none of the symbolism of Vindice's various disguises, theatrically effective as it is. In *The Revenger's Tragedy* the passages of the greatest moral intensity are also those of the greatest dramatic intensity. In *The Phoenix* the case is different. For instance, in I.4 Tangle is exhibiting his corrupt law-practices in a thoroughly convincing and amusing manner; but Phoenix's moralistic comment on this:

²⁶ For the canon and chronology of Middleton's plays, still under dispute, see R. C. Bald, 'The Chronology of Middleton's Plays', *M.L.R.*, XXXII (Jan. 1937), 33-43; B. Maxwell, 'The Date of Middleton's *Women Beware Women*', *PQ*, XXII (Oct. 1943), 338-42; and S. Schoenbaum, *Middleton's Tragedies*. — For sources of his plays, see: R. C. Bald, 'The Sources of Middleton's City Comedies', *J.E.G.P.*, XXXIII (July 1934), 373-87; Margery Fisher, 'Notes on the Sources of Some of Middleton's Plays', *R.E.S.* (July 1939), 283-93; Signi Falk, 'Plautus' *Persa* and Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*', *MLN*, LXVI (Jan. 1951), 19-21.

²⁷ B. Maxwell, 'Thomas Middleton's *Your Five Gallants*', *PQ*, XXX (1951), 31-9.

²⁸ *The Phoenix* is the Middleton comedy most often referred to by critics arguing for Middleton's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. See, e.g. R. H. Barker, *op. cit.*

Thou angel sent amongst us, sober Law
 Made with meek eyes, persuading action....
 (I.4.197-8; I quote from A. H. Bullen's edition of Middleton's *Works*.)

is boring, rather than convincing. Similarly in the very effective scene where the Captain is selling his own wife (II. ii), Phoenix's flat speech on 'Reverend and honourable Matrimony' sounds a dreary anticlimax. The moralizing, then, does not inhere in the characters, the incidents, and the speeches themselves; it is superimposed upon a row of comic situations. These situations are couched in a language which strengthens their dramatic effect, without reaching, or even attempting, the intense fusion of satire and moralizing which characterizes the language of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.²⁹

That *The Phoenix* is a fair indicator of Middleton's scope is shown by the fact that as he goes on writing and, we may presume, as he becomes increasingly aware of his dramatic abilities, the moralizing element gradually disappears, and more and more is made of plot and character for their own sake. Characters like Penitent Brothel, in *A Mad World*, quite unmotivatedly converted from his previous lechery, or the Country Wench's father in *Michaelmas Term*, appear as moralizers, but without any relation to the main plot or the final dénouement. In *Your Five Gallants*, despite its social satire, there is nothing of purely ethical concern — one would find it difficult to imagine the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy* punishing personified vices by marrying them off to whores. When we come to *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, the all-governing interest in comic effect is too obvious to be denied. The 'good' character here is no longer good, nor even sententious; he is himself a rogue who has seen his patrimony 'washt a peices' on high living and courtesans. The real comic triumph,

²⁹ As an example: In *Your Five Gallants*, III.2.90 ff. Pursenet, the high-way robber, outwitted by one of the other 'gallants' is speaking: '...Does my boy pick and I steal to enrich myself, to keep her, to maintain him? why this is right the sequence of the world. A lord maintains her, she maintains a knight, he maintains a whore...'. Clearly we have here at least two verbal 'parallels' to Vindice's speech over the skull, III.5.73-90. Yet there is a crucial difference between the passages from *R. T.* and *Y. F. G.*: whereas in *R. T.* every line gathers within it a multitude of meanings, in the Middleton passage every line has one, and only one, meaning: that applicable to the immediate plot situation. There is no attempt — because there is no wish — to infuse a sense of wider issues in the words commenting on plot-steps and characters. Thus, the difference between the verse in *R. T.* and Middleton's language here, is, in the last analysis, the same as that between the plays as wholes. The poetry of *R. T.* realizes the moral scheme that controls the structure of the play; Middleton's verse reports on the plot. The images in *R. T.* are fusions of several, disparate, senses; Middleton's say what they seem to say at first and no more. It is impossible to understand what a single passage in a play of either author essentially is, and what it does, before one understands what the play does at large, as a whole. But if one detaches single phrases from the whole of each play and lists them as 'parallels' because of their surface similarity, the essential characteristics of either play — and author — are obscured.

finally, *The Roaring Girl*, lives, free from moralizing intentions, by force of Moll and the London which surrounds her — a play-structure so different from that of *The Revenger's Tragedy* that one would hesitate to suggest that the same man, within a couple of years, wrote the two plays.

When we turn to Middleton's two tragedies *Women Beware Women* (c. 1621) and *The Changeling* (1622), we may see a development between them, parallel to that within the series of early comedies: conscious, 'inorganic' moralizing disappears, and attention is concentrated on the purely dramatic possibilities inherent in plot and character. This is not to equate the comedies and tragedies in dramatic value: what is being done with, and won out of, the elements of plot and character is different, and greater, in the tragedies, where Middleton understands and expresses the interaction of personality and circumstance in a way rare in Jacobean drama. But the method of conceiving and constructing drama, as well as the realization of his own dramatic capacities, is fundamentally the same in the two series of plays. Moreover, it is irreconcilably opposed to that of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

In *Women Beware Women* the Cardinal suddenly appears, towards the end of the play, as a personified conscience. Virtually unrelated to the plot, he is clearly created as a foil for the vices of the main characters and a moral spokesman, to finish the play on a properly moral note:

Sin, what thou art these ruins show too piteously
Two kings on one throne cannot sit together
But one must needs down, for his title's wrong;
So where lust reigns, that prince cannot reign long.

(V.1.265-8)

He is the tragic equivalent of a Phoenix in the early comedies.

The Changeling is free from that sort of intrusion. Like *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy* it employs some of the conventional material of the Revenge tragedy. In the two plays ascribed to Tourneur those conventions are made part of a moral structure. In *The Changeling* they are trappings on a structure which is basically naturalistic. It is a structure built on the deed and its consequences, with characters working their way to their own disaster as 'the deed's creatures' — in a fashion which looks forward to Ibsen and modern naturalistic drama, rather than backward to medieval drama, as do Tourneur's dramatizations of an implacable scheme of sin and damnation. The points of greatest dramatic intensity in *The Changeling* are pieces of psychological perception, like Beatrice's torment when she realizes that she is obliged to become the prostitute of the man she hates:

Why, 'tis impossible thou canst be so wicked,
Or shelter such a cunning cruelty,
To make his death the murder of my honour.

(III.4.121-3)

In Middleton's hands dramatic language at its best becomes a clear, transparent medium, through which we see directly the movement of minds, and the influence of one mind upon another:

DE F. Push! fly not to your birth, but settle you
In what the act has made you; you're no more now.
You must forget your parentage to me;
You are the deed's creature; by that name
You lost your first condition, and I challenge you,
As peace and innocency has turn'd you out,
And made you one with me.

BEAT. With thee, foul villain!

DE F. Yes, my fair murderess; do you urge me?
Though thou writ'st maid, thou whore in thy affection?
'Twas changed from thy first love, and that's a kind
Of whoredom in the heart;...

(III.4.135-46)

Dramatic language like this is in kind different from that of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*. It is language aiming at psychological re-creation of characters' minds, not at emphatic communication of moral truth.

This study, I hope, has suggested that between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy* there are basic similarities in the conception and creation of drama: whatever its traditional components, drama is primarily a vehicle for the expression of moral truth. These similarities do not exist between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and the plays of Middleton. The differences between *The Revenger's Tragedy* and Middleton's plays — his tragedies as well as his comedies — seem fundamental and unbridgeable enough to refute the attribution of the play to Middleton. Instead, the differences and similarities suggested above point to Tourneur's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

Liverpool, 1956.

INGA-STINA EKEBLAD.

W. B. Yeats and W. J. Turner

1935 - 1937

(With unpublished letters)

(Concluded)*

(3) *Broadsides*.

When in the late 'twenties Yeats wrote the group of poems called *Works for Music Perhaps*, he hardly dared hope to hear them sung in the streets. "For Music" is only a name, nobody will sing them', he told Olivia Shakespear.³⁹ Seven years later, he felt capable of reviving the ballad, because it was a form of poetry of 'simple emotions' common to all men in all ages. He confidently informed Dorothy Wellesley:⁴⁰

I write poem after poem, all intended for music, all very simple [...] I have recovered a power of moving the common man I had in my youth. The poems I can write now will go into the general memory.

The intervening work for the *Broadsides* and the poetry broadcasts were inspired by the same confident hope. Yeats renewed the term 'broadsides', which was formerly given to popular ballads,⁴¹ for the two series of monthly pamphlets which the Cuala hand-press, run by his sister Elizabeth C. Yeats, in Dublin, published in 1935 and 1937. This was necessarily a modest enterprise, and the edition was limited to 350 copies, each costing 2s. 6d. and containing 'a poem by a living Irish poet and a traditional ballad and the music for each and a picture for each'.⁴² They were little known outside Ireland, but Yeats thought he had reason to believe that, at least in his own country, some of the poems would 'become popular songs in the next generation'.⁴³

As the 1935 series was nearing its end, Yeats planned a sequel which, as an innovation, should contain poems by English as well as Irish poets. It was his discovery of two living English poets, Dorothy Wellesley and W. J. Turner, who were, potentially at least, in the bardic tradition, that made him wish to extend his action to England. He would begin with one of Turner's⁴⁴

strange philosophical poems set, let us say, for the bamboo flute (now taught in English schools) and I want Turner (who is a musical critic) to choose other poems and tunes. I have various ways of getting poems sung here. I want to make another attempt to unite literature and music.

* The first part of this article appeared in *E. S.*, August 1959.

³⁹ *Wade*, p. 769 (13.IX.29).

⁴⁰ *Wellesley*, p. 135 (28.I.37).

⁴¹ Robert Graves, *The English Ballad* p. 22.

⁴² *Wade*, p. 841 (25.IX.35).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 888 (18.V.37).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 841 (25.IX.35).

To enlist Turner's help he had to discuss the project with him personally. He therefore asked Dorothy Wellesley to invite Turner to her house at Penns in the Rocks where he himself planned to stay for a few days after October 18 or 19. To Turner he wrote:

6.

Riversdale.

Sept. 23 [1935]

Dear Turner,

One of the poems in 'Seven days' that delights me is that beginning 'I have seen Mannequins'. In an introduction to some reprinted *Broadsides* (Cuala) I think of quoting it as perfection of its kind, the kind opposite to folk art.

Will you be in London the second or third week of October? I want to see you about a project that has been in my head lately. I think of being in London for one day if you will be there.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

Turner must have replied affirmatively for Yeats made further arrangements:

7.

Riversdale.

Monday, Oct. 14 [1935]

Dear Turner,

Can you lunch with me at the Savile Club Saturday next at 1? Would you mind sending me a wire? My plan is to spend a few hours in London that day going by afternoon train to Sussex. There is something I want to talk over.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

The meeting was postponed because, as he told both Dorothy Wellesley⁴⁵ and Turner by similarly worded letters dated October 15, 1935, he had to undergo a slight operation on the following day. He arrived in London on October 25 and saw Turner at the Savile Club and later at Penns where, judging by the following letter which, though undated, must have been written about November 6 or 7, Turner had not been before:

8.

Penns in the Rocks,
Withyham,
Sussex.

Wednesday (I think)

Dear Turner,

Lady Gerald Wellesley asks me to ask you if you could come here for a night, or a couple of nights any day this week or next. It is a lovely peaceful place.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

It was agreed that Dorothy Wellesley should act as English editor of the *Broadsides*, selecting poems and music before sending them to Yeats and Higgins who would make the final choice; Turner promised to help

⁴⁵ Wellesley, p. 39 (15.X.35).

with the music and to review the bound volume of the 1935 series for the *New Statesman*.

Before leaving for Dublin, towards the middle of November, Yeats had time to see a performance of Turner's play.⁴⁶ The Introduction to the *Oxford Book* being completed and the organisation for the new *Broadsides* being set up, he could at last devote himself to 'serious writing'.⁴⁷ But he kept his new collaborator informed of his transactions with his literary agents and urged him to write the promised review:

9.

Riversdale.

Nov. 25 [1935]

My dear Turner,

I write to proclaim my return to honesty. We take nothing from Clarendon Press except our royalties, further more we shall probably have to draw on these royalties to some slight extent before everybody has been paid. The tempters Watt, who suggested I conive [*sic*] with the Clarendon Press are thrust out — my soul sings, I have not turned huxter in my old age, my white hairs etc.

I have asked Macmillan to send you my new book '*A Full Moon in March*', not very good. It is my return to verse after some years silence and I return dissatisfied with the usual blank verse for stage purposes, it keeps me in an exhausted [*sic*] atmosphere. In Majorca, — I leave Liverpool on Friday — I plan to write a three act tragi-comedy in short lines, rhyming now and again, more or less 'sprung verse'.

Have you come to any conclusion about the *Broadsides* and have you done your article upon them?

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

We have not Turner's reply, but the *New Statesman and Nation* published on December 7, 1935, his article on 'Broadside Songs' a cutting of which was enclosed with it. Yeats wrote to thank him for it and give him news of the play *The Herne's Egg* he himself was then writing:

10.

Hotel Terramar,
San Agustín,
Palma de Mallorca.

(Postmark 24.XII.35)

Dec.

My dear Turner,

I thank you for your article of Dec. 7. It will be a great help and is valuable in itself. Have you heard from Higgins about the further *Broadsides*? We want you to help us with the English poems and music. My family and friends are bad correspondents so I have not the least notion what is happening.

I am at work on my play. I think it will prove my first full length play. Your play that I saw in London gave me great encouragement in the attempt to be myself, even my modern self whatever my period. I am writing in four stress lines but I doubt if it will grow into 'sprung verse'. I dislike the uncertainty of accent.

I have sent your article to Lady Gerald Wellesley.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

⁴⁶ Letter 10 (24.XII.35).

⁴⁷ *Wade*, p. 833 (III.35).

Yeats enclosed the article in a letter to Dorothy Wellesley.²³ Turner's support of Yeats's campaign against Eliot and his school was in line with similar attacks he had been making for years. Writing as a music critic during the nineteen-twenties, he had on several occasions compared the contemporary vogue of Bach at the expense of Beethoven, Berlioz and Wagner to the snobbish revival of interest in Donne and Dryden and the condemnation of the Romantics.⁴⁸ The modernist trend towards intellectualist art was a sign of weakness, the *Broadsides*, he declared, were a sign of health:

Composers such as Schönberg⁴⁹ [...] are at their wits' end. In the absence of any possibility of natural utterance they must cerebrate and cerebrate until some tortured and not obviously banal and recognisable nullity comes forth.

It was, however, only a 'temporary depression' we were in; the false distinction between modern intellectualist verse and old-fashioned 'romantic' poetry would eventually give way to true poetry.

Just as men will not consent forever to be always politicians (either of the Right or the Left!), the artists will not forever rest in the artificial position of having to pretend to be either Advanced or a Back Number.

Lyrical poetry in England being divorced from song, poets used a ready-made metrical system, whereas in Ireland 'man's natural life is not yet extinct. Speech is not yet stereotyped, there is even no standard B.B.C. pronunciation.' After quoting Yeats's 'The Rose Tree' from the *Broadside* for May, Turner adds:

This has the simplicity and directness of the old folk songs. Is there a poet in England who could write such a political song devoid of all banality and selfconsciousness?

Though sharing Yeats's distaste for the Eliot school, Turner did not believe that poetry and music could be united again by a concerted effort of 'bardic' poets. In the first of his *Four Lectures on the Future of Poetry*⁵⁰ he said:

Poetry and music are two separate arts which can be combined in their root, but never in their ultimate and separate flowers. What I call their root is folk-song where there may be a simultaneous creation into a simple form of words and music by one and the same person. But folk-song must not be considered as historically a more primitive form now extinct. It is still being made [...] Verse or prose can be combined with music but the poetry of either must be extinguished by the music or the music be extinguished by the poetry [...] A musician may use words as a framework to a new musical creation of his own, but no musician can write the poem which the poet has already written or interpret it or elucidate it or do anything at all to it except destroy it as a poem.

Long after his association with Yeats had come to an end, Turner realised that Yeats's main difficulty had been 'to find composers who

⁴⁸ *Musical Meanderings*, Methuen, 1928. Articles on 'The Great John Sebastian' and 'A Musical Cataclysm'.

⁴⁹ This was in 1935. Later, when he heard Noel Mewton-Wood play Schönberg, he became a great admirer of that composer.

could do justice to the words'.⁵⁰ Yeats's movement to revive the popular art of ballad song was, more consciously than that of Robert Burns or Thomas Moore in another age,

an attempt to re-create the ballad from above. A genuine and inspired popular music can only come direct from the life of the people, and so far, the intense industrialisation of Great Britain in the twentieth century has proved unfavourable to the creation of any popular musical art.

On his return from Spain, in June 1936, Yeats stayed some time at Penns and in London, but by the end of the month he was back in Dublin. He had entered on a period of intense creative activity and told Turner and other correspondents that he was 'writing better and more' than he had done for years and that, as an invalid, he had the privilege of getting 'rid of bores, business and exercise'.⁵¹

11.

Riversdale.

(Postmark 24.VIII.36)

July 29 37 [i.e. 36]

My dear Turner,

I thank you very much for your three songs; I shall use two of them in the first six Broad-sides and reserve one until later. Dorothy Wellesley has also sent me your music to a poem of hers. I have not at present anybody to sing them to me. You have been very generous with your work.

I am writing a great deal of poetry, more than I have ever written in the same measure of time; illness has enabled me to get rid of bores, business and exercise.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

He told Dorothy Wellesley that Turner had sent him 'three poems of his own, set by himself'.⁵² We often hear of poets in Yeats's circle composing tunes for their own or other poets' words, although this is the only instance where Turner appears as a composer.⁵³ There was a slight disagreement over those of Turner's poems to be included in the *Broad-sides* for 1937. Dorothy Wellesley thought they were too contemplative, not sufficiently 'vigorous, tragic, bawdy, wild, any of those things'.⁵⁴ Yeats replied that he was planning 'quite deliberately that about one fourth should reflect the modern mind where most subtle'.⁵⁵ 'Men fade like rocks', which he had included in the *Oxford Book*, came under this description.

⁵⁰ *English Music*, Collins, 1941, p. 43.

⁵¹ *Wade*, p. 860 (1.VIII.36).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 859 (26.VII.36).

⁵³ Dorothy Wellesley reported a scene of Yeats's last days: 'He read aloud his last poem, "The Black Tower", and asked Hilda Matheson to make a tune for it. She and I went out of the hotel, walking up and down in the rain and darkness trying the tune. When we came back she sang the air. He seemed pleased. His last projective thought seems to me to have been this wish for "words for melody".' *Wellesley*, p. 213.

⁵⁴ *Wellesley*, p. 100 (3.IX.36).

⁵⁵ *Wade*, p. 862 (8.IX.36).

It was more difficult for Yeats to make Dorothy Wellesley accept his own political ballads which, she feared, would stir up the old enmity between England and Ireland.⁵⁶ She never conformed to the image of violence that Yeats had set up for her inspiration in the poem 'To D. W.':⁵⁷

What climbs the stair?
Nothing a common woman could ponder on
If you are worth my hope; neither content
Nor satisfied conscience, but that great family
Some ancient famous authors misrepresent,
The proud Furies each with her torch on high.

He patiently tried to explain to her his nationalist feelings, as he also explained to Turner that the subject of the Parnell ballad was 'ancient history'.⁵⁸ But it was to his anarchist friend Ethel Mannin that he opened himself most freely:⁵⁹

Some day you will understand what I see in the Irish National movement and why I can be no other sort of revolutionist — as a young man I belonged to the I.R.B. and was in many things O'Leary's pupil. Besides, why should I trouble about communism, fascism, liberalism, radicalism, when all, though some bow first and some stern first but all at the same pace, all are going down stream with the artificial unity which ends every civilization. My rage and that of others like me seems more important — though we may but be the first of the final destroying horde.

The publication of the first *Broadside* for January 1937 was delayed until February. On January 22, Miss Elizabeth C. Yeats complained to Turner of her difficulties:

It's not my fault if the thing is badly done — *Poets* do *not* understand the business side of it — We *ought* to have a circular out months ago, or how are we to sell it?

Turner helped to distribute circulars in London; on his suggestion, one was sent to the *New Statesman* and one to David Garnett. The twelve numbers of 1937 were duly brought out, but such were the worries they had caused Yeats that he thought of appointing F. R. Higgins managing director of the Cuala Press.⁶⁰

Looking back in 1938 he saw the *Broadsides* as a late fruit of the Irish Literary Revival in the eighteen-nineties: 'When our modern movement began it attempted not only dramatic literature but new popular songs.'⁶¹ The songs were never meant for the concert-platform: 'There were no accompaniments, for they were intended to be sung, as the country people

⁵⁶ *Wellesley*, p. 139 (19.II.37).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93 (1.VIII.36). The final version in *Collected Poems*, 1952, p. 349.

⁵⁸ Letter 13 (21.II.37); and to Dorothy Wellesley: 'The Parnell Ballad is on a theme which is here looked upon as ancient history. It no more rouses anti-English feelings than a poem upon the battle of Trafalgar rouses anti-French feelings.' *Wellesley*, p. 143 (26.II.37).

⁵⁹ *Wade*, p. 869 (30.XI.36).

⁶⁰ *Wellesley*, p. 162 (2.XI.37).

⁶¹ *On the Boiler*, Cuala, 1938, p. 35.

sing Gaelic words, mainly for the sake of the words.' This was not always understood by the musicians who provided the tunes for the Broad-sides nor by the singers who sang them 'more for their notes than their words'. He admitted his failure to have created popular songs in his own day, but he still hoped that the movement would eventually succeed. For the present,

the largest audience we think of is a dinner of the Irish Academy of Letters, some group of friends in a public house, or else some house-party like that which saw the first performance of Milton's 'Comus'. Those who listen must be few that the words may keep their natural intonation, and those few must share a knowledge of good literature, and sometimes, where the poem is Irish of Irish national tradition, no churl must be present.

(4) *The Poetry Broadcasts.*

When in need of helpers for the preparation of his poetry broadcasts, Yeats put more trust in F. R. Higgins and W. J. Turner, who were poets, than in musical advisers like George Barnes of the B.B.C. or, perhaps, even in Edmund Dulac who had, as composer and stage-designer, collaborated with him for many years. It was Turner he asked to find a substitute for Margot Ruddock, his chosen singer, when it appeared that she would not be available for the broadcast in March 1937. It was also to Turner that he expressed most strongly his lack of confidence in the B.B.C. experts.

12.

Feb. 2 [1937]

Riversdale.

My dear Turner,

If you did listen in you will have found what a fiasco my Dublin broadcast was. Great enthusiasm in the theatre, three curtains, etc., but in the broadcast every human sound turned into the grunt, roar, bellow of a wild beast. No more broadcasts of verse from the Abbey stage. Both my programmes will have to be done in London. I had hoped to send one from here; and I shall have to be content to suggest to the B.B.C. expert. He will have to take responsibility — damn his eyes for I am an ignoramus.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

13.

Feb. 21 [1937]

Riversdale.

My dear Turner,

I am just emerging from some kind of digestive attack which came on me just as I was recovering from Flu and have just begun to write letters again. I began a letter to you some time ago in some crevice between illnesses. It said that my wife had or would make out what I still owed you for the anthology poems (she will do so and this letter will enclose cheque).

I have received the January number of *Modern Mystic* and am writing for the February number as I assume 'music and dialectical materialism' is yours. Of *Modern Mystic* itself nothing good can be said except that it is no worse than other things of the kind. I curse the editor with a favourite curse of old Jack Nottleship's (John's father in law) 'I wish he were at the bottom of the Red Sea with a bandbox on his head' — and pass on. Your essay is eloquent and wise — The point that a man must know both good and evil is excellent

and worth developing. It is an argument against deliberate asceticism (except with a temporary object, like the training of an athlete) as well as against sentimentality. We must not reject what should be our pleasure to make luminous — this rejection at most creates an illusionary peace. Lust and rage

'Were not so great a plague when I was young.

'What else have I to spur me into song?

They have elected me to *The Athenaeum*. I shall probably stay there when I go to London — there is a famous library and other advantages, such as an annex in Carlton Gardens where I can have women to dine, it is near the Park where I can get the little exercise I require. You I hope will lunch or dine with me there. I shall be able to fix my date of getting there in two or three days now. — I shall probably get there about March 7 or 8th.

Margot Collis has got an engagement to play lead in a touring company. She starts on March 15, playing 'a courtisan who always has the bailiffs in'. She has decided to keep house again with her husband. 'I do this' she writes 'that his bailiffs may meet my bailiffs'. It rather upsets things about my B.B.C. plans. Can we replace her? Do you know of anybody? I thought if necessary that I could do the whole programme from here. But what I heard on my wireless-set while my Abbey Theatre arrangement of poems was being sung was like the roaring of beasts in the jungle. The arrangement had great success on the stage so I have not the least notion what went wrong. I do not know enough. The Abbey Board had sent my chief singer to the Dublin Broadcasting people to be tested and he had been praised with enthusiasm — so I feel helpless.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

Feb. 21

P.S.

I saw Higgins last night — the first time I have seen him since the broadcast. He says I mismanaged my wireless — got Athlone instead of Dublin, the right centre for local broadcasts — Athlone too powerful, that the Broadcast was not right but not as bad as it sounded to me. They got the singers up at the studio (microphones were wrongly placed at the Abbey), did it over again and got it quite right. A record has been made and I am to hear it on Wednesday morning. He showed me a letter from the leading Irish broadcasters praising. If I like it I shall ask Barnes to let me do *In a poet's garden* from here — where I have enthusiastic helpers.

Did you get your *Broadside* No. 1 — Dorothy Wellesley is upset about the Parnell ballad because of its hatred of England and I wrote it against 'The Bishops and the Party' the Irish Catholic Church and the Irish National Party and the rest was ancient history. God help me when she gets my Casement ballad — which has had a great effect here — letters from Shaw, Noyes etc., and interviews with members of the executive council impassioned leading articles etc.

Turner, who had been rehearsing in London the programmes 'In the Poets' Pub' and 'In the Poets' Parlour' with Hilda Matheson and George Barnes, asked for more instructions about the combination of music and poetry.⁶² He also wished to see the text of Yeats's B.B.C. National Lecture on Poetry of October 20, 1936, which was being reprinted. Yeats replied:

⁶² J. Hone, *W. B. Yeats*, p. 454.

14.

Riversdale.

(Postmark 27.II.37)

Feb. 27

My dear Turner,

The essay has not yet come in but I expect it every post.

The Dublin people have sent 'records' to George Barnes. These were not taken in the theatre but in the studio and are perfect. Try to hear them because they are a great instruction. They show, where the eye is not present, you must not change the mood abruptly. One change is too abrupt for instance, because you cannot see an actor put on his hat. The putting on of the hat prepared on the stage for the singing of the Parnell ballad. The actor changed his personality. One prepares for the mood in part by the musical notes played after a poem and between verses (the infectious clapping of hands after certain verses was disastrous). I think I shall want one of the performers as announcer and want him, or her, two or three times to prepare for change of thought. The intonations can be too much speech just as they can be too little speech. This comes out in the first song (which is better at the end). The Dublin show has too much singing — first song by James Stephens should be spoken not sung. I also want you to hear the 'records' because of the magnificent speaking of one poem by one Dublin actor.

My Casement poem, published in De Valera's paper, has caused great excitement here.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

George Barnes's account of Yeats's two broadcasts of March and April 1937, as quoted by J. Hone,⁶³ is full enough, but the two messages which Yeats addressed to Turner from the Athenaeum Club may help to fill in the picture of his short stay in London. He not only restored peaceful relations with Ottoline Morrell and was pardoned for his mentioning Turner's attack upon her in the *Oxford Book*, he also asked the B.B.C. to re-engage Margot Ruddock, who had given up her part in the touring company of actors, for the broadcast.

15.

The Athenaeum.

March 4 [1937]

My dear Turner,

Ottoline has made peace.

I would like to hear this woman singer and elocutionist of yours. I don't yet know what I want to do.

I am at present free on Tuesday and Wednesday evening — or afternoon. Is this too short notice?

Ring me up from Savile.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

16.

The Athenaeum.

March 16 [1937]

My dear Turner,

Margot is back up in London. Threw up her part in what seems to have been stage-fright.

I shall now want to use her if possible. Have asked Barnes for a rehearsal.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 455-457.

In June 1937, Yeats paid another visit to London to rehearse his programme 'My Own Poetry' which was to be broadcast on July 3. He announced his visit to Turner:

17.

Riversdale.

(Postmark 25.V.37)

May 24

My dear Turner,

I find I shall return to London about June 7 or 8. A certain event here, a deputation I have to meet may bring me back to Ireland sooner than I have intended. This is why I go sooner.

You said that your wife knew of certain service flats, bed-sitting room and bath I suppose, or something of that kind, which one could get for 35/— or 40/— a week for a short period. Would she be so kind to tell what she knows. If I send Dulac the address of such places he will inspect them for me, and perhaps hire one for me before I arrive; or tell me at what to look when I do arrive. I am sorry to give so much trouble. I want to be more in London and to do that must somewhat reduce my expenses when there.

I have had a number of *Broadsides* sent to you. At an Academy dinner on May 26 some of the ballads will be sung.

Yours always,

W. B. Yeats

Turner's answer being delayed, Yeats wrote to Edmund Dulac directly and sent him a provisional list of poems for the broadcast.⁶⁴ He wanted Margot Ruddock to sing 'The Curse of Cromwell' and 'Mad as the Mist and Snow' for which Dulac was to provide the music.

That Yeats did not see eye to eye with Dulac on the question of the union of poetry with music appears from the letter of June 3, 1937, quoted by J. Hone.⁶⁵ In the course of the rehearsals in London their disagreement came to a head and, although a compromise was reached, Yeats now looked to Turner as to a musical expert *and* poet for advice and support:

18.

Penns in the Rocks.

Saturday

My dear Turner,

My first quarrel with Dulac was about those harp notes behind 'Mist and Snow' and 'The Curse of Cromwell' — I could not rehearse Margot with that equal measuring out of her voice (However my wife who never liked Margot before found her 'quite lovely'). My second quarrel was about his singing wench. I wanted to give the two songs to Clinton Badly [*i.e.* Baddeley].

I am getting, and shall get great wisdom from you, much light in my chilly obsession.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

As there is a 10 on the postmark, the letter is probably dated July 10, 1937; we know that Yeats spent a few days during the first half of

⁶⁴ Wade, p. 890 (27.V.37).

⁶⁵ J. Hone, *W. B. Yeats*, p. 458.

July at Penns.⁶⁶ His letter to Dorothy Wellesley of June 27 refers to the same incident: '...has had violent scenes about his music, but you will find it interesting, and the speaker the best yet.'⁶⁷

Yeats handed over to Turner the typed notes and a letter dated July 16, 1937, he had received from Dulac. These documents, together with a letter dated November 26, 1938, in which Dulac summed up for Turner the causes of his disagreement with Yeats, have been preserved among Turner's private papers. It is therefore possible not only to rectify some of the errors in the current account of the quarrel, but also to present Dulac's point of view.

Yeats's letter to Dulac dated by Allan Wade '*Thursday* [? July 1937]' should precede, not, as it does in his edition of the *Letters*, follow upon that dated July 15.⁶⁸ Once we replace those two letters in their chronological order, the sequence of the extant and the missing pieces in the correspondence arising from the quarrel can be reconstructed as follows.

After dismissing Olive Groves, whom Dulac and Barnes had asked to sing the poems, Yeats sent his wife the music composed by Dulac and told her of his own preference for Margot Ruddock as a singer. She replied that she approved of his choice and, though she had not yet heard the music, preferred a 'folk' setting to that arranged by Dulac. Yeats communicated her reply to Dulac who then wrote to Yeats that he doubted whether she really meant what she said. Yeats's letter dated '*Thursday* [? July 1937]' obviously answers the doubts expressed by Dulac. It also contains Yeats's proposal 'for the theme of our public discussion — modern music and singing. There we have a real difference and in this will rouse much interest and passion.'

Dulac's rejoinder consisted in a short letter (not extant), enclosing some typed notes (extant) in which he explained why, in his opinion, modern poetry could not be combined with modern music. He saw only one possibility:

If one is to revive the association it is the music that must give way. It must — pending further developments — be an accompaniment pure and simple and at no time, even in songs must the melodic line assume a quality of its own that would necessitate the use of more than a few notes. That is what I humbly tried to do and that you mistook for *organised* music.

Yeats answered on July 15, thanking Dulac for the typed notes and assuring him that he had never accused him of writing 'organised music' or questioned his music 'in any way'.⁶⁹ All he had questioned was 'a method of singing it'. The best method was that employed by 'a singer trained in a theatre'. Yeats continues: 'You say that poetry cannot be changed but all my life I have tried to change it' by the endeavour 'to

⁶⁶ Wellesley, p. 155.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Wade, pp. 892-893.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 892 (15.VII.37).

get rid of modern subjectivity by insisting on construction and contemporary words and syntax'.

Dulac begins his reply, which is dated July 16, 1937, by saying, 'A few more efforts and I think we will get all this business right.' He does not know when or where he said 'that poetry could not change'. As to music,

The only firm conviction I hold about the singing of poetry is that it must be *modal* and not *tonal*. I can give reasons for this. The modern musician thinks *naturally* of a tune in a key. There are very few musicians today who can get into the modal mood. Even in Ireland they may use what you call the 'gapped' scale but they produce with it *tonal* melodies. Duff's music for the Broad-sides is entirely *tonal*.

In defence of harp accompaniments, he says that a modern audience, when listening to an unaccompanied tune,

will hear in their heads the tonal harmonies they are used to. The result is that if one gives anybody but an *accomplished* musician singer a modal tune to sing he will drop into a tonal turn at the first opportunity [...] The accompaniment in the case of a song is one of the means of fixing the modal character. I feel its presence *to be essential*.

Having thus explained the 'first quarrel' which was about 'those harp notes' behind the singing to which Yeats had objected, Dulac turned to the 'second quarrel' which had originated in the abrupt dismissal by Yeats of Miss Olive Groves.

Now, had you not flown into a passion, had I had proper time to rehearse the music, had you not, on principle, hated the idea of a trained singer, we could have had an hour's rehearsal — using piano pending arrival of harp — and Miss Groves could have first gone over the lines with you without music. Had Miss Groves or any other trained musician been present from the start I would have undertaken to make her do the thing perfectly [...] You wanted to get rid of her after she had sung her song *once*, when on the other hand, you had spent hours patiently rehearsing Margot's one recitation knowing all the time that on the night of the performance she would do whatever happened to come into her head. You cannot possibly 'question a method of singing' that has not even been tried.

Dulac, whose opinion was shared by George Barnes,⁷⁰ defended his point of view also against Turner who, though admitting that Yeats was wrong in trying to revive the ancient Irish tradition of singing poetry, yet believed in the continued possibility of the spontaneous creation of folk song. Dulac, on the other hand, doubted the validity of such creative improvisation, for⁷¹

the question of the esthetic value of the improvisation remains [...] Yeats believes that anything in that line done by an untutored amateur is nearer the bardic ballyhoo than what an intelligent musician could ever produce. He has, generally, the ninetyish prejudice in favour of the 'home-made' article. So far as I am concerned the efforts it has been my misfortune to have to listen to have been of the arty-crafty variety or terribly commonplace. At any rate one cannot base a system of poetry-chanting such as W.B. contemplates on amateurish improvisation. Uncontrolled art is not art.

⁷⁰ J. Hone, *W. B. Yeats*, p. 457.

⁷¹ Letter dated November 26, 1938.

Perhaps the most revealing single passage in the letters published here for the first time is Yeats's appeal to Turner: 'I am getting, and shall get great wisdom from you, much light in my chilly obsession.'⁷² To call the main preoccupation of his last ten years an obsession amounts to an admission of defeat. Reason and experience taught him that the ancient union of poetry and music could not be restored. The spectacular success of the *Oxford Book* had not dislodged 'the Ezra, Eliot, Auden school' in the public's favour nor had it created a new movement in English poetry. The *Broadsides* and the poetry broadcasts presented technical difficulties which the poet finally despaired of solving. There was every reason why he should think he was the victim of a fixed idea.

The phrase implies, however, also an act of heroic defiance. The chilly obsession, pursued against powerful odds and with the foreknowledge of defeat, came from the conviction that its imaginary goal was the only thing worth living for. The same attitude of proud renunciation of all that lies outside the chosen ideal is expressed by the words Yeats wanted to be carved on his tombstone: 'Cast a cold eye / On life, on death. / Horseman, pass by.' Neither Turner nor anyone else could have given him the light to show the way to his impossible aim.

Geneva.

H. W. HÄUSERMANN.

Notes and News

Some Comments on Professor Visser's Notes on the Middle English Dictionary

Professor F. Th. Visser's notes on the *Middle English Dictionary* in *English Studies* XL, 1-10 (1959) are most welcome, since they give me an opportunity to comment on some aspects of our editing plan that may not be generally understood.

First of all, Scottish texts are reserved for Sir William A. Craigie's *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, which started publication fifteen years before the *MED* began to appear in print. This is common knowledge in the United States and in Great Britain. Information on this point is available in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1925 (pp. 5-11) and 1937 (pp. 53-62), and in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XLII, pp. xl-xlii (1927). In the *Plan and Bibliography* (1954), p. ix, of the *MED* I refer to Sir William Craigie's papers in the *TPS* mentioned above.

⁷² Letter 18.

Professor Visser observes (p. 8) that the titles of Scottish texts are omitted from the *Bibliography* of the *MED*. This observation alone might have suggested to him that this omission is deliberate. To be sure, we include occasionally a Scottish quotation instead of referring to Craigie's Scottish Dictionary, when such evidence for rarely attested Northern words seems helpful.

Readers of *English Studies* presumably know that the Scottish words and quotations listed by Visser on pp. 1-7 are amply documented in Craigie's dictionary.

Of the few words listed by Professor Visser that come from non-Scottish texts (pp. 6-7), *astrapotent*, *auremgates*, and *blasteren* occur in MSS that appear to be later than 1475 (our deadline); *arkses* is an editor's error (see *MED* under *aske*); the variants *arvyst gos* and *enþer* should have been entered with cross reference to *hervest* and *ender*; and *for mat* will be treated under *mat*, as it should be. Three words in his list are welcome additions to our stock of quotations: *agagement*, *ale-scot*, and *fore-writing* (*MED* has *fore-writen* and *fore-writere*).

Of the twelve divergent interpretations of words and constructions offered pp. 8-9, four (*beli-pipe*, *biquethen*, *bitwixe*, *fleme*) are certainly right, and therefore welcome. The remaining eight are not justified.

We are most grateful to Professor Visser for the list of misprints given pp. 9-10. Such oversights are regrettable, especially the omission of the definition of *bisten*, which should read: 'to beat (sb.), flog'. However, there is some consolation in the fact that a careful reader like Professor Visser could detect only 20 errors in more than 2,000 pages containing well over two million words.

University of Michigan.

HANS KURATH, Editor
Middle English Dictionary.

There is, no doubt, every reason to thank Professor Hans Kurath for his information that Middle English words occurring in the dialects of the northmost part of the British Isles are reserved for the D.O.S.T. It will prevent numerous users of the M.E.D. outside the United States and the United Kingdom (where everybody appears to have read and to remember the above mentioned articles in *TPS* and *PMLA*), who do not find an explicit statement to this effect in the *PLAN*, where one might expect it, who come across quotations from Barbour's *Bruce* in the body of the M.E.D. (s.v. *forci*, *embandounen*, *enforce*), and who see that the *BIBLIOGRAPHY* contains such title stencils as 'Jas. I, *The kingis quair*' and '*Susan, Scottish alliterative poems*', from getting the impression that the omission of Scottish words is not deliberate.

As to the remark that *astrapotent*, *auremgates* and *blasteren* occur in MSS that appear to be later than 1475, it may be observed that in the

BIBLIOGRAPHY numerous works are listed whose manuscript dates (i.e. not the composition dates) are 1500 and occasionally even later.

As to the word *arkse*, without proper reference the reader can hardly be expected to guess that it is discussed under *aske*.

That *for mat* (= 'tired out'; in: *He ... leyd hym doun ... So weyk, so wery forwandryd and for mat*) 'should' be treated under *mat* is not so easy to understand, since such words as *forirked*, *forprest*, *forpuld*, *forroste*, *forthirst*, *fortired*, *forwake(d)*, *forweri* are all listed in the F section, even when spelt by the editors in two words with or without hyphen.

With regard to Professor Kurath's verdict that some of my divergent interpretations are not justified, I regret the non-existence of a Linguistic Court of Appeal.

I welcome this opportunity to declare that I am second to none in my valuation of the M.E.D. as a brilliant piece of linguistic work, and in my admiration for the unselfish and devoted labour of the Editor and his staff. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that my notes were not written in a spirit of captiousness.

Nijmegen.

F. TH. VISSER.

English Actors in the Netherlands 1600—1610

The following notes are put forward as an addendum to J. G. Riewald's article entitled 'New Light on the English Actors in the Netherlands, c. 1590—c. 1660', which appeared in the issue of *English Studies* for April, 1960.¹

I

In 1938² Professor A. H. Dodd reprinted in full a spy's report of 1604 from the Marquess of Salisbury's manuscripts at Hatfield.³ The writer was an adventurer named Thomas Allyson and his report, written in the July or August, deals with information he had acquired in Brussels and Lille. It was clearly prepared after his return to England. One paragraph⁴ is relevant here:

There is one Hassett als. Hashett a vawltier who haveinge bene lately beyonde the Seas, kept in the company of one Browne Grene & Leadbeater and other Englishemen players

¹ *English Studies*, XLI, pp. 65-92.

² *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, IX, pp. 154 ff.

³ The report is very briefly calendared in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury MSS*, XVI, p. 457.

⁴ Dodd, *loc. cit.*, at p. 167. I am grateful to the University of Wales Press Board, for permission to reproduce the paragraph.

that goe up and downe the Contry. a lyttle before his comeinge from them, he tolde those three, that either he was to have or should have procured for hym to have the teachinge of the yonge Prynce⁵ to vawlte, and then the whole hope of Englande should lye in his hands and at his pleasure to breake the neck of him wth a tryck and it was no great matter. for he was broughte up accordinge to his ffathers religion of whome there was no hope for him to become a Catholick, and suche a peece of fortune w^{ch} mighte be as it weare by a mischaunce would desve⁶ to be well rewarded, and ev^{rye} man must rayse his owne fortunes and soe would he, all this, Browne and the rest did saye they would sweare and wyttnes againste him, and Browne himselfe comes into England at Shrovetide⁷ whoe will brynge wth him and his fellowes Lfes of affirmation of this matter, and himselfe will sweare yt. he hath a faire howse beyonde Shoresdytche Church & is welthy. this in ieste.

Though it is hardly possible to say definitely that Allyson met the players at Lille, the passage certainly supports Riewald's conjecture⁸ that the unnamed English actors who played there in the first half of 1604 were Browne's company, and Hoppe's conjecture⁹ that it was the same company which played at Ghent in the week of Mid-Lent, 1604.

It seems surprising that the recusant Hassett should have communicated his treasonable thoughts to the English actors, unless he had some reason to think that some or all of them were men of Catholic sympathies. It has, indeed, been suggested¹⁰ that when ultimately Browne and Green ceased to act together the rupture was due to 'a difference over matters of religion, Green's sympathies being Roman Catholic, Browne's Protestant'. The passage quoted from Allyson's report is, it will be seen, consistent with this suggestion. If the last line of the quotation refers to Browne, whose family is known¹¹ to have been living in Shoreditch, like so many other theatrical folk, in 1593, Allyson seems to make it clear that Browne was not a man of substance, though he may have given himself airs.

II

Riewald does not notice the evidence brought forward by Hoppe¹² on the presence of an English acting company in the Spanish Netherlands in 1609. Hoppe refers in this connection to a letter of 16th November, 1609,¹³ from John Beaulieu to William Trumbull, the English Agent in Brussels, regarding a youth who had been 'debauched' from his master, Lord Denny, in England by 'certain players' and was then with them in Brussels. This letter is, however, not the only one dealing with this matter among the Downshire Papers, and the next enables us to identify the

⁵ Henry, Prince of Wales.

⁶ I.e. 'deserve'.

⁷ Professor Dodd points out that this means Shrovetide, 1605.

⁸ *English Studies*, loc. cit., at p. 74.

⁹ *R.E.S.*, XXV, p. 309.

¹⁰ Massinger: *The Grand Duke of Florence*, ed. Johanne M. Stockholm (Baltimore, 1933), p. xxi. See also p. xxiii.

¹¹ *English Studies*, loc. cit., p. 71.

¹² *R.E.S.*, N.S. VI, p. 27.

¹³ The letter is cited from *H.M.C., Marquess of Downshire's MSS.*, II, p. 187.

company involved. Beaulieu had said in his letter of November: 'If you can find him, he' (i.e. Lord Denny) 'requests you to charge or persuade him to return'; but for two months nothing seems to have happened. On 31st January, 1609/10 Beaulieu wrote again:¹⁴

My Lord Deny, affecting the recovery of a body of his called William Lee, hath solicited my Lord¹⁵ that this matter be referred to you, fearing that Greene, the player, with whom the boy was, is come back to Antwerp, and the boy being unwilling to come back for fear of punishment, you may assure him that he may safely return.

On receipt of the second of these letters Trumbull took action (possibly because, as Sir Thomas Edmondes had been made aware of the facts, he could no longer not do so). By this time Green was in Antwerp and Trumbull wrote to Lionel Wake, a prominent merchant there with whom he maintained contact. On the 24th February Wake replied:¹⁶

I wrote you answer of your letter unto me of the 19th by Mr. Brownelow nothing doubting that Mr. Green will keep promise and be with you upon Friday, for this is their last play¹⁷ which they must play here until Lent be past.

On 8th March, Beaulieu writes once more:¹⁸

I hope to hear what you had done with Green the player and about W. Lee. I forebore to go to Lord Deny upon so slight an errand as Mr. Wake's letter did bear,¹⁹ but now I will out of hand repair to my Lord Deny and tell him your endeavours.

That unfortunately is as far as the documents take us; we do not know whether or not Green was induced to part with William Lee, but perhaps Lee did return to Lord Denny, for he does not seem to be heard of otherwise as an actor.

It is interesting to note that whereas in 1611 the Bishop of Ghent protested, apparently without avail,²⁰ against the presentation of plays in Lent, in Antwerp it was already accepted in 1610 that dramatic shows must cease during that season. The correspondence also makes it clear that the companies of English actors on the Continent maintained contact with their own country; just as Browne meant to be in England at Shrovetide, 1605, so, clearly, Green had 'been home' at some time in 1609.²¹

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¹⁴ *H.M.C., Downshire*, II, p. 227.

¹⁵ Sir Thomas Edmondes, formerly British Ambassador in Brussels. Beaulieu was a member of his staff, and Trumbull had been too, until he took over from him (with the title of Agent only) the position of English representative in Brussels.

¹⁶ *H.M.C., Downshire*, II, pp. 239-40.

¹⁷ This word is given as 'pay' in the original; the change is necessary (cf. *H.M.C., Downshire*, loc. cit.)

¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 261.

¹⁹ Perhaps Trumbull had sent Beaulieu the letter which 'Mr. Brownelow' had brought him from Wake.

²⁰ Hoppe in *R.E.S.*, XXV, pp. 310-11.

²¹ Which makes it difficult to believe that Green was an out-and-out Papist.

An Unnoticed Latin Poem by Thomas Randolph, 1633

The funeral publication on the death in 1632 of Landgrave Maurice the Learned of Hesse-Cassel, *Mausoleum Mauritianum* (Cassel 1635-40, three parts; British Museum press-mark 143. f. 17) contains in Part II at page 162 (second series of pagination) a poem by Thomas Randolph which is not included in the editions of his poems by Hazlitt (1875) and J. J. Parry (1917) and has escaped the notice of S. A. and D. R. Tannenbaum in their bibliography of Randolph (*Elizabethan Bibliographies*, 38, New York 1947).

It consists of 60 Latin hexameters, and is without title. First line: *Mirabar quid Romae aquilas attollere virtus*; last line *Ales odorato reparat sua secula busto*. They are signed *Thomas Randolphus Cantabrigiensis*. Randolph's friend James Duport of Trinity College Cambridge also contributed four Latin epicedia to the same volume (Part II, p. 159 ff, second series of pagination).

Mausoleum Mauritianum contains epicedia from all over the Reformed world, from Scotland to Hungary, in a variety of languages (including English, Spanish, Czech and Hungarian). The English contributions were obtained through the good offices of Sir Thomas Roe, to whom John Dury wrote on 7/17 February 1633 enclosing a letter from one of the divines of Cassel soliciting contributions from English universities (Gunnar Westin, *Negotiations about Church Unity*, Uppsala 1932, p. 237). Roe was active in this matter, and the circumstance that the volume contains no less than thirty contributions from Oxford and Cambridge — the largest contingent from any country — can surely be ascribed to his efforts; the Cambridge contributions are headed by some Latin verses by Roe himself. Professor G. H. Turnbull kindly informs me that among the Hartlib papers in the possession of Lord Delamere there are five letters from Roe to Hartlib dealing with despatch of epicedia from Cambridge and Oxford, dated June—September 1633. On September 14 he writes: 'I have sent you enclosed 15 papers of verses from Cambridge'. Randolph's were presumably among them.

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General Index I-XL. After some delay, caused mainly by illness at the printing-office, the General Index to Volumes I to XL is now ready. It has been compiled by Dr J. Gerritsen and A. C. Wedema, while Mr P. A. Erades has himself prepared an Index to his Points of Modern English Syntax. The classification is based on that of the Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature published by the Modern Humanities Research Association. Articles and Reviews are listed separately, and there is an alphabetical index of names. For further particulars readers are referred to the announcement on the back of this number.

An Introduction to Old English. By G. L. BROOK, Manchester University Press. 1955. 138 pp. Price 10/6.

An Old English Grammar. By RANDOLPH QUIRK and C. L. WRENN. (Methuen's Old English Library.) London: Methuen. 1958. Second edition. x + 166 pp. Price 9/6.

D. Whitelock, in her excellent survey of present Anglo-Saxon studies,¹ sums up the contents of her lecture by declaring: 'Anglo-Saxon studies are very much alive today; and the Anglo-Saxons are worth study. They produced a vernacular literature centuries before most modern races of Europe. Their civilisation is of more than local interest.' Unfortunately, so it seems to me, one aspect is wanting in that lecture i.e. there is no mention made of recent grammatical studies in Old English and especially of such as open the gate to Anglo-Saxon civilisation and are typically represented by the two Old English grammars under review.

Both grammars are relatively short introductions, yet they differ partly in their primary intentions, partly in their plans and methodical peculiarities.

Brook's *Introduction*, intended for the philological student, follows the traditional lines and reminds one of Sweet's *Primer*, from which it differs by a rather extensive Phonology treating the most important sound-changes from the Germanic basis down to late Old English. This survey is clearly arranged and certainly not too difficult for the philological beginner. A few remarks: § 21 instead of **panhta* etc. forms with the velar nasal **panhta* should be given; § 39 *i*-epenthesis might be mentioned in explanation of front-mutation; § 54 Anglian 'smoothing' is certainly *not* palatalization (cf. Luick § 241); § 83 because of its importance might be extended by more examples; § 100 should be corrected according to Luick § 683.

The central part (Accidence, chapt. IV-VII) gives the traditional sequence of the parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adverbs, verbs), lucid lists of their inflectional types, as far as necessary in E. West Saxon speech-form. As to forms divergent from the chief type it would be better to quote the respective instances, e.g. in note 1 (p. 35) instead of *dæg*, *fæt* to put *dagas*, *fatu*. The transition of *hæle* 'hero' to the *n*-declension (§ 144, n. 2) cannot be verified. The explanation of the different forms of *sēon* ought to be expanded. In § 190 the form *gieng* might be cancelled.

Syntax (chapt. VIII) presents a succinct selection of instances from nominal and verbal syntax; the author is well-advised to give the examples within the respective speech context.

The five West Saxon texts with appended notes and glossary make this grammar a self-contained little handbook; the texts are *not* normalized (as they are in Sweet's *Primer*), which seems to me an advantage because the student becomes at once acquainted with certain inconsistencies in scribal spellings.

¹ *Changing Currents in Anglo-Saxon Studies*, An Inaugural Lecture by D. Whitelock. 1958, Cambridge Univ. Press. p. 25f. (See Brief Mention, Febr. 1960.)

Quirk and Wrenn's *Old English Grammar* is an original attempt to satisfy the needs of the literary, not of the philological student and to present the Old English material first of all in a descriptive way. In this respect this grammar is not absolutely consistent, the authors being well-known philologists and not being able to exclude altogether philological and historical aspects from their exposition of OE problems. Thus the chapters I and V, the introduction (§§ 1-6) and the phonology, are of philological and genetic interest; the centre of the book, chapt. III-IV (inflexions, word formation and syntax), is first of all descriptive. Two points are of special importance: the authors choose late OE 'Standard' (what Wrenn calls 'Classical' OE or the Ælfric-type) as the basis for their descriptive patterns; they avoid all *ȝe*-forms in favour of 'unstable' *i*. This standpoint is justified when looking at the most important literary remains of the OE era. The second point is an attempt at a new descriptive terminology and a partial deviation from the usual and traditional classification and arrangement of the inflexional types. Thus the time-honoured noun classes (the *-o*, *-jo*, *-ā*, *-jā* stems etc.) disappear and give way to four main noun groups distinguished by their gen. sing. and nom. plur. endings. From the descriptive aspect such a proceeding is certainly unobjectionable. The necessity of changing the terminology with the adjectives and the verbs seems to me less convincing. The terms 'strong', 'weak' are of such old standing and so familiar that they appear still everywhere in Germanic studies. I do not question the suitability of 'indefinite' and 'definitive' as functional names for the 'strong' and 'weak' adjectives and the purely formal notation 'vocalic' and 'consonantal' for the 'strong' and 'weak' verbs, yet the student who will certainly sometimes look up other textbooks might find some difficulties in orientating himself.

A few additional remarks may not be out of place. § 15: in all probability the short OE vowels were closed (because when lengthened the result was the close long type, cf. *feld* - *fēld*). §§ 17 and 23: I should prefer the phonetic value of [jēər] in *gēardazas*. §§ 51/52: though the terms 'short-stemmed' and 'long-stemmed' seem to be usual they are nevertheless misleading; not the stem as such is long or short, but the first syllable in dissyllabic forms.

The chapter on Syntax is excellent and rather comprehensive; the authors do very well in not forcing semantic definitions (cf. the 'cases') and in demonstrating semantic variations by practical examples. In this respect even more might have been done, e.g. instead of the long list of verbs taking the dative (§ 107) some complete sentences would have been more impressive. Not quite usual is the terminological difference made (§§ 117, 120a, 121bc) between *demonstratives* (= adjectival) and *pronouns* (= substantival or 'substitute'). Concerning verbal syntax there seems to be a confusion under 'aspect' (§§ 129, 130, 168, 170) of 'Aktionsart' and 'Aspekt', a problem for which I may refer to my review of Visser's *More*

Syntax (*Engl. Studies* XXXV p. 35f; 1955). We have not yet fixed our terminology in this point.

As to Wordorder (§§ 137-48) it would be recommendable to distinguish between 'group'- and 'sentence'-wordorder, and, as far as the latter is concerned, to differentiate between inverted (VS) and direct (S...V) order whose subclasses again are final (S...V), medial (S...V...) and contact (SV...) order.

It was certainly a good idea to include a rather full chapter on Word-formation. Composition and derivation make up the living formative classes, but I am not quite sure whether the 'Ablaut' types in § 161 should have been included as they were certainly no longer productive in late OE.

The last chapter, 'Phonology', seems to me to need some reconsideration for a future edition. Thus I should recommend to put the paragraphs (§§ 200 ff) treating of major OE sound-changes before OE minor sound-changes (§§ 186 ff) so as to maintain chronological order. Concerning some details: after § 182 the insertion of a paragraph on the vowel changes from IE to Gmc might be useful. As to the West Germanic consonantal gemination (§ 184) I cannot agree with the authors in explaining the process as consonant lengthening; I refer to Sievers, *Phonetik* § 560; Dieth, *Phonetik* § 505.

All my critical remarks are of minor order and do not lessen the value of the two books under review. Each will take its place according to different requirements and interests; each can be warmly recommended as a practical help in the study of Old English.

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Deonise Hid Diuinite and other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer related to the Cloud of Unknowing. Edited by PHYLLIS HODGSON. (Early English Text Society 231.) London: Oxford University Press, 1955 (for 1949). lvii + 158 pp. 30/-.

This volume, following *The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling* published by the E.E.T.S. in 1944, completes the most important contribution to Middle English prose studies for a good many years. The major prose of the fourteenth century has lagged strangely behind the poetry in receiving careful editing, and Professor Hodgson's two volumes of the foremost writings give a strong thrust forward. Three of the five texts edited here had been available in modernized form only in J. E. G. Gardner's scarce *Cell of Self Knowledge* (London 1910), and none of them had received much scholarly notice. The remarkable *Epistle of Prayer*, in particular, deserves to be as widely known as the *Cloud* and *Privy Counselling*.

These treatises have been printed from the same MS as the *Cloud* (B. M. Harley 674), with modern capitalization and punctuation. A great improvement in the appearance of this second volume is that the page is not defaced by a scatter of italic type representing MS abbreviations, and that the odd distinction between & (= And, and) and & (= ampersand) has been dropped. Indeed, since the ampersand is the *only* MS abbreviation to be noticed in this edition, surely this too could be dropped in future E.E.T.S. volumes? It looks strange at the beginning of a sentence (13/15, 39/1, 40/8) and especially at the beginning of a paragraph (55/19).

The introduction and other apparatus have sound and thorough qualities which are very little affected by severe limitation of space (material in the *Cloud* edition which could serve both volumes, such as some MS descriptions and the linguistic discussion of Harley 674, has not been repeated). The notes are well chosen and useful (e.g. the note to *singuler leuyng* (67/24) and *pointe* (72/10)). Restriction in the glossary can be felt however: it would have been welcome if space had been given to some of the lexical variants with strong MS support, such as *fagyng* (38/15). An ample glossary is one of the most valuable features an edition can have. Yet restriction at some points enables the edition to be unusually strong and full at others. The descriptions of MSS are particularly detailed and interesting. They are intended not only to give some idea of the format and appearance of the text, but also 'to indicate with which works these pieces were commonly associated, and to show what evidence there is of the kind of people for whom they were transcribed and among whom they circulated' (p.x.). Acknowledgments in the preface, as well as acknowledgments in other recent editions¹ show the association of Mr. A. I. Doyle with these interesting advances in the study of Middle English manuscripts.

A second unusually generous section considers the style of the seven treatises in both volumes. The study is chiefly analytical, illustrating balanced sentence structure, patterns of alliteration, imagery and certain devices of repetition and word-play mentioned in medieval textbooks of rhetoric. Possibly it will become the custom for editions of Latin² and vernacular prose texts to include an analysis of style in terms of rhetorical categories, and this possibility touches questions of a general nature. In recent years medieval taste for certain manners and mannerisms in writing has received studies varying in scope from one author's use³ to a stimulating survey from Virgil to the seventeenth century.⁴ The popularity of word-

¹ E.g. Richard Lavynham's *A Litil Tretys*, ed. J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (Rome 1956), and *The Chastising of God's Children*, ed. J. Bazire and E. Colledge (Oxford: Blackwell 1957).

² For a good Latin example see *Ives, 'Épître à Séverin sur la Charité', Richard de Saint-Victor 'Les Quatre Degrés de la Violente Charité'*, ed. G. Dumeige (Paris 1955).

³ D. Everett, 'Some reflections on Chaucer's "Art Poetical"', *P.B.A.* 36 (1950) pp. 135-8.

⁴ E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (trans. W. R. Trask, London 1953), pp. 274 ff. (*Rhetoric and Mannerism*).

play and other devices has been attributed partly to the influence of classical teaching on the ornaments of style and various medieval treatises on the technique of composition. Certainly these details are worth some attention, and tact and individuality in their execution have not been ignored, yet it sometimes seems that the very naming of *repetitio*, *conversio*, *adnominatio* and the rest has given them too much prominence in specific texts, and drawn attention from more subtle but 'unlisted' powers of expression; that they have been hunted out chiefly at the prompting of a list,⁵ and that their names have been found more interesting than their effect. The only formulated 'doctrine' that has reached us often seems shallow, dealing with mechanical points which were trivial beside the co-existing achievements in literature. In this edition, when the formidable name *Complexio* (*Exoche*, *Ploche*) is conferred on phrasing such as 'bis is chaste loue. bis is parfite loue' (55/13), it may be that there is the feel of a hunt, list in hand, but this is difficult to avoid if the textbook categories are used at all. Professor Hodgson's discussion, however, goes far beyond a mere list of names. It does much to adjust the emphasis and enlarge the scope of this kind of study, and had she been permitted more space, it would have done still more. She mentions, for instance, how certain repetitions 'point the thought, or enliven it by giving a subtle twist to the subject', and how they can make for irony and paradox (pp. lii-iii). Most of the examples are convincing, though occasionally it is doubtful whether we have art or accident.

The discussion of antithesis and balanced sentence structure, where 'full analysis... is impracticable' (p. xlviii) raises other problems of method. A strictly technical analysis of prose style which is at the same time valuable as criticism (such as M. W. Croll's fine study in *The Baroque Style in Prose*⁶) is rare, yet parts of Professor Hodgson's article in *M.L.R.* L (1955) suggest that this will still be given to the fourteenth century prose on which she is an authority. But here tabulation like this makes difficult reading:

Preposition + Noun — do.

Article or Demonstrative or Possessive Adjective + Noun — do.

Adjective(s) + Noun — do.

and so on for eleven more types (p. xlix). This is not easily compatible with a true observation that the prose leaves 'an impression... of subtle movement' (p. xlvii). Wouldn't the quotation of one well chosen paragraph do more, without taking more space?

The usual kind of section on language is extended in a welcome way by a discussion of vocabulary (pp. xxx-xxxiv). It contains interesting material, but, taken as a whole, this section is weaker than others. As

⁵ Articles such as F. Teager, 'Chaucer's Eagle and the Rhetorical Colours', *P.M.L.A.* 47 (1932) and (more important) H. Kökeritz, 'Rhetorical Word-Play in Chaucer', *P.M.L.A.* 68 (1954), make valuable points, but they do leave an impression of straining to find instances.

⁶ *Studies in English Philology* in honor of Frederick Klaeber (Minneapolis 1929).

the editing of other Middle English texts and the compiling of the *Ann Arbor Middle English Dictionary* progress, much of Professor Hodgson's material on earliest use of forms and meanings is likely to be modified. On pp. xxxi-ii there is a list of words for which (it is suggested) 'the author might well have been indebted' to earlier fourteenth century devotional works, such as the writings of Richard Rolle and Robert Mannyng, the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Pricke of Conscience* and even the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*. It seems needless to look to religious literary tradition for words current in many kinds of fourteenth century writings, words such as *liking*, *under colour of*, *febyl(nes)*, *freel*, *homly(nes)* and *jangelynge*. In a small number of cases the O.E.D. citations attributed to Rolle belong to Walter Hilton (*frensye* and *illuminede* from *Angel's Song*, *discrete(ly)* and *compassion* from *Mixed Life*). It is easy to see that *ymaginacioun* appears in later fourteenth century English, but this seems the only point of significance about its occurrence in the *Ayenbite* and the *Cloud* group. Some Latin and French words were probably adopted independently time and again before becoming current in English. It is very difficult to perceive any 'particular Wycliffite sense' (p. xxxi) in *ordinaunce* (= practice enjoined), *vnderstondynges* (= faculties of understanding), and quite impossible in the common ME sense 'surpasses' for *passeþ* (cf. *Ancrene Riwe*, *Harley Lyrics*, *Gawain* etc.). On p. xxxiv Professor Hodgson mentions cautiously that 'one may not, of course, assess the originality of the vocabulary of these treatises while relatively so little is yet known about the current usage of words at the end of the fourteenth century', yet even present knowledge shows that the discussion leans too heavily on the O.E.D. It is puzzling when any scholar foregoes the advantages of his own wide reading, but this discussion of vocabulary fills only 4 in 122 pages of most valuable supporting apparatus, and any shortcomings it may have cannot detract from the fine editorial achievement of the whole.

The word 'Wycliffite', which is used several times in the discussion of vocabulary, demands attention. In the *Cloud* volume (p. lxxxv) Professor Hodgson drew attention to a parallel ('the exact significance of which is doubtful') in the phrasing of the later Wycliffite version of Proverbs iii 23 'Thanne thou schalt go tristili in thi weie; and thi foot schal not snapere' and the phrasing of *Privy Counselling* 146/25 ff.: 'þen schalt þou goo tristely groundid in grace, þe gide of þi goostly wey ... and þe fote of þi loue schal not sporne... þen schal þe fote of þi loue neiþer snapir ne sporne'. In this edition of the five shorter treatises Professor Hodgson remarks that the number of words in them for which the first O.E.D. reference is from works attributed to Wyclif, or the 1382 version of the Bible, 'is arresting'; she also points to other resemblances in vocabulary 'coloured by the same associations' or where the 'Wycliffite context is very appropriate to the text of these treatises' (pp. xxx-xxxi). Beyond a tentative suggestion that the *Privy Counselling* passage might help to throw light on its date of composition (*Cloud* p. lxxxv), there is no comment

on the possible implications of all these points. In spite of Professor Hodgson's cautious reserve these points might lead the reader to ask 'Can the *Cloud* author have known the Lollard translations?'. It would be of the greatest interest if future work suggested any probability that he did, but at the present time there is place for other queries too: 'Would one not expect to find a number of resemblances of vocabulary in religious works written in the same half-century, and perhaps often in the same area of England? Also, since it is to be expected that contemporary rendering and echoes of the Vulgate should sometimes coincide in vocabulary, would it not be better to speak of 'Biblical' rather than of 'Wycliffite' contexts?' For example, Ps. 90 (early version) 'fro þe *inrennyng* and the midday deuel' is included among the 'Wycliffite contexts' on p. xxxi, and mentioned as the only reference in O.E.D. before the nineteenth century for this translation of Latin *incursus*. *Inras* or *inrese* appears to be the usual translation before the mid-fourteenth century, but *inrennyng* does occur in the Egerton MS of the Surtees Psalter, in MS Arundel 158 (early 15th c. unexpanded Rolle Psalter, modernizing *inrese*) and in the Commentary on Ps. 90 attributed to Walter Hilton. Possibly the word was new in the fourteenth century (p. xxx), but it does not seem to be linked with any particular group of translations.

One point of interpretation also demands discussion because it has been assigned some bearing on the author's biography. In the *Pistile of Discrecioun of Stirings* we learn that a disciple not bound by rule in these matters is unduly preoccupied by voluntary ascetic practices such as fasting, solitude and silence. The author says that in these indifferent matters he is free to decide when speaking or silence etc. will give him most spiritual benefit.

bot 3if it be so (þat God forbede!) þat þou or any oþer be so lewid & so bleendid in þe sorouful temptaciouns of þe midday deuel, þat 3e binde 3ow by any crokid auowe to any soche singulerteies, as it were under colour of holines feined vnder soche an holyliche þraldom, in ful and fynal distroing of þe fredom of Criste ... Vbi Spiritus, ibi libertas (70/19ff.)

On p. 139 Professor Hodgson writes that this passage 'suggests that the writer was not himself bound to any "holyliche þraldom", that he was a free-lance rather than a professed religious'; in the *Cloud* volume she writes also 'that it would appear to preclude the possibility of his being an anchorite' (p. lxxxiv), and that the author is warning 'the young disciple not to bind himself to any special way of living' (p. lxxxiii). It is quite mistaken, I believe, to interpret the *auowe*, *singulerteies* and *þraldom* as referring to any form of the religious state, communal or solitary: nothing else in this author's work suggests such a vehement attitude toward it, and when he speaks of the 'vocal' prayer of contemplatives he is most careful to uphold the recitation of the canonical hours to which both secular and religious priests were obliged. In *Discrecioun of Stirings* the author is referring simply to observances, penances and vows which were quite

often voluntarily added to the strict demands of any state of life. Comparable but less biting opinions are in the *Ancrene Riwe* (Nero MS (E.E.T.S. edition) 2/24 ff., 3/10 ff.) and in the *Scale of Perfection* (Book II, Ch. 19 ed. Underhill p. 294). The treatise tells us only that the disciple was probably not bound by a Rule, but nothing concerning the author's state of life.

One final point, the presentation of MS variants, raises a purely technical problem for any editor who deals with a large number of manuscripts. The following paragraph is a query rather than a criticism, since the edition yields one or two good examples for discussion. The common editorial habit of printing at the foot of the page all variants which are significant for the grouping of MSS and tracing their relationships enables an editor to avoid emendation almost entirely, but it confronts a reader with a demanding task of comparison and selection — if he notices the variants at all. On p. xx there is a warning that 'in several readings which can be compared with the Latin, Group A [to which the printed text belongs] appears to be inferior to Group B', and several of these readings are listed in the introduction. Yet when these more important variants are printed amongst the sand and gravel sort a reader is likely to miss them, or to miss their import if he finds them. Similarly the whole mass of minor variants makes it difficult to notice when a group of MSS diverges from the rest in some sizeable point of sense or style, or to grasp even the gist of a group reading. There is a notable example of this blurring of the sense at 45/10-14:

þat is . . . si3t of God] lete hym lere (lerne F C R) for to gedire samen (& examyn F; togyder R; togedere *add.* C) þe myghtes of his sawle, and lete hym study for (*om.* F) to refreyne þe outpassyng of is mynde, & schape (ordeyne F) hym for (*om.* F) to wone (dwelle F) with hymself os a kyng in is reme to wome þat (*om.* F C R) non of his sugetes wore contrari (and *add.* F C R) Har⁵ F C R

At 20/10-11 to 'he felip hym not only be visityd of God, bot greetly coumfortyd in his comyng' the following addition is noted:

But (also *add.* F) ofte (often Pw) tymes (tyme F) also (*om.* F) he felip hym fyld wip an (*om.* II) vnspekeable ioye *add.* Group B'

This 'broken' presentation obscures the point of the stylistic comment on p. 131: 'the reading of Group A has the characteristic balance of this Middle English author's style, but Group B retains the threefold climactic thought of the Latin'. There the problem is. It would be hard to suggest a suitable way in which the sense of this kind of variant can be made to stand out. Darker type might be possible, or in certain prose works with longer variants it might be possible to divide the printed text into parallel columns (the suggestion of Dr. D. J. A. Ross). Probably the simplest method here would be to ignore such details as 'ofte (often Pw) tymes (tyme F)' and to keep the rest until the whole multiple variant has been quoted from a representative text.

Everyone with an interest in the English writings on contemplation will

be grateful for the long and careful work given to this edition by Professor Hodgson and the Early English Text Society. May one echo Miss Helen Gardner's hope that Professor Hodgson will soon make some of the *Cloud* author's work available in an edition for a wider public, on the lines of Miss Allen's *English Writings of Richard Rolle*?⁷

Birkbeck College,
University of London,
Summer 1957.

JOY RUSSELL-SMITH.

RICHARD LAVYNHAM, *A Litil Tretys*. Edited by J. P. W. M. VAN ZUTPHEN. Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956. c + 134 pp. [Nijmegen diss.]

The concept of the deadly sins had its origin in the East but flourished in the West, where three traditions came to be recognized: the Cassianic list, comprising eight sins, the Gregorian sequence, indicated by *sūaagl*, and the Ostiensic list, which did not become popular until the 16th century. The influence of confessional and pulpit contributed to the popularity that the Sins enjoyed in medieval England as a subject for religious and secular writing. These and other data make up the *Background* with which Dr. van Zutphen opens his admirable edition of Lavynham's tract, itself a well-constructed and balanced treatment of the subject. The treatise is scanned from other angles: the purposes it was meant to serve, its language and author, the manuscripts and their relationship. A nearly diplomatic (and, as far as I have been able to make out, accurate) print of MS. Harley 211, which is closest to the autograph, is followed by explanatory notes, a glossary, and select readings from other MSS., specimen passages from which are brought together in *Appendix I*. An alphabetical list of Lavynham's other works is also appended.

One does not often quarrel with the editor over his arguments. I do not quite follow him when, in discussing Lavynham's death-year, he thinks it 'pretty certain that Lavynham must still have been alive in 1395' (p. xxxii). A list of heresies of John Purvey, a Lollard, was drawn up by Lavynham on the basis, it seems, of the *Ecclesiae Regimen*, a heretical booklet of which Purvey was the author. On the one relevant point for determining Lavynham's death-year, viz. the date of this booklet, the editor is necessarily vague. A reference to the booklet is found in another Lollard document (1395), but Lavynham might well have seen it before 1395, i.e. before Purvey's 'materials' had become, to quote the document, 'communes toti populo christiano'.

The editor deals chiefly with the historical and linguistic aspects of his subject. *A Litil Tretys* was in fact well worth editing if only for the

⁷ *Medium Ævum* xvi (1947) p. 42.

light it throws on the linguistic usage of its time. It is written in good style and enriches the M.E. vocabulary with new words and meanings. *Dishonest* 22/12 recorded in the unusual sense 'unchaste, lewd' is found in the 15th-century religious encyclopaedia called *Jacob's Well*. But that text is shown by the editor to have borrowed extensively from Lavynham, *inter alia* the passage in which *dishonest* occurs. It may be correct to look on *leggyngis* (= L. *castra*) 3/32 as a unique survival of O.E. *-lecgung* (in *niperlecgung* 'a laying down'). But the scribes responsible for Harley 211 are tripped up more than once (cf. 5/13, 15/7, 22/13, 24/10 etc.), so it is not improbable that the authentic form is, after all, to be found in those copies which read *lodgyng*, *loggynges*, *luggeynd* (?) (cf. p. 42).

Lavynham was a native of Suffolk and a member of the Carmelite house in Ipswich, hence it is *a priori* likely that his tract was written in that area. In fact, seven of the fourteen extant MSS. show East Anglian characteristics, and for Harley 211 the editor has succeeded in restricting the field to Norfolk and/or Suffolk. To the already weighty evidence marshalled on p. lxxix ff. I should like to add one point that may be of dialectal significance, viz. the presence of the forms *be nome* (inf.) 15/20, *be nomyth* (pres. sg.) 24/6. For an explanation of o three alternatives are proposed (p. lxix), but a fourth is in my view to be preferred. The only M.E. text to exhibit analogous forms is Gen. & Ex. (Norfolk!), where *binumen* (inf.) rhymes with *bi-cumen* (cf. M.E.D. s.v. *binimen*; also O.E.D. s.v. *nim* vb.), *u* being probably due to the analogy of M.E. *cume* (*come*). — The editor is inclined to take the pt. pl. (certayn men) *keme* (to kyng Jeroboam & zeuyn hym...) 9/19 f. as a sign of the raising of M.E. *ā* (from O.E. **cam* pt. sg., cf. *cam* 20/36), but as no similar forms appear in the text, it seems better to associate *keme* with those classes of verbs in which *e* was the regular pt.pl. mark. On the whole the editor's analysis of linguistic forms is thoroughly convincing.

In a chapter that is not meant to be exhaustive attention is called to syntactical features, 'especially those that have become obsolete in present-day English' but, in addition, a good many rare phrases and early forerunners of Mod. E. constructions. Among points that might have deserved special notice are the occurrence of an 'inclusive superlative' (Stoffel): *This is a synne þt ... most greuyth god of alle oper vicys* 1/24 f.; an 'imaginative perfect infinitive' (Jespersen): *he desyrede ... to haue be peer wt god* 1/28 f.; the gerundial collocation *after our hennys wendyngh* 25/29, which is no less remarkable than the presence of a direct object before the *ing*-form (cf. p. lxxxix f.); etc. It is to be hoped that future editors of (late) M.E. texts will follow suit and raise points of syntactic and stylistic interest. Descriptive accounts like the present one need not cover all the ground but will even so give valuable pointers to students of historical syntax.

Textual Problems of the First Folio: Richard III, King Lear, Troilus & Cressida, 2 Henry IV, Hamlet, Othello. By ALICE WALKER. (Shakespeare Problems, edited by J. Dover Wilson: 7.) Cambridge, at the University Press, 1953. viii + 170 pp. 18s.

Shakespearean textual criticism is in a considerable flux, today, and recent investigations have been and are upsetting much in the critical picture. Where the Disintegrators once produced multiple authors and layers of composition, the modern school of Complicators keeps multiplying the stages between what Shakespeare wrote and what Jaggard printed, and is peeling off layer upon layer of seeming error. The road to the serene simplicity of the Final Text of Shakespeare is becoming both steeper and more tortuous.

These are facts with which we have to come to terms. For unlike the Disintegrators, the Complicators wield an array of reasonably objective instruments, constantly in process of refining, which, in capable hands, can remove a compositor's idiosyncrasy as deftly as a micromanipulator will remove organs from animalculi — and with better chances of survival for the subjects.

There is of course one danger: that things will become too complicated for the particular complicator; and that this is not mere theory is shown by the number of recent studies that have already, in whole or in part, fallen by the way. Indeed whoever owns more than just a few of these studies might fittingly shelve with them an empty slipcase, preferably in full leather, to serve as a Complicators' Boneyard. These days, any article of textual criticism which, like most, propounds a solution from a limited set of data, can really be little more than a shot in the dark — though admittedly some scholars seem to have more carotin in their eyes than others.

Miss Walker's eyes are among the more eminently penetrating, and she has a great capacity for taking pains. As a result, even where more recent studies have in part upset her conclusions, her work retains some permanent value. If Messrs Cairncross and Walton are right about the copy for Folio *Lear* and *Richard III*, some of Miss Walker's statements have come to lack their basis — though Mr Walton, at least, has been insufficiently alive to the possibilities of retrieving the old position. Her calculations of the number of errors to be certainly expected in these plays may be wrong, but her method remains valid, and new figures can be computed. Mr Hinman has shown the presence of a third compositor in *Hamlet*, explaining something which Miss Walker had already found odd, and in 1955, moreover, he pulled about our ears much of the structure on which these discussions used to be based.

It is only occasionally, however, that Miss Walker's arguments are not in themselves persuasive. Whatever one thinks of Mr Duthie's hypothesis for the origin of the Pide Bull quarto, to reject it because unimportant, difficultly memorized scenes should have been reproduced

so much better than some easier important speeches seems slightly cavalier: is it not in the nature of things that the difficult bits should have been more thoroughly rehearsed? In any case her alternative seems much less acceptable. The foul papers would have been purloined and then copied by Regan to Goneril's dictation. In scenes in which these two were onstage 'their joint recollection of the matter enabled them to concoct the text without constant reference to the foul papers'. This is ingenious, since one would expect the opposite: in scenes which they knew they would find it much easier to make out the foul papers. But indeed manual transcription is always so much slower than reading aloud that one can hardly imagine dictation at this rate without constant reference to the copy. A pity, for Miss Walker's picture of the two boys seems a much prettier one than Mr Duthie's of the whole company, on tour without Mr Burbage.

It may be long before general agreement is reached on the textual problems of each individual Shakespeare play, but the least one can say of Miss Walker's contribution is that it is penetrating as well as stimulating. She has shown very clearly that in a number of cases we can obtain a fair idea of the amount of error to be expected in a text, and that if emendation *may* mean the betrayal of Shakespeare, conservatism is certain to be just that.

The lack of misprints in the book is only further proof of Miss Walker's acuity.

Groningen.

JOHAN GERRITSEN.

Zur Verteilung von Vers und Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen.
 Von ELISABETH TSCHOPP. (Swiss Studies in English, 41.) Bern:
 Francke Verlag. 1956. vii + 155 pp. Fr. 8.

The general outlines of the Elizabethan use of prose in verse drama are by now familiar enough. Whether we can go, as others have attempted to, beyond these outlines and claim a rather subtle use of contrasts for specific effects within a given drama, will depend largely on whether such effects could be put across to the audience. One's own experience — in spite of a tendency of actors to mouth their unstressed syllables in verse delivery —, the general assumption that Elizabethan delivery must have been very rapid, Hamlet's own advice to speak the speech trippingly, would all speak against such a possibility, especially for Shakespeare. On the other hand the fact that certain conventions were definitely established might speak the other way. The author does not go very far into this question, however. For her the fact that Orlando breaks into a prose scene with a line of blank verse, to which Jaques retorts:

Nay then, God buy you, an you talk in blank verse.

(A.Y.L. IV.i.33 - F.1)

is sufficient proof that there must have been a distinct difference in delivery between the two lines, and that Jaques, though his line scans, must have delivered it as prose. There is another possibility, however, and rather than assuming that Shakespeare should, at this point of all others, have slipped by inadvertence into a verse rhythm, it seems more probable that Jaques by a sarcastically pointed delivery of his line was intended to re-echo Orlando's rhythm and indeed to bring it out. And with that a good deal of the basis of this doctoral thesis falls to the ground. One will not thus feel compelled to agree e.g. that, since Hamlet declaims in verse over Ophelia's grave, he must, in spite of his later assertions, be in full possession of his faculties — a position which indeed the author herself circumscribes later with alternative explanations.

The work itself is competently, though somewhat one-sidedly, carried out, and with a certain tendency to tread broad the obvious, as when nearly a page is taken up to explain that the play of the yokels in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is in verse, and why. First a useful survey of all the plays is given with the characters of each arranged in five categories according to the relative amount of verse and prose they speak, and the general conclusions to be drawn. Then ten representative plays are analysed in detail to show that the distribution of the two types forms, to some extent at least, a distinct system, leading to special kinds of oppositions characteristic of a single play. Unfortunately these oppositions are discussed almost entirely in terms of plot and personality and very little in those of emotional tension; and while a good deal of play is made with the idea of contrast, the question of whether the contrast is primarily one of medium, or whether it is a contrast of tone, which drags the medium after it, is not touched on. Thus it is pointed out that Beatrice is entrapped in verse (*M. Ad.* III. i), Benedict in prose (*II.* iii), that Viola is introduced conversing with the captain in verse (*Tw. N.* I. ii) while the parallel scene of Sebastian and Antonio is in prose (*II.* i), and the contrast in the medium is taken as sufficient in itself. But in the first pair of contrasts the ladies treat Benedict's supposed love sentimentally, while the men joke over Beatrice's — and Benedict must have smelt a rat if they had not; it is surely the contrast in tone that is primary. In Sebastian's scene the emotional tone is not noticeably lower than in Viola's, but the scene itself is kept very short, since it can only be a repetition of the other, and also Sebastian has some very precise information to convey — it is at least as probable that prose recommended itself as conciser and clearer, as that a conscious contrast of mediums was sought, which, as the author herself remarks in a footnote, would scarcely be noticed after the interval of nearly a whole act. Altogether, though the author is not unaware of the possibility of alternative explanations, there are too many overhasty conclusions, as that Fabian and Malvolio give up their accustomed prose in the final episode of *Twelfth Night*, the one because he is no longer involved in the game of leg-pulling, the other because he is no more the man he was, when it is fairly obvious

that they both do so in order not to jar with the tone of the finale. Indeed it is the variety of possible explanations that is almost bound to make any sort of conclusions, beyond the most general ones, a matter of personal interpretation for which a much wider framework is needed than is, or could, be attempted here.

Sofia.

M. MINCOFF.

Deutsche und englische Romantik. Eine Gegenüberstellung.
By EUDO C. MASON. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
1959. (Kleine Vandenhoeckreihe, 85/85a.) 102 pp. DM. 3.60.

In choosing to make a comparative study of English and German literature during the romantic period, from about 1795 to 1830, the author of this small but compact book has set himself no easy task. Professor Mason is well known as a literary historian and especially as an authority on Rilke, and the task is for him perhaps especially difficult, since he proceeds from a number of highly personal and not always unarguable propositions.

First of all it is, for instance, his opinion that English romanticism (insofar as we can speak of such a thing at all — pp. 6 bottom, 17, 62 top) is a healthy, youthful, revolutionary movement — no one will object to this — but German romanticism, on the other hand, is represented as a more or less anti-revolutionary movement, decadent, in an age of decline (pp. 15 top, 16 top, 25, 26); this interpretation is not one that everybody will accept without qualification. It is in fact founded upon a gross over-estimation of the merits of German classical writers (p. 10 top, 'Goethe und Schiller haben zusammen so ziemlich alles erreicht, was des Strebens wert wäre'; p. 14 bottom, 'dass die Leistungen... Goethes und Kants... ein Äusserstes und Höchstes darstellten, das sich einstweilen kaum in irgendeinem echten Sinne überbieten liess'). Together with this there goes a no less extreme under-estimation of the German romantics (pp. 15 bottom, 59, 'Wolkenkuckucksheim deutsch-romantischer Unverantwortlichkeit'; p. 39, 'erhabene Unverdaulichkeit'). Also, the greater part of what the author has to say concerning the 'satanism' of this movement (p. 22 ff.) will hardly stand up to examination. Professor Mason seems here to feel some doubts himself (p. 22 top), though even so he contrives later to refer again to the non-political character of German romanticism (p. 90 middle), overlooking entirely, among other things, Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1807-1808); just as, in discussing the obscurity of the German 'Philosophen und Dichter des romantischen Zeitalters' (p. 90 bottom), he also overlooks the pre-eminently lucid Schopenhauer.

Secondly, that there exists in each country a certain lack of understanding for the contemporary literature of the other, or even a definite misunderstanding of it (pp. 43, 67 bottom) can hardly be denied; and this

is certainly connected with the opposition of aesthetic and ethical, or, more precisely perhaps, of aesthetic and moral values.

Thirdly, the explanation of much of this misunderstanding on the grounds that there existed in England no body of philosophy comparable in spirit with that of Kant and Hegel is certainly right, though here the continuing influence of Hume cannot be ignored, even though his principal works appeared about 1750; by making allusion (p. 31 top) only to Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) the writer presents an unbalanced picture.

The introductory chapter ('Begriffsbildung und Bedeutungswandel') is not the best. Professor Mason seems to be unacquainted with the three well-known articles on the subject by A. O. Lovejoy (M.L.N 1916; M.L.N. 1920; P.M.L.A. 1924 — also in *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore 1948, pp. 183-253). The second chapter ('Die deutsche Entwicklung') is better — though the reservations already mentioned apply here too — while the third chapter ('Der Fall Coleridge') can definitely be called good, though there are bibliographical omissions in it, namely L. A. Willoughby's *Coleridge und Deutschland* (G.R.M. 24, 1936) and an article by Lovejoy in E.L.H. 1940 (also in *Essays etc.*, pp. 254-276). The fourth chapter ('Die anderen führenden englischen Romantiker') dealing among others with Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Scott and William Blake (pp. 53-63) is rather too superficial, while the basically important fifth chapter ('Die Sonderstellung Crabbs Robinsons') is on the other hand of outstanding quality. The sixth chapter ('Goethe und die englische Romantik') is concerned especially with Goethe's admiration for Byron, and his inability to perceive the importance of Wordsworth. As far as Byron is concerned — a writer for whom Professor Mason has clearly but a moderate enthusiasm (p. 29 middle) — it is very incomplete, with surprising bibliographical omissions such as W. F. Schirmer's *Goethe und Byron* (in *Forschungsprobleme der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Tübingen 1951) and E. M. Butler's *Byron and Goethe, Analysis of a Passion*, London 1956.

There are also a number of errors in detail which call for comment: the unintentionally amusing remarks about the classicism of... Nicolai (p. 10 bottom), the reference to Goethe's 'Tag- und Jahreshefte' as 'Tages- und Jahreshefte' (p. 83, twice), and especially the misleading statement (p. 57) that on 20 November 1824 Goethe referred to Shelley as 'einem armseligen Wicht'. In this conversation with von Müller all that Goethe actually said was: 'Die Ode auf den Tod des Generals Moore sei eine der schönsten Dichtungen Byrons. Shelley musste ein armseliger Wicht sein, wenn er dies nicht gefühlt' (Artemis-Ausgabe, Zürich 1950, Vol. 23, p. 367). Furthermore, *The Burial of Sir John Moore* was not by Byron anyway, but by Charles Wolfe!

Groningen.

TH. C. VAN STOCKUM.

The London Magazine, 1820-1829. By JOSEPHINE BAUER.
(Anglistica, Volume I.) Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger. 1953.
362 pp. Dan. Kr. 27.50. To subscribers Dan. Kr. 20.00.

This is the first volume in a series which was launched seven years ago¹ under the editorship of Professor Torsten Dahl of Aarhus, Professor Kemp Malone of Baltimore and Professor Geoffrey Tillotson of London. Other volumes have already appeared, and we are informed in a prospectus that additions to the series will include within their scope not only literary and linguistic subjects but also studies in history, folklore and other cultural disciplines, so that all the principal sides of British life, civilization and culture will be represented. If this initial volume can be regarded as typical it augurs well for the series as a whole, though it does not of course follow that all subjects will be treated at comparable length. Indeed from the prospectus it appears that this is by far the longest of all the volumes so far promised.

During its brief history of nine years the *London Magazine* was one of the most important periodicals of the early nineteenth century. It is probably best remembered today for Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, which first appeared in its pages, but that is by no means its only claim to distinction. Amongst its better known contributors were Hazlitt, De Quincey, Hartley Coleridge, Hood, Payne Collier, Sir John Bowring and Barry Cornwall, while the young Carlyle virtually owed his start as a writer to the hospitality it afforded him, and Landor tried out in its pages the first of his imaginary conversations. The period of its greatest glory stretched from 1820 to 1825. The first and the most able of its editors was John Scott, under whose wise and enlightened direction it attained the prestige for which it is now remembered, but only fourteen months after the first number had appeared he was killed in a duel arising out of a quarrel with *Blackwood's* over a question of literary ethics. After his death the editorship passed to John Taylor, who attempted, with gradually diminishing success, to maintain Scott's standards. For a brief period Henry Southern presided over its fortunes, and then finally it passed into the hands of Charles Knight, became an instrument for the dissemination of popular culture and knowledge and, as Miss Bauer puts it, 'ended its days as a shabby mouthpiece of Utilitarianism'.

No full-length study of the *London Magazine* throughout the whole of its career has hitherto appeared, though there have been monographs upon various aspects of it. Miss Bauer's book is therefore all the more welcome. The author has obviously gone to a great deal of trouble to collect her material and has been involved in a detailed examination and reading not only of every number of the Magazine itself but also of other magazines

¹ Publication of this review has been retarded, through no fault of reviewer's. — E d.

of the time and of a great deal of ancillary matter. In the preface to her work she defines her object thus:

I have made no attempt to identify the authors of the contributions, . . . silently accepting in general the attributions of students who have investigated the writings of individual members of the staff. My task has been, rather, to analyse the contents of the magazine as it struck its contemporaries, who recognised their favorites, guessed at clever newcomers, and were content to leave some anonymous.

This object she has discharged most faithfully and meticulously, if sometimes a little monotonously. There are copious quotations from the *London* itself to illustrate and bear out whatever she has to say; and if her own style of writing is at times a little 'heavy', that is perhaps inseparable from the subject, though the repetition of the same quotation for different purposes (which occurs more than once) might have been avoided by the use of cross-reference.

The general plan of the book is well conceived and methodically executed. After a preliminary chapter on the social and political background of the time, against which the magazine and its contents must be viewed, Miss Bauer passes on to a general survey of the other contemporary periodical literature, dealing briefly with each of the principal magazines in turn and giving an indication of their general character, their editors and their contributors, and their political or social bias. So the new *London* is set in perspective and we are in a position to see how it differed from the kind of journalism to which the age had become accustomed and why, in the earlier years at least, it attracted to its pages the writers, and attained to the prestige that it did. There then follows a discussion of the methods and the editorial policy of the successive editors and of their relations with their contributors and their rival periodicals. All this occupies less than the first third of the book. The rest is devoted to a consideration of the *London's* contents, treated under the heads of Politics (where its attitude could be described as one of 'patriotic liberalism'), Belles Lettres, Criticism of Contemporary Literature, Interest in Earlier English Literature, Interest in Continental Literature, and finally Drama, Music and the Fine Arts.

To students of English literature the most interesting and most useful sections will be those on Belles Lettres, Criticism, and the Drama, though to say that is not to under-rate the value of the others. There is a separate section devoted to the criticism of the works of each of the major writers of the day — Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Scott, Lamb, Hazlitt, Southey, Godwin and Maria Edgeworth — though why Smart's *Song to David* should have been included in this section it is difficult to see, beyond the fact that the *London's* evaluation of it was called forth by a new edition which had appeared in 1819. Future students of these writers will owe a debt to Miss Bauer for having drawn attention to these essays and reviews; and Elians will find in the chapter on Belles Lettres some interesting material on hitherto unsuspected sources for some of Lamb's essays. Generally speaking, the *London's* criticism was

sympathetic to the new romantic trends in literature, and in the earlier years to the new Hellenic cult. Under Scott's editorship, and in the early part of Taylor's, the criticism was always constructive and honest, and where poetry was concerned extraneous considerations were not allowed to influence the evaluation of a work on artistic grounds, though with prose more interest was shown in the ideas than in the literary qualities. The magazine played a prominent part in the awakening of interest in mediaevalism, in ballad literature and in the appreciation of the writings of the Elizabethans, and it frequently protested against the garbled versions of Shakespeare that were still presented on the stage as an inheritance from the eighteenth century.

When a writer has gone to so much trouble and has performed her task so competently as Miss Bauer has done, it must appear ungracious to point to faults, but we may perhaps be excused for drawing attention to a number of errors and misprints which should be corrected if a second edition appears. The author has herself appended a list of seven 'typographical errors overlooked' but a dozen or more other mis-spellings of common English words, scattered throughout the book, should be added, while there are also a few mistakes in the transcription of the titles of literary works. On p. 149 *Tales of the O'Hare Family and Truckleborough Hall* should be *Tales of the O'Hara Family and Truckleborough Hall*, on p. 307 the apostrophe has been omitted from *The Beggar's Opera*, while on p. 244 *Sandford and Merton* is printed without the *d* in the first name. The dramatist Dekker has his name spelt *Decker* (p. 257) and though in the same sentence his contemporary is correctly given as Philip Massinger elsewhere he appears (incorrectly) as *Massenger*. On p. 363 the letter *e* is omitted from the name of the Surrey Theatre, on p. 219 occurs the solecism *the Rev. Bowles* (for *the Rev. W. L. Bowles*), the 'Lord Suffied' of p. 147 should surely be 'Lord Suffield', while on p. 307 the name of James Sheridan Knowles is wrongly given as John Sheridan Knowles and in the bibliography Louis Cazamian and Emile Legouis appear as *Luis Cazamien* and *Emile Leguis*.

These, however, though regrettable, are minor faults and do not detract from the value of the study as a whole. The *London Magazine*, despite its brief life and its lamentable decline in its later years, may be regarded as the first of the great nineteenth century magazines and the first example of modern journalism. Under Scott's editorship it set a high standard. Its interests were catholic, its outlook was middle-class, and it was a typical representative of the new Britain that was emerging. It was mainly urban in spirit and orientation and was calculated to appeal to an urban reading public. Renouncing the 'sweated labour' policy of so many of its predecessors, it gathered around it a band of distinguished contributors, who were well paid and allowed considerable freedom. It had sympathy with philanthropic and progressive causes but, in its hey-day, it never allowed political considerations to intrude into literary, dramatic or artistic criticism. It had been a valiant effort, and had it not been for the tragic

and untimely death of Scott it might have flourished for many years in all its original glory. Miss Bauer is to be thanked for recording its history and analysing its contents so thoroughly and conscientiously.

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FREDERICK T. WOOD.

The Art of Rudyard Kipling. By J. M. S. TOMPKINS. London: Methuen. 1959. 277 pp. Price 25/—.

Within certain limits that Dr. Tompkins has deliberately set herself, this is far and away the best study of Kipling that has as yet appeared. The most important of these limitations is that, in the words of the preface, she has 'not dealt at length with any aspects of Kipling's work which require to be approached through the political conditions out of which they arose'. This means not only that Kipling's 'Imperialist' ideas are excluded, but also that she abstains from dealing at any length with the concept of *the Law*, which runs through so much of his work.

These are important reservations: Kipling was regarded by his contemporaries as the spokesman of the New Imperialism, and his concept of *the Law* is one of the keys to an understanding of his philosophy. (It is, however, true that an examination of his political ideas would show that he contributed less to the ideology of Imperialism than is commonly supposed.)

But within these limits it is an admirable book. No one has brought so much critical insight and so much knowledge of Kipling to bear on his work before. None of his characteristic motifs, and none of the means that he employed to express them, slip through her critical net. It is all here: pattern, recurrent themes and images, symbolism of various kinds, the dovetailing of various layers of meaning, etc., etc.

Dr. Tompkins is particularly good when dealing with Kipling's late stories, which form the principal subject of her book. The danger for the critic here is that the very complexity of these stories — the challenge they offer to his ingenuity — may become an attraction in itself to the extent of influencing his estimate of their artistic value. I agree with Dr. Tompkins that they are Kipling's most interesting work. The re-assessment of their author which her book no doubt heralds must largely be based on them. Much more artistry and thought have gone into them than into his earlier stories. Nevertheless, something has been lost too: the vitality and freshness that captivated his early public.

Their reputation for obscurity is, I think, exaggerated. Because of their concentration they call for attentive reading, but if the reader makes the effort it is nearly always rewarded. The only completely obscure story is *Mrs. Bathurst*, in face of which even Dr. Tompkins gives up. It is true, however, that some of them have layers of meaning that are buried so

deeply that they may elude even very careful readers. Dr. Tompkins analyses one of these in *Wireless*: the story is not primarily, she holds, about a man in a trance, whose circumstances are so like those of Keats when he wrote *St. Agnes' Eve* that part of the poem is transmitted to him; it is essentially a parable about the working of the poetical inspiration, which Kipling regarded as something coming from without — a kind of Uncovenanted Mercy. I think Dr. Tompkins has established her point, though it would perhaps be more correct to say that the story means both things at the same time, rather than to dismiss the Keats explanation as a 'false trail', laid down so cunningly that it defeats the writer's purpose.

In *As Easy as A.B.C.* she also finds a veiled meaning, this time actually contradicting the one that emerges from a more superficial reading: the apparent acceptance of the technocratic world of the future which it describes is not meant to be the writer's; there are disquieting overtones which indicate that Kipling is really dismayed at the price in terms of human dignity that mankind has to pay for the millennium.

In spite of the scholarly character of the book, Dr. Tompkins' approach is frankly personal. Her analyses are attempts to explain things that have given her delight. Her feeling for Kipling is coloured by memories of her first, childhood readings, and, running through the book, there is a sense of gratitude, even loyalty, to a benefactor. It is on the whole none the worse for that, for the personal emotion has obviously stimulated her critical insight. If there is any drawback to this approach it is that, by emphasizing what is excellent and passing lightly over what is less so, it gives a somewhat more favourable impression of the totality of his work than a less selective method would have done.

Also that it sometimes tends to make her take up an attitude more appropriate to an apologist than to a dispassionate critic. Thus, she rather plays down the revenge motif that runs through so much of Kipling's work, and is inclined to accept his own statement to the effect that his childhood experiences in 'the House of Desolation' had 'drained him of any capacity for real, personal hatred for the rest of his days'. That Kipling was obsessed with the theme of hatred and revenge seems to me very difficult to deny, and Dr. Tompkins quotes a revealing passage from the torture scene of that very unpleasant school story *The Moral Reformers*, where Stalky has to restrain the vindictive ardours of Beetle (i.e. Kipling).

In any case, it is hopeless to try to explain away some of the revenge stories,¹ or to deny that there are morbid traits in Kipling: not only his

¹ Not even Dr. Tompkins seems to have anything to say in extenuation of the horrors of *Mary Postgate*. Yet, this is one of the few revenge stories where it might be possible to make out a case for *not* identifying Kipling's own attitude with that of the revenger. The most shocking thing about *Mary Postgate* is the suggestion of a sexual element in the lady's enjoyment of the German airman's death agony, and it is difficult to believe that Kipling can have approved of that. Could it be that the case of *Mary Postgate* is meant as a horrible example of the spiritual harm that Germany has done to the English, who, in the words of the accompanying poem, had not learnt to hate till the Germans taught them?

preoccupation with hatred and revenge, but also the attraction that various forms of physical violence had for him (and — an even odder thing, which I have never seen any attempt to explain — stealing). And why should one? These traits imply, of course, that he was not himself like the idealized sahibs of his early stories, but did one really expect that? After all, sahibs are not ordinarily writers of genius.

The best thing in Dr. Tompkins' chapter on *Hatred and Revenge* is her brilliant and convincing analysis of *Dayspring Mishandled*, which brings out subtleties that no one has noticed before, and suggests that its moral implies a criticism of Kipling's own cult of revenge. In this Dr. Tompkins may very well be right. I do not think the fact has been generally noticed, but there are several other veiled recantations — the word he uses as the title of his homage poem to Marie Lloyd — of formerly cherished opinions in Kipling's late stories. What else is the de-glamorization, in *The Wish House*, of the Sussex scene that he had once idealized? (Cf. also the contrast between the English countryside in *An Habitation Enforced* and the later *My Son's Wife*.) Mrs. Ashcroft's attitude to her employers in *The Wish House* is so markedly opposed to the semi-feudal character with which he elsewhere invests similar relationships when dealing with the Sussex countryside that one is tempted to take it as a deliberate *démenti*: she renders honest service for her wages, but there is no trace of affection or personal loyalty in her references to the kindness her employers show her, and when they give her an allowance for life, her only comment is that it shows they do not expect her to live long.

A kind of revocation of an earlier attitude to the English caste system is also, I think, reflected in his choice of social types for his protagonists in the late stories: the pointed way in which he makes people of humble rank play out his theme of Love victorious over Death (*The Wish House*, *A Madonna of the Trenches*). The characters of the masonic scenes that frame some of the wartime stories are also middle or lower middle class. It is tempting to see in all this a regret for the way in which the earlier stories gave the 'sahibs' something like a monopoly of representing the English virtues. It is perhaps not without significance that in one late story, *Beauty Spots*, the representative of the snobbish 'county' feeling against a newcomer of lower social rank is a colonel of the sahib type, and that he is subjected to the punishment that K. sometimes reserves for detested characters: that of being exposed to public ridicule and humiliation.

Dr. Tompkins has chosen as motto for her book Kipling's *Appeal*, in which he prays the reader: 'Seek not to question other than The books I leave behind', and in her preface she disclaims any desire to go behind the texts to look for explanations in terms of the writer's personality. This is an understandable reaction to the unfortunate results that this method has sometimes produced. Possibly she may also have felt that to trace the origin of some of Kipling's themes might be derogatory to his posthumous reputation. I think the contrary is the case: there is much in Kipling that arouses uneasiness and distaste, and to relate it to the way events of his

life shaped his outlook might perhaps resolve apparent contradictions, and give the reader a sense of sympathy, even a fellow-feeling, where he is now repelled.

It would also, in some cases, provide a clue to a better understanding of the stories. Thus in her discussion of the strain that is released in his farcical tales, it would, in my opinion, have clarified matters to have pointed out that the orgiastic laughter of which Kipling makes a positive cult serves as a substitute for what in others is a mystical experience: it eliminates, for a brief moment, the prison walls of the ego, and merges the individual with his fellow-laughers.

Dr. Tompkins has immersed herself so deeply in the world of the Kipling stories that one hesitates to disagree with her. Still, here are a few points for consideration: In *Mrs. Bathurst* how does she make out that the body found together with Vickery's after the thunderstorm is a woman's (p. 90)? This would add a further complication to an already baffling story, but actually Vickery's companion is referred to three times as a man (as a tramp, as 'his mate', and as 'the other man'). In *The Man Who Was*, Dirkovitch is not a general (p. 82) but some kind of junior officer.

Dr. Tompkins says (p. 129) that there are no tales of revenge in *Actions and Reactions*. This is only true if one takes 'revenge' in a limited sense (as indeed she does), so as to exclude one of his most characteristic retribution stories, viz. *Little Foxes*. Like several of Kipling's stories, it has the appearance of a revenge dream. The villain is a Liberal anti-Imperialist (Kipling always wrote as if he was unaware that some of the most prominent Imperialists of his time were Liberals). His punishment consists in being exposed to laughter and humiliation before a large audience. The latter motif looks — to venture into the psychological territory that Dr. Tompkins regards as out of bounds for her — like a memory of his own Brattleboro experience with the roles reversed.

I think Dr. Tompkins (like Mr. Edmund Wilson) has missed a clue in her interpretation of one of the crucial incidents of *Unprofessional*: the suicidal impulse of the patient, which threatens the healers with defeat. She says that it is 'primarily an example of the unforeseen, critical difficulties that may open on a team of scientists ... requiring from them, on the spur of the moment, yet greater acts of imagination and devotion' (p. 171). The explanation is, I believe, far simpler: this is an astrological story. The scientists have come up against the same check when experimenting with a mouse, which actually kills itself. The woman tries to smash her head against the wall while crying: 'I don't want to die. But I've got to'. The idea is surely that the death of both the human and the animal patient was foreordained, that the attempt to save them is contrary to the decrees of the stars, and that when they are about to be cured by a scientific intervention they are impelled to fulfil their prescribed destiny by suicide.

The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats. Edited by PETER ALLT and RUSSELL K. ALSPACH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. xxxiv + 884 pp. Price £6.6.0.

This volume is the result of an international union of scholarly talents. It is also a fitting memorial to Peter Allt, who taught at Trinity College, Dublin, before the war, first became associated with his American co-editor in 1947, and, after a period at Cambridge, lectured at Groningen from 1952 to 1954, the year in which his career of promise and achievement was cut short. Mr T. R. Henn, who knew him at Cambridge, has contributed a brief *mémoire* to these pages, and the work of bringing the edition to a final state has fallen to Colonel Alspach.

A valuable service that the book performs for the student of Yeats is to make more accessible the poems rejected from the definitive edition. These occupy 150 pages at the end. Here the greatest interest attaches to the juvenile pieces such as *The Island of Statues*, *Mosada*, and the lyrics recovered from periodicals; some, but not all, of these appeared in the 1889 edition of *The Wanderings of Oisín*, only to be jettisoned later on. The editors have also included in a series of appendices all the prose notes and prefatory material which Yeats wrote for his various collections. But their major task has been to record all the *varia* in successive printings of the poems, from the first two contributions to *The Dublin University Review* in March, 1885, to the two-volume definitive edition of which Yeats corrected the proofs in 1938-9. This is the text which is reproduced here; each page of it has a long tail of *varia*, allowing us to fix and consolidate once and for all the hitherto shifting and fragmentary image of Yeats the Reviser.

Yeats's habits faced his editors with a number of ticklish problems, and 'Thorough' has been their policy in confronting most of these. Thus they include all spelling and punctuation *varia* (except, apparently, for some obvious compositors' errors in punctuation), even though there is reason to suspect that a great many of these are not authorial; and they include even obvious misprints like a nonsense-word in the two earliest (magazine) versions of 'The Withering of the Boughs' or *it* for *if* in line 6 of 'Her Vision in the Wood' in the New York edition of *Collected Poems* (1933) and its reprintings up to 1948. They print in 'Poems Not Included in the Definitive Edition' those songs from the plays which were published separately from their dramatic contexts at least once, such as the concluding song of *At the Hawk's Well*, printed once in a periodical in 1917 (p. 780: *comortable* in line 6 is their own misprint). They have been a little less than thorough with the poems that Yeats sometimes modulated into in the middle of prose-pieces. These are reprinted and collated only when they form a significant portion of a poem later published in full, vary markedly from the definitive version, or are the first appearance of a poem later reprinted. Thus the epigraphical distich on p. [v] of *Wheels and Butter-*

flies ('To Garret or Cellar...') is included but not the fine eight-line strophe 'Move upon Newton's town' on p. 77.

No attempt has been made to collate manuscript versions. These must, the editors say, 'await their coming to light through the years', despite the fact that some portions of them have come to light already. Thus there is no mention of such things as the pre-publication drafts of 'To be Carved on a Stone at Thoor Ballylee' or 'Beloved, may your sleep be sound', first printed by Wade in the *Letters* (p. 651, 760-1), or of 'To Dorothy Wellesley' (*Letters on Poetry*, p. 93), or of 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree' (Katharine Tynan's *Twenty-five Years*, p. 263), or of 'A Cradle Song' (*Letters to Katharine Tynan*, p. 142); nor, in a different category, of the drafts of 'Leda and the Swan' printed by Ellmann (*Identity of Yeats*, British edition, pp. 176-8) or of 'Sailing to Byzantium' printed by Jeffares (*W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet*, p. 260); nor, in yet another category, of 'Cracked Mary's Vision' (Ellmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2) or the Golden Dawn poem (Moore, *The Unicorn*, p. 170). The list could be made much longer. Nor has any use been made of such material as corrected proof-sheets, although these have already been drawn upon by other scholars (Wade, *Bibliography*, p. 145; Ellmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49) or the so-called 'Huntington MS' (a corrected copy of *Poems*, 1899; see Parkinson, *W. B. Yeats: Self-Critic*, p. 187).

Unless, therefore, it is used with circumspection, this volume might lead to some misreading of Yeats's methods of composition. The fact is that he quite frequently let his poems get into print prematurely; he published on occasion what were really still drafts, and in these cases the process of further making was conducted as it were in public, in the successive printings. By seeing only the printed stages of such an operation we see only a portion — possibly the least interesting portion — of what is really a continuum. The Variorum is, therefore, in respect of these poems tantalizing rather than satisfying. And this type of 'revision' needs often to be distinguished quite sharply from another kind, where Yeats went back to poems of his youth after twenty or thirty years had elapsed, and re-wrote them either partially or completely. The complete redactions are Professor Parkinson's 'total revisions', the success of which he distinguished from the general unsuccess of the partial revisions. It is not likely that the fuller evidence displayed in the Variorum will alter his verdict or the grounds on which it was based. In this matter the Variorum has to some extent been by-passed by Parkinson's work, just as Marion Witt's 'Yeats's Revision of his later Poems' (*P.M.L.A.*, 1949) picked out many of the plums from the other set of variant texts.

The editorial principles adopted have been applied decisively and consistently and the mechanics of the volume are lucid, ingenious, and very convenient to operate, the printing sources and the location of the *varia* being readily identifiable by a numerical key. They will set a standard for such undertakings in the future. Accuracy, so far as I have checked it, is very nearly absolute. It is not, of course, a book for ordinary readers

or for use as an introduction to Yeats. Every line of verse is numbered, a device which would be extremely distracting to the reader uninterested in the *varia*, and the *varia* themselves spill over the page and between the poems. Unfortunately (and surprisingly for an American book of this size and kind) the binding is inadequate, and in my copy the pages are already beginning to break away from the covers.

The editors have done what they set out to do superlatively well. There is no longer any excuse at all for the innocent ignorance of the critics about the textual complexities. Some of this ignorance has been judiciously rebuked by Colonel Alspach in a recent article in *Studies in Bibliography*, which surveys and summarizes the problems and his findings. It is a matter for regret that room could not be found in the edition itself for a similar editorial introduction and survey. Yet, though ignorance has been dispelled, there is at the same time something bleak and comfortless about the prospect to which this book opens the way. A part of the pleasure obtainable from consulting or acquiring out-of-print Yeats has gone for ever; we know now that the printed texts at any rate have all been finally measured, collated, and put on exhibition in 'Allt and Alspach'. The odd volumes are still worth the purchase, of course, if only because Yeats and his publishers were at pains to make many of them iconographically significant and pleasing. But those who wish to enjoy the whole pleasure undiminished had better search rapidly amongst the plays, where many charming surprises and ingenious exercises await. Time even there is running out. We can look forward with absolute confidence in the devotion and ingenuity with which Colonel Alspach will solve the fresh problems presented by the Variorum edition of the plays, on which he is at work. My own plea to him is that he should think again in the matter of corrected copies, proof-sheets, and manuscript drafts.

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Die Aussprache des Englischen. Von HERBERT KOZIOL. Wien/Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1959. 148 pp.

Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries. Inleiding tot de Moderne Klankleer. Door A. COHEN, C. L. EBELING, P. ERINGA, K. FOKKEMA, A. G. F. VAN HOLK. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. xi + 147 pp. Cloth f 12.50.

Professor Koziol, of the University of Graz, has written an excellent introduction to the study of English sounds for German-speaking students. After a description of the organs of speech and the way they function, he explains the difference between sounds and phonemes, briefly discusses traditional orthography and phonetic script, and touches upon such problems

as the 'best' English, British and American English, 'Standard' English, and styles of pronunciation. The next chapter gives a clear survey of English intonation. It is followed by one on 'Betonung', which is described as a complex process mainly determined by the four factors of pitch, duration, intensity and preciseness of articulation. This chapter contains lists of 'Betonungsvarianten', such as 'abstract and ab'stract, and of forms subject to 'gradation' ([s] for [dʌz] in *What's he say?* might have been included). After these general considerations the sounds of English are discussed one by one. The vowels are classified according to tongue position, presence or absence of rounding, and length; nothing is said of the distinctions free-checked and tense-lax. There are frequent comparisons between the peculiarities of English pronunciation and those of the northern and southern varieties of German. Combinations of sounds are discussed next; this chapter deals with such matters as clear or gradual beginning and glottal stop, assimilation, 'Ineinanderschiebungen' (as in *act*, where the offglide of [k] and the onglide of [t] are run together), and loss of sound (as in *castle*, *sandwich*). The exposition is marked throughout by clarity and simplicity of presentation.

In an 'Anhang' Professor Koziol discusses the relations between sound and spelling. This part of the book, useful as it is, might have gained by somewhat fuller treatment. The classification of the 'values' of the various vowel-symbols is based on the distinction between closed and open syllables; but one fails to see the cogency of this criterion when, for instance, the vowel of *bush* is said to stand in a closed syllable (as, no doubt, it does), that of *bushel* in an open one. On p. 107 it is said that spellings of [ə] in weak-stressed syllables are not included. Nothing is said either of those of weak-stressed [i], and no indication is given of the pronunciation of the second syllables of such words as *fountain* and *monkey*. A few omissions of words containing vowel or consonant symbols whose pronunciation calls for comment may be noted:¹ *have*, *romance* ([æ!]), *shan't*, *exasperate* ([a:] or [æ]), *mediaeval*, *archaic*, *extraordinary*, *chaos*, *chauffeur* (under *ch*), *landscape* (with silent *d*), *idea*, *real*, *theatre*, *theory*, *massage* (under *g*), *diet*, *quiet*, *science*, *lose*, *prove*, *oasis*, *poet*, *blow*, *know* etc. (only *sow* is included), *basin* (Fr. *bassin*) as against *poison* (Fr. *poison*), *alms*, *means*, *news*, *besides* etc. (under *s*), *crochet*, *croquet* (under *t*; *ballet* and *bouquet*, though their second syllables are 'nicht-haupttonig', are included), *penguin* (under *u* = [w]), *chintz*, *waltz* (under *z*). The letter-groups *ia* (*diamond*, *giant*) and *ue* (*blue*, *plague*) seem to have been overlooked. Under *ch* *stomach* would have been a better example than the obsolete *stomacher*; *compter* ['kauntə], given under *m*, is included neither in Jones nor in COD. — Misprints are few; I have noted *Twadell* (for *Twaddell*) on p. 16, *conversly* (p. 44), *violincello* (p. 113), *Folkstone* (p. 124), besides the *d* in ['sændwidʒ] and ['sændwitʃ] on p. 114 (it is

¹ For more examples see my *Engelse Spraakkunst* (N.V. Servire, Den Haag, 1950), p. 13ff.

correctly omitted on the next page). A few stress-marks have been placed where they do not belong, or omitted where they do. On p. 133 'Stumm: *viscount* ['vaikaunt]' (under *sc*) should be deleted.

Professor Koziol follows Daniel Jones's transcription in his *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, but he sometimes inverts the order in which variant pronunciations are given by Jones; thus, for instance, in the cases of *frustrate*, *intricacy*, *pulsate*, and *transference*, on p. 44, and a few more. A pronunciation [su:t] for *soot* is not mentioned by Jones; nor does he say (on p. xvf. of his Introduction) that RP is 'more useful' ("nützlicher") than other types of English. — In the section on level stress (p. 43) attention might have been called to the difference of intonation between the two syllables of such words as *nineteen*. — A feature of the book is the bibliographical information provided on the topics discussed in the various sections — almost too detailed, one might think, for the type of student for whom it is intended.

Professor Koziol defines the phoneme as the smallest unit of a language used to differentiate words ("jene kleinste Einheit einer Sprache . . . die in dieser Sprache zur Wortunterscheidung dienen kann.") For the rest, his treatment of English sounds is not markedly affected by the concept of the 'phoneme'; nor does he attempt to present the phonemic *system* of English. The authors of *Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries* define the phoneme as 'a bundle of distinctive properties of a speech-sound' ("een bundel van distinctieve eigenschappen van een spraakklank"),² and devote many pages to an exposition of the phonemic system (or structure) of Dutch and Frisian, based on a grouping of phonemes according to their distinctive features. They also discuss the distribution of phonemes in these two languages — what phonemes and combinations of phonemes occur in initial, medial, or final positions in words, and what is the connection between the distribution and the articulation of phonemes. Somewhat unexpected in a theoretical treatise of this kind is a chapter on 'Phonetic Foundations' ("Fonetische Grondslagen van de Fonologische Onderscheidingen"), with spectrograms and mathematical formulas for the determination of wave-lengths of frequencies. The five authors are disappointingly brief on some aspects usually dealt with more fully in publications of this kind, such as intonation and juncture (the chapter on Frisian does not even mention them). Criticism of detail would be out of place here;³ criticism of matters of principle would take us onto very controversial ground. One wonders (to select just one point) how many linguists would subscribe to the definition of a language as 'an innumerable quantity of sentences spoken or written' ("een onafzienbare hoeveelheid van zinnen die gesproken of geschreven zijn, of gesproken en geschreven

² On p. 64, however, they say that the exact status of the phoneme is an unsolved philosophical problem, into which they cannot enter any further here.

³ Those interested may be referred to a review by C. B. van Haeringen in *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 53, 2, 1960, and to one by A. Sassen in *Levende Talen*, June 1960.

kunnen worden, gewoonlijk met de bedoeling een mededeling te verstrekken", p. 1). As if a language were a mere accumulation of sentences!

Apart, however, from this and a few other objections to *Fonologie*, one would like to express a wish that future writers of handbooks on the pronunciation of English might devote more attention to the results of modern phonemics. Perhaps Professor Koziol himself could see his way to do so in a second edition of *Die Aussprache des Englischen*, which the book fully deserves.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Brief Mention

Chaucers Stellung in der Mittelalterlichen Literatur. (Britannica et Americana, Band I.) By J. W. KLEINSTÜCK. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co. 1956. 159 pp. Price DM 12.—.

The title of this dissertation is rather presumptuous since the author limits his discussion to five aspects of medieval literature, namely, in his own words, *Courtoisie und der höfische Lebensstil, Pitié, Fortuna und die Verarbeitung des Boethius, Höfische Liebe, and Superbia*. These motifs are admittedly important, but the field, of course, is much vaster than that. Furthermore, as Dr. Kleinstück's book is in the nature of a survey of these matters, it cannot be avoided that he moves, to some extent, between two extremes: on the one hand he discusses, at some length, things which are fairly generally known; on the other, he merely touches on extremely tricky and difficult problems in a few pages. Neither procedure, though perhaps natural in a book of this sort, is very satisfactory. The reader may also here and there take exception to the handling of details. — These reservations made, it should be readily admitted, however, that the author has a good deal to tell us on the matters he has selected for discussion, and that he is well read in the French, Provençal, and Italian texts which provide an indispensable background. His chapter on *Superbia* is particularly interesting; it is pointed out that in the fabliau-like tales the motif of pride and vainglory plays a fundamental part: 'Die dargestellten Menschen sind alle "superbi", — ihre verschiedenen Eigenschaften lassen sich auf diese Grundhaltung zurückführen' (p. 128). To my knowledge, this has not been made quite clear before.

The concluding chapter, *Chaucer und die englische Literatur*, is not at all on the same level as the rest of the book. Instead of these stray notes, a summing-up of the conclusions reached in the five main chapters would have been desirable.

Lund.

CLAES SCHAAR.

The Essential Shakespeare. A Biographical Adventure. By J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1960. viii + 148 pp. Price 8/6.

This is a paperback reprint of a book first published in 1932. As one of the reviews quoted on the back has it: 'It contains all the salient factors, makes a few reasonable conjectures, and illuminates several matters of controversy.' Though perhaps a trifle on the romantic side, it can be recommended as an introduction to the study of Shakespeare for junior students. — Z.

William Cowper: Nature Poet. By RODERICK HUANG. London: Oxford University Press, on behalf of the University of Malaya. 1957. viii + 152 pp. Price 18s. net.

This is a modest, well-informed, little book, though some faults in presentation may hinder the reader from recognizing it. Familiar episodes in the history of literature are rehearsed, well-known landmarks are pointed out once more, and the argument is cautiously supported by reference to all who may be considered authorities on Cowper and his times. This is perhaps to say no more than that Mr Huang has had difficulty in deciding how much knowledge he may assume in his readers, and has not discovered how to document his work sufficiently yet unobtrusively. But the intrusion of so many moderns and their views hinders concentration on eighteenth-century themes, and Mr Huang's own contribution does not stand out the clearer from a too familiar setting. Yet these are the faults of a careful scholar, and it is with care that Mr. Huang performs his major tasks of discriminating between the religious attitudes of Cowper and Thomson, and of demonstrating the affinities between Cowper's nature poetry and Hervey's *Meditations*. — J. B.

Books Received

1959

Stil- und Formprobleme in der Literatur. Vorträge des VII. Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für moderne Sprachen und Literaturen in Heidelberg. Herausgegeben im Auftrag der F.I.L.L.M. von PAUL BÖCKMANN. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 1959. 524 pp.

Includes: R. W. Zandvoort, Introduction. — E. M. W. Tillyard, The Literary Kinds and Milton. — R. F. Leslie, Analysis of Stylistic Devices and Effects in Anglo-Saxon Literature. — V. Lange, Erzählformen im Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. — J. J. Lynch, Structural Techniques in Fielding's Tom Jones. — F. Stanzel, Die typischen Formen des Englischen Romans und ihre Entstehung im 18. Jahrhundert. — F. H. Mautner, Lichtenbergs Kommentare zu Hogarths Kupferstichen: Über Lichtenbergs Stil. — L. Stevenson, Meredith and the Problem of Style in the Novel. — J. Prescott, Stylistic Realism in Joyce's *Ulysses*. — H. Galinsky, Beharrende Strukturzüge im Wandel eines Jahrhunderts amerikanischer Kurzgeschichte.

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On the Structure of Henry James's Metaphors

The easiest way to create an image lies in the metaphorical use of either a verb, an adjective (adverb) or a noun. In this case we are always confronted with a metaphor. 'He rarely enjoyed the pleasure of button-holing a celebrity', 'he only had for a moment a sharp thought of Sir Luke Strett', 'yet her face had a new light', where the words 'buttonholing', 'sharp', and 'light' are used metaphorically.¹ If we divide, for the sake of this article, some of James's images into their metaphorical components we can separate them into three major categories. A first category comprises metaphors of the kind quoted above, that is images of only one metaphorical element. By element we mean here one word only, be it a noun, an adjective or a verb, used with a metaphorical meaning. The second category includes all those images which make use of a combination of any two of the elements mentioned above, or of all three of them. The third category contains metaphors with more than two or three elements. The pages of James's novels are full of examples belonging to the first category. But it is not for them that his imagery stands out as among the finest and most significant of any English novelist. These simple images are always in danger of being too near the conventional, of being read without having really created a live picture in the mind of the reader.² It is true, however, that James, even on this, as we might call it, lowest plane, has often found impressive pictorial creations, as when he speaks of 'what divination may achieve when winged by a community of passion'. The pair of wings suits perfectly the pair of persons in a community of passion. And if one knows that 'wings', in James's metaphorical language, stand for strength, supremacy, freedom, then even this simple image gains an amazing wealth of meaning.

The most frequent metaphorical use of one noun, not only by James but also by other writers, is in connection with another noun, not used metaphorically, which is added in the genitive. Within this group fall expressions like: 'it had the stamp of genius', 'the fruit of resentment', 'the sea of science', 'the flower of youth'. But there is never anything particularly Jamesian about such metaphors. A single metaphorical noun can also, of course, evoke a picture by itself, without being organically dependent on other kinds of words. This group contains many examples

¹ All the examples quoted in this article are taken from the following novels: *Roderick Hudson*, *The Portrait of a Lady*, *The Spoils of Poynton*, *The Ambassadors*, *The Wings of the Dove*, *The Golden Bowl*.

² Examples: 'Roderick stood planted before the young girl', 'If I had not been zealous I should never have cared a fig for you!', 'Nevertheless the letter needed to Rowland's mind a key', 'he drew on other days at the Capitol and the Vatican till his own head swam with his eagerness', 'Dangerous? What will she do to me? She doesn't bite, I imagine'.

which show a decisive tendency on James's part to avoid the conventional, thereby creating vivid and impressive pictures. Already among these images we can distinguish various kinds of metaphorical expression. There is the plain statement: 'In conversation he was a colourist.' This image tells us that the conversation of the person thus characterized can never be dull, that he strikes his listeners by the variety of his expression and its richness. But we cannot read more into it, because the one metaphorical word does not give us much scope for interpretation, not even as much as the word 'winged' in the example above. Quite apart from the fact that the elements in the two images just compared are different, we also notice that the inherent structure of the two metaphors is not the same. In the earlier example the metaphorical verb 'winged' is but a means to invoke another picture of which it only forms a part, viz. that of some bird. And this more comprehensive picture is the real starting-point for any analysis. The word 'colourist', however, does not evoke another picture, but is in itself the point of departure for an interpretation. Besides the plain statement in the form of a metaphor we find many examples where the image follows a non-metaphorical expression, taking up in a parallel picture what has just been said in plain language. Roderick Hudson's visits to Cecilia 'have given a point to a very dull life — a kind of silver-tip to days that seemed made of a baser metal'. As can be seen from this example the metaphorical second part is not merely a repetition of the preceding statement. We could say that it explains, in its first half, what is meant by 'a point'; in its second half it elaborates on the meaning of 'a very dull life'. The transformation brought about in Cecilia's life by Roderick's visits can be pictured with the help of the image, where there is an organic unity between 'baser metal' and 'silver-tip'. The plain statement is, in this case, necessary because the meaning of the metaphor would otherwise not be quite clear. From the structural point of view we can here speak of a dependence of the image upon a preceding and parallel plain statement.

We have yet to consider a third form of noun-metaphors, namely examples which consist of two or more metaphorical nouns, each explaining a different fact. In the following quotation we encounter a fourfold parallelism, but of a different kind than in the above example: "'Wait!" It was the word of his own distress and entreaty, the word for both of them, all they had left, their plank now on the great sea.' It is evident that James, by this kind of parallelism, achieves a most effective gradation which culminates in the metaphor. The metaphor again tells us how much — or, rather, how little — it was they had left. Of course, the passage only gains its full significance if seen as the last part of a long series of boat metaphors in *The Golden Bowl*. Only the knowledge and analysis of the whole series would put us in a position to appreciate fully Maggie's and the Prince's loss.

During a conversation between Bob and Fanny Assingham we read, after an answer of his: 'It made her face him an instant as with her old

impatience of his short cuts, always across her finest flower-beds'. The two metaphorical nouns are, of course, closely related to one another, although they refer to two completely different phenomena. Here we encounter one of the many advantages which a writer can draw from imagery. The 'flower-beds', referring to Fanny, allow us to form a precise picture of one aspect of her character, her love of interpreting the facts and situations, surrounding them with a beautifully cultivated and arranged multitude of detail, everything falling into its proper place. We can even abstract more meaning from this one metaphorical noun: It is Fanny herself who sows the seeds which bring forth these situations. And the whole novel proves how adequately this picture suits her character. It is she on whom all the major characters are, to a greater or lesser degree, dependent. Bob, her husband, is the exact contrary. He does not care for his wife's trash, for all her details and circumlocutions. His aim is to go straight to the relevant final facts of a situation. This habit of his is extremely well brought out by the metaphorical 'short cuts' which he takes across his wife's 'finest flower-beds'. It might be argued that the last two examples contain also one adjective each, 'great' in the first instance, 'finest' in the second. We have, however, included these images in this group because the two adjectives are not an essential part of the metaphorical conception. They could be left out without seriously impairing the significance of the images.

We now come to the second category of images whose pictorial elements are a combination of either verb, adjective and noun, or of any two of these elements only. Within the groups so far considered the majority of the images would have to be classified as conventional. Only the second category contains a greater wealth of typically Jamesian creations, although it cannot yet be regarded as the culmination of his metaphorical art. It is true that many of the typically common metaphors fall under this category, images mostly consisting of a combination of verb and noun. 'To fall into somebody's hands', 'to burn one's ships', 'to wash one's hands', 'whistling in the dark' may serve as a few examples of this kind. Almost wholly conventional is the group of images which consists of a combination of verb and adjective (adverb), viz. 'to be buried alive', 'to be frozen stiff', etc.

Let us now analyse more closely some of the significant metaphors within this category. There is, of course, always an organic relation between the metaphorical elements, as each of them forms a contribution to the same pictorial conception. It is a characteristic quality of this and the foregoing categories that only one pictorial conception is possible with so few elements (with exceptions only in the group of images which have several nouns as elements). In the group which combines adjectives with nouns we find an example which reads: 'He was acting — it kept coming back to that — not in the dark, but in the high golden morning'. Both 'dark' and 'morning' are here definitely used metaphorically. The basic structure of the passage is one of contrast, that between light and dark. This

contrast is obvious even though 'light' has been replaced by 'high golden morning'. We might, in such cases, speak of an indirect contrast. The first element ('dark') is essential to bring out the meaning of the passage. Adam Verver, to whom it refers, is said to be completely aware of what he was doing at that moment. He is not taking a chance action but one that has been carefully thought over. The impression of clarity in what he is doing is powerfully strengthened by the two adjectives, particularly the second, whereas the first is rather conventional. But they both fulfil the function of specifying what kind of morning we are faced with. James's novels are rich in examples which picture a person's thinking and feeling in terms of a sky, which is either clear or full of clouds, or in other forms of nature imagery (particularly garden metaphors). This is not surprising if one knows that, apart from the conventional metaphors, the images drawn from nature form the largest single group in James's novels.³

The second group to be considered is that which combines a metaphorical verb with a noun. It will be evident from the following examples that it is always the noun which carries the greater weight in suggesting the image. Or we could say that the noun constitutes the principal structural element of the metaphor, whereas the verb is adjusted to it. First an example which shows, in a nut-shell, James's endeavour to avoid the conventional. By changing the noun in the rather conventional expression 'to kindle a flame' James has created a more original image when he writes: 'The very decision of her despair — it was after all so lucid — kindled in him a heat'. Not only has this metaphor lost its conventionality, but it has also gained a completely different meaning. 'To kindle a flame' is mostly used for something positive, be it the 'flame' of passion, or of a beginning understanding for something. But the heat kindled in Merton Densher rather denotes fear about Mrs. Stringham's decision. It is that sort of 'heat-wave' we all know rising into our heads when we are seized by a sudden fear. Even more effective as a simple pictorial conception is a metaphor referring to Gilbert Osmond and Isabel Archer: 'Some of his traditions made her push back her skirts'. The image at once makes us relate Osmond's traditions to dirt which one does not like to approach with clean clothes. James could, of course, just have written something like 'some of his traditions were disgusting', but such a plain statement would certainly never produce the effective and lasting impression we receive through the metaphor. This simple example points to one of the main functions of imagery and the justification for its introduction, viz. the emphasis on particularly important points for the understanding not only of a person's reactions and actions, but sometimes even for the correct understanding of a whole work. The passage just quoted is so constructed that the metaphor qualifies the preceding noun 'traditions'. It replaces a colourless adjective.

³ Excluding comparisons and similes, the approximate percentages of the largest single groups of imagery are the following: Conventional: 17; Nature: 15; Personifications of dead or abstract matters: 10; Animal World: 6; War: 5.

The images gain more colour, variety, and mostly also more significance, when a metaphorical adjective is added to the two elements of noun and verb. This brings us to the last group within this category. We shall see that in all instances the adjective adds an important qualification to the picture, in contrast to the adjectives contained in examples quoted under the first category. Strether has, at one point in Paris, the feeling that his being together with Maria Gostrey 'gave to an hour with his present friend on a bateau-mouche, or in the afternoon shade of the Champs Elysées, something of the innocent pleasure of handling rounded ivory'. Again, as in examples quoted above, we find here a certain parallelism, or rather a preceding interpretation ('innocent pleasure') of the following metaphor. But the adjective 'rounded' points to something else than mere innocence. It emphasizes that Strether's being together with Maria is entirely without danger. It stands in sharp contrast to his meeting with Madame de Vionnet, where Strether's admiration for the French lady places him in a much more dangerous position. If we recall here the picture of Adam Verver who feared that his son-in-law might be formed of dozens of 'pyramidal lozenges', which means that there might be a multitude of annoying and insurmountable differences and difficulties between them,⁴ we are in a better position to understand that the image from *The Ambassadors* depicts a situation diametrically opposed to that imagined by Adam Verver. The friendship between Strether and Maria is entirely without difficulties. It lacks the possibility of any disagreeable friction. It is like 'rounded ivory'. Here the metaphor not only covers the preceding interpretation ('innocent pleasure') but gives us a more precise qualification of the meetings of the two.

A second metaphor belonging to this group may show how James pictures a relation between a man and a woman, a relation which is the direct opposite of the one between Strether and Maria Gostrey. Isabel Archer, being looked at by Caspar Goodwood, feels that 'there was such a want of tact' in his insistence of looking, 'especially when the dull dark beam in his eye rested on her as a physical weight'. The essential section of this image as far as its significance is concerned is the last part, the transformation of the 'dull dark beam' into a 'physical weight' which, in her imagination, rests upon Isabel. The most important element is the metaphorical adjective 'physical'. Had it not been inserted by James we might interpret 'weight' as an undefined kind of oppression, an uneasiness felt by Isabel towards Goodwood. But the word 'physical' gives a more specific meaning to the passage. It underlines Goodwood's aggressiveness,

⁴ 'Say you had been formed, all over, in a lot of pyramidal lozenges like that wonderful side of the Ducal Palace in Venice — so lovely in a building, but so damnable, for rubbing against, in a man, and especially in a near relation. I can see them all from here — each of them sticking out by itself — all the architectural cut diamonds that would have scratched one's softer sides. One would have been scratched by diamonds — doubtless the neatest way if one was to be scratched at all — but one would have been more or less reduced to a hash. As it is, for living with, you're a pure and perfect crystal.'

his animal-like desire for Isabel, a view powerfully strengthened by the many images related to him which are drawn from war and the world of animals. In this example we are not faced with a parallelism of two pictorial conceptions but with the transformation of one picture into another, the first stating a fact, the second giving the effect it has on a person.

We were mainly interested in the last part of the metaphor quoted above. But the passage, taken as a whole, really belongs to the last category. It contains all those metaphors which are formed by more than the three elements of verb, adjective and noun, analysed so far. It is the category in which we not only find the greater part of all James's metaphors, but also — and this is more important — the more significant ones. The images falling into this category can again be divided into two groups, viz. those which remain within one pictorial conception only and those which show a transformation from one conception into one or more other. Let us first consider the group of one pictorial conception. In it we already find various shades of elaborateness. We encounter images of a simpler kind, standing close to the categories considered above. Here is an example: 'This proved sensibility of the lady of Lancaster Gate performed verily, for both our friends, during these first days, the office of a fine floating gold-dust, something that threw over the prospect a harmonising blur'. Up to the word 'gold-dust' we have an image with the three elements of adjective, verb and noun. But in its continuation the metaphor gives us the effect which the 'gold-dust' has upon Mrs. Stringham and Milly Theale. It is evident, on the other hand, that this second part of the image remains entirely within the picture drawn by the 'fine floating gold-dust'. Rather more and different elements are contained in a metaphor concerning Madame Merle. 'She appeared to have, in her experience, a touch-stone for everything, and somewhere in the capacious pocket of her congenial memory she would find the key to Henrietta's virtue'. The word 'touch-stone' which is only slightly metaphorical, emerges, adapted to the particular situation, as a 'key'. This key-image, very frequent in James's novels and rather on the conventional side, is here embedded in a larger, original and therefore more striking pictorial conception, in that Madame Merle's memory is seen as a 'capacious pocket'. Although the passage above looks quite simple and its meaning emerges very easily, it shows, nevertheless, a masterly structure. After first stating a general quality of Madame Merle's experience, James then creates a picture which is only slightly related to the earlier statement, but within which he gives a specification of that general quality mentioned first, this time adapted to one special case.

A last example within this group may show how many different elements James sometimes relates without leaving the one pictorial conception once created. The passage refers to Prince Amerigo's feelings about his becoming rich by his forthcoming marriage to Maggie Verver: 'It had but sweetened the waters in which he now floated, tinted them as by the

action of some essence, poured from a gold-topped phial, for making one's bath aromatic. No one before him, never — not even the infamous Pope — had so sat up to his neck in such a bath'. The whole passage is a gradual build-up to a climax which is reached at the very end by the comparison with the 'infamous Pope'. The pictorial conception consists of six components, each adding a new element and quality to the whole picture. The prince's 'waters' are specified as a 'bath'. Its qualities are successively added from sweetness via colour to its being aromatic. Most significant is the picture of the 'gold-topped phial', the only hint, in fact, — if the passage is considered outside its context — for the possible interpretation of the passage. But we are not here concerned in the first place with the meaning of the passage, but with its elements and its structure. We only want to use this example as a reminder of how difficult it is with many of James's elaborate metaphors to interpret them, when not considered within, and as a part of, a wider context.

Comparisons usually consist of a metaphorical and a non-metaphorical element. It is very rare indeed that a metaphor has as its comparison another metaphor. If this is the case, as in the following example, we have reached the second group of this category, viz. that of more than one pictorial conception. 'In such recreations the chords of feeling grow tense, and after-life, to spare your intellectual nerves, must play upon them with a touch as dainty as the tread of Mignon when she danced her egg-dance'. Here Mignon's dance is compared to the playing on an instrument which in turn is used metaphorically for someone's feelings. From the Mignon-image we may presume that James was thinking of the harp when he created his first metaphor, and that this brought to his mind the comparison with Mignon by way of Harfner. The outstanding quality in the structure of this metaphorical passage is the fact that the first image receives its full significance only by the introduction of the second. We are here confronted with an organic interrelation of two pictorial conceptions.

In this group the difference in them can be caused by the change in a situation which requires another picture, as when Charlotte Stant, reviewing her past years, laments: 'why was I myself dealt with all for deception? why condemned after a couple of short years to find the golden flame — oh the golden flame! — a mere handful of black ashes?' The two pictures, though quite different from one another, are yet in strict parallel. We could even go so far as to replace 'golden flame' by life (both elements possessing a life-like quality) and 'black ashes' by death, again in a metaphorical sense, just to bring out what may be the symbolical meaning of some of James's metaphors.

There are also metaphors within this group where the different pictorial conceptions have no, or but a slight organic relation to one another. It is, in these cases, some element lying outside the metaphorical passages which holds them together. 'Paris had, in its way, deeper voices and warnings, so that if you went at all "far" there it laid bristling traps, as they might have been viewed, all smothered in flowers, for your going further still'.

In this case both metaphorical conceptions are connected with 'Paris', although one might see a slight relation also between the two metaphors themselves, particularly between the 'warnings' of the first and the 'bristling traps' of the second. But it is very doubtful whether one can set the 'deeper voices' parallel to the 'flowers' in the second conception. It seems rather that the two elements of the first conception are different, but parallel, expressions for one and the same thing, so that one can identify the 'deeper voices' with 'warnings', whereas in the second conception we have a clear elaboration of the first picture — the 'bristling traps' — when they are seen as 'smothered in flowers'. This second element serves as an explanation why one does not become aware of the 'traps', and therefore goes 'further still'. The structure of this metaphorical passage is quite intricate and complicated, containing at the same time parallelisms, inter-relations and transformations among its pictorial elements.

The following example is remarkable for its richness in pictorial elements. It concerns Adam Verver: 'Light broke for him at last, indeed, quite as a consequence of the fear of breathing a chill upon this luxuriance of her spiritual garden. As at a turn of his labyrinth he saw his issue, which opened out so wide, for the minute, that he held his breath with wonder'. Four different pictorial conceptions are crowded into this comparatively short passage. It does not, however, leave the impression of being overloaded but, on the contrary, conveys a feeling of a well-formed equilibrium. We shall be in a better position to understand the reasons for this feeling if we look at the various pictorial conceptions more closely and study their relations to one another. The four conceptions are easily to be separated :

- 1) 'Light broke for him at last'
- 2) 'the fear of breathing a chill upon this luxuriance of her spiritual garden'
- 3) 'As at a turn of his labyrinth he saw his issue, which opened out so wide'
- 4) 'he held his breath with wonder.'

A more external structural symmetry is apparent in that each of the two sentences contains two pictorial conceptions. But more interesting and important are the internal relations. We find here that 1) is a consequence of 2), whereas 4) is a consequence of 3). Moreover: 1) is related to 3), because it is evident that without his having reached 'a turn of his labyrinth' no 'light' could have broken for Adam. But also 2) and 4) are organically related to one another, both being based on the picture of his not breathing, in the first case out of fear, in the second out of wonder. And yet we cannot say that one single overall pictorial conception holds the whole passage together, as was the case with the passage of Amerigo's 'sweetened waters'. But the fact that all the pictorial elements of the passage are in some way connected with one another gives it an extraordinary unity and symmetry of structure, which is rare even among James's metaphorical creations.

We have, in this article, only chosen rather short and less elaborate examples. We have not touched upon such long and structurally extremely complicated passages as the one where, for instance, Amerigo is seen as a Palladian church or where Maggie Verver pictures herself as in front of a pagoda. The analysis of such elaborate metaphorical 'buildings', which stretch over several pages, would show even more clearly how masterly James built his major creations in the field of metaphor.

London.

ALEX HOLDER.

On the Preposition *Over*

We sometimes come across the preposition *over* in contexts like these:

1. Do you think Mr. Fortescue swindled your husband over the Blackbird Mine, Mrs. Mackenzie? Christie 136.¹
2. Elaine's been eating her heart out over a young man ... Christie 149.

The preposition expresses something like 'in connection with', in the second instance with a touch of causality. Curious to know more about this we turn to the Oxford English Dictionary, which, however, sadly disappoints us as far as the modern usage is concerned. The O.E.D. says (*over* prep. I 4c) that the sense of 'with reference to, regarding, concerning, about (a subject of discourse, thought, feeling, etc.)' is obsolete, and the last two of its four instances date from 1535 (Coverdale). Nor are other dictionaries very helpful. Some ignore our sense-variant, others, while mentioning it, give few or inadequate examples, or none at all. Bøgholm and Brahde in their monographs² briefly discuss *over* expressing occupation, or connection; Brahde touches on its tinge of causality.

This paper is an attempt at exploring the use of *over* = 'in connection with' from various angles. It is based on a material of c. 150 examples, drawn from c. 6,500 pages of prose (mostly fiction) published since 1900, and 35 numbers of British dailies from the last six years.

As the principle of selection is a semantic one, let us first consider the *semantic* aspect of the *over* group.

The dominant sense, 'in connection with', can often be rendered also by 'concerning', 'about' (cf. ex. 1). The choice between *over* and *concerning* (as *regards*, etc.) is partly a question of style, of which more will be said below, partly a question of different sense-content, for the note of

¹ See Bibliography.

² N. Bøgholm, *English Prepositions*. Copenhagen 1920. Alf. Brahde, *Studier over de engelske Praepositioner*. Diss. Copenhagen 1919.

causality which so often asserts itself in *over* is not inherent in the other expressions.

More instances without causality :

3. I don't really approve of skimming over the office personnel. Christie 158.
4. I never got a chance to thank you for playing up so well over that phone business. Amis 116.
5. At least over Indo-China the views of India and Canada ... are known to have come much closer. *Times* 28.6.56.
6. In the idiom *the ... the*, ... usage is divided over the punctuation. Perrin 760.
7. Success depends on the good-will of both sides. I was exceedingly fortunate in having it over the printing ... Praise is not for me but for the two parties. *Daily Mail* 3.8.59.
8. The special agreement may, and usually does, provide for consultation with the governors over the appointment of teachers who give denominational religious instruction. *The Educational System* 4.
9. In the hope that co-operation can still be achieved over the future of Cyprus ... *Daily Telegraph* 20.6.58.

'In connection with' can imply a causal connection. Brahde says (*op. cit.*, p. 92 ff.) that the object of the activity becomes the reason for it and gives instances chiefly after verbs (*laugh, crow, weep, mourn*, etc.).³ In the present material, however, the causal element ranges from insignificance to predominance and from indirect and vague relationships to a clear-cut cause-effect connection, as in :

10. Girl's parents sued over broken engagement (headline). *Evening Standard* 21.6.54.

Very often the connection is one in which the content of the governing word(s) arises out of the content of the *over* group.

Here follows a number of instances where the causal interpretation is barely possible :

11. ... she found herself in opposition to Uncle Matthew. It was over the following question. Mitford 38.
12. Brokers Go into a Huddle over Steel Result (headline). *Evening News* 28.6.54.
13. Take the dangerous revolt over the talks on the Suez Canal. *Observer* 20.6.54.
14. I don't want to make a mistake over this. Sayers 131.
15. We're in a dilemma over men like Mr Birt. *Green Concluding* 17.
16. ... her gratitude at his offer of help ... her demeanour over the sheet and table affair ... Amis 103.

In other contexts the note of causality becomes predominant :

17. Sometimes women screamed over nothing, and sometimes they screamed simply out

³ The O.E.D. (*over* prep. I 4 b) does not speak of causality but establishes a variant in which the literal notion is 'sunk in that of having something under treatment, observation, or consideration'. In my material *talk over* and *think over* have not been included; the lingering literal notion is particularly manifest after *watch*. After expressions of feeling there are border-line cases (see below).

- of rage ... or they screamed only to attract attention to themselves. Bromfield 262.⁴
18. She wouldn't break with him even over a thing like that ... Amis 206.
19. I remember being held up for weeks once over a thing I was doing, just because of one missing fact. Amis 177.⁴
20. Two Ministers Sacked over Poznan Riot. *Daily Mail* 9.7.56.
21. Mr. Durant grew pale and jumpy over the thing as the days went by. Parker 26.
22. Warsaw goes wild over Nixon (headline). *Daily Mail* 3.8.59.
23. He killed another soldier over one of those nigger women ... Faulkner 48.
24. Minnie's done took a crying spell tonight, over that bastard that left her ... Faulkner 214.
25. Protest Motion over Dr. Busia (headline). The Ghana United Party has tabled a motion of no confidence in the Speaker ... over his handling of the case of Dr. Busia ... *Times* 1.8.59.
26. Prince Charles ... started a panic over an iced lolly. The Prince wanted one. But the cinema didn't sell them. *Daily Express* 4.8.59.
27. What messes these women got themselves into over nothing. Amis 117.
28. This was the time for his never-ending warfare with the housemaids over wood-ash. Mitford 20.
29. 'Anybody but you would realize it's a case of cold-blooded murder.' 'And over her, of course.' Faulkner 147.
30. There is deep gloom in official quarters in London over the American reaction to Mr. Eden's parliamentary speech. *Observer* 27.6.54.
31. There was a row over that, was there? Amis 203.

Among the governing expressions two sense-categories can be discerned. The first is concerned with agreement or disagreement: see ex. 5, 6, 9-11, 13, 18, 25, 28, 31 and further:

32. 'We will press forward with plans for collective defence' whether there is *agreement* over Indo-China or not. *Times* 29.6.54.
33. He and Leslie had frightful *battles* over the nationalization of industries. Lawrence 380.
34. The East and West German delegations have *clashed* over a resolution to send a telegram to Geneva ... *Daily Telegraph* 30.7.59.
35. There has been some *conflict* already in the Communist Party over these alternatives ... *Times* 1.8.59.
36. But of all their *controversies*, none was so bitter as the one that took place over the windmill. Orwell 43.
37. He *differed* with the office over some contract for road work and threw up his job. Cary, *Except the Lord* 219.
38. Talking of reports that there were *differences* between Bill Rosensohn, the promotor, and Irving Khan, of the Teleprompter Corporation, over the next fight, Johansson said ... *Daily Mail* 3.8.59.
39. Both sides involved in the *dispute* over the wages of Smithfield meat drivers have asked for a meeting ... *Times* 9.7.58.
40. But it was over money that Billy Bob and Preacher had a big *falling out*. Capote 42.

⁴ The direct cause is couched in another preposition group, headed by *out of* in ex. 17, by *because of* in ex. 19.

41. Detectives believe that the killing was the result of a *feud* over gambling and other rackets. *Evening Standard* 26.6.56.
42. Another *protest* over S. African Republic (headline). *Times* 28.6.56.
43. The *quarrel* she was attempting to make seemed so cheap and shoddy, over people who were cheap and shoddy ... Bromfield 108.
44. The three hens who had been the ringleaders in the attempted *rebellion* over the eggs now came forward ... Orwell 73.
45. The *split* has come mainly over the Federal Government's control of economic policy. *Observer* 24.6.56.
46. Alida went out of the room, still a little irritated and cold from the *words* they had had over Nancy. Bromfield 64.

The second sense-category is made up of expressions for emotions, particularly such as unease, worry, etc. See ex. 2, 30, and further:

47. Communist *Anger* over U.S. Link (headline). *Times* 1.8.59.
48. He hadn't expected her — any woman — to *bother* very much over a man ... Faulkner 94.
49. Peers' *Concern* over Outbreak of Gang Warfare (headline). *Times* 28.6.56.
50. The Government had been *concerned* over a statement by Mr. Lipscomb ... *Times* 1.8.59.
51. You'll live to regret having a kid like that *fallen in love* over you. Green, *Loving* 151.
52. It is rather hard to see why such *fears* should be felt over a small country of three million people ... *Observer* 20.6.54.
53. The young girl ... came back with her face all shining, having seen thirty thousand people *go mad* over the two men that she loved. Paton 181.
54. Maria did not understand why Joe *laughed* so much over the answer he had made ... Joyce 101.
55. This last *trouble* over my cluster ring now. Green, *Loving* 186.
56. Back Bench *Unease* over Cyprus (headline). *Times* 28.6.56.
57. Besides you said just now you was *worried* over me. Green, *Loving* 148.

The last type is the one in which *over* most resembles a pure relation-word. Of other prepositions not only *about* but also *at*, *with* appear in similar contexts.

Although *about* could be substituted in many of the instances, the distributions of the two prepositions in the sense under review are far from coinciding. *About* would be out of place in ex. 1, 7, 12, 16-18, 20, 54, etc. Conversely, *over* has not been found to alternate with *about* after such common words as *ask*, *say*, *talk* and *tell* with or without objects.

Style. The *over* group is at home in all levels of usage except, it would seem, the elevated style. It is well established in colloquial speech. The novels containing the greatest number of instances (by Amis, Christie, Faulkner, and Green) have all been published in the last 25 years and are characterized by a large amount of dialogue. The group is further typical of journalese. About one third of all instances have been drawn from the 35 newspaper copies; one single number of *The Times* (1.8.59)

yielded 12 ex., more than any of the novels examined. There may be several reasons for this. Supported by its position in colloquial speech, *over* is handier than *concerning*, *in connection with*, and similar expressions, and its causal connotation gives it a wider range that is particularly useful in headlines.

Syntax. The *over* group occurs in a variety of sentence-positions, all of which are represented among the instances already quoted. Here follows a systematic account.

Predicative after *be* (2 ex.):

58. But these earlier occasions were in the first days of India's independence and over issues which were purely local. *Times* 1.8.59.

Modifying a real subject after *there is*, or the whole clause-kernel (15 ex.):

59. There is, for no apparent reason, a certain relaxing here over Cyprus. *Observer* 22.6.58.

Modifying an intransitive verb, or a clause-kernel of subject + intransitive verb (16 ex.):

60. I don't hurry over my dressing. Maugham, *Creatures of Circumstance* 88.

61. Malta Talks Fail over £1 Million. *Observer* 24.6.56.

Modifying a (verb +) past participle or adjective (24 ex.):

62. He had been connected with your husband, I believe, over a certain mine in Africa. Christie 136.

63. Billy Scarth and Heddle were busy over tangled fishing-lines. Linklater 112.

64. Nobody could find the nut-crackers, and Joe was nearly getting cross over it ... Joyce 102.

65. It's all very well I shall tell him his killing off poor Eldon but he must be more careful over Agatha ... Green, *Loving* 169.

66. Aunt Sadie was infinitely relieved, though inclined to be giggly over Uncle Matthew's rabbits. Mitford 45.

67. Everybody knows how obvious she's made herself over this man Penberthy. Sayers 129.

68. The real reason was that they had grown cross-eyed jealous over Miss Bobbit. Capote 42.

Modifying a clause-kernel of subject + verb + object (42 ex.):

69. I have a feeling we could burn our fingers over master Birt. Green, *Concluding* 18.

70. But they will lose their pretty heads over the telephone. When calls really begin coming in, they won't simply lay the receivers down off the hooks to have time to think ... Green, *Concluding* 31.

71. 'He never opens his correspondence.' 'Oh but he does over important things', she lied, to reassure herself. Green, *Concluding* 46.

72. Here was an unexpected opportunity to resume baiting Edgar over the episode of the spilt brandy. Wain 78.

73. One doesn't like to bother him over office details. Christie 152.

74. Miss W. asked me if I'd heard any more from you about how to handle people over the suspension. Carey, *Not Honour More* 216.
75. You started making such a fuss over Florence Leaming I thought you never wanted to see anybody else. Parker 10.
76. The western allies might be about to yield more over the Berlin agreement than the west Germans would have wished. *Times* 1.8.59.
77. Mr. Lloyd said he had no power ... to take action over stone, bricks, and dirt in the house coal ration. *Evening Standard* 21.6.54.
78. She took a very nasty knock, of course, over that Catchpole fellow. Amis 9.
79. Dixon felt a slight stab of conscience at having rather let Welch down over the lecture. Amis 233.
80. Smart bit of work that was you put in over your brother's little trouble. Sayers 34.
81. 'Provided he doesn't damage his reputation over this Fentiman affair', rejoined Wimsey. Sayers 127.
82. There was no reason to waste one's time over him. Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence* 24.

With another preposition-group:

83. You put us in a very difficult position over that. Shute, *In the Wet* 124.
84. What messes these women got themselves into over nothing. Amis 117.
85. That's the difficulty that you Australians and Canadians have made for us, as you did over Votes for Women. Shute, *In the Wet* 125.

In one sub-type we may hesitate whether the *over* group modifies the whole clause-kernel or more exclusively the object. The latter appears to be the case in ex. 92 and 93. Cf. earlier instances after the formula *there is*.

86. The jealousy he felt over this man obscured his judgement. Green, *Concluding* 84.
87. Everybody shelled out their money and made a great to-do over the whole thing. Capote 45.
88. For many years he had fought a hard fight over his poetry. Margoliouth 185.
89. The United States expresses its official 'concern' over the jungle fighting in Laos. *Manchester Guardian* 3.8.59.
90. You've no game licence ... I'd like to see 'em up in Dublin issue a permit over Mrs Welch as they do with the salmon trout. Green, *Loving* 89.
91. With every compromise he makes over Polish independence, his arguments become that much less attractive for the Polish people. *Observer* 29.6.58.
92. The Government here shares the wariness of all Greece over Cyprus. *Daily Telegraph* 20.6.58.
93. ... Dixon said, meaning to start a conversation that might diminish his retrospective embarrassment over the recent Loosmore-Callaghan *imbroglio*. Amis 46.

Other cases bordering on the noun-modifying type:

94. He ... let himself in for weeks of trouble over clearing his baggage from the London custom house. Margoliouth 148.
95. The reaction in Britain had been far more violent than it had been over atrocities committed by Mau Mau against innocent people. *Daily Telegraph* 30.7.59.

96. Nyasaland is in the grip of something approaching mass hysteria over the return to-morrow of Dr. Hastings K. Banda from 41 years in voluntary exile. *Observer* 6.7.58.
97. In a previous book he demolished the legend that there was ever a demand for sanctions against Japan over the Manchurian affair. *Observer* 6.7.58.

The noun-modifying type is in evidence when there is no verb, when the verb follows, when the verb precedes and a verb-complement follows (ex. 107) and, sometimes, in an environment of preposition-groups.

98. German support for French nationalistic aspirations ... and for her opposition to any widespread area of free trade, in return for French support of Dr. Adenauer's stand over Berlin. *Daily Telegraph* 30.7.59.
99. U.S. Attacks Malik. 'Irresponsible move' over A-bomb 'forgery' (headline). *Evening Standard* 4.7.58.
100. Action Over Window (headline). They brought an action against the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's for having put up a 'superstitious picture...'. *Daily Telegraph* 14.7.56.
101. Miss Somers's troubles over the tea were forgotten. Christie 153.
102. Ben Jonson, after his imprisonment over the *Isle of Dogs* affair, had joined the Lord Admiral's Men and was writing plays for them. Harrison 78.
103. Difficulties over the unions' ballot question did not affect the provisional agreement already reached on the unions' hours and wages claim. *Times* 1.8.59.
104. It has dispelled the suspicion that France's economic difficulties over the Common Market are heightened politically by fear or jealousy of Germany. *Daily Telegraph* 9.9.58.
105. And a motion of censure of the Government over the car crisis was tabled by 10 West Midland Socialist M.P.s. *Daily Express* 29.6.56.
106. After his villainous behaviour over the sitting-room carpet, it was hardly to be expected that I should. Isherwood 105.
107. Some observers attribute Chou's change of heart over Laos and Cambodia to the influence of Mr. Krishna Menon. *Daily Mail* 22.6.54.
108. It would have been a great help to Coleridge in his difficulties over getting stamped paper for *The Friend* in 1809 if Wordsworth had then been Distributor. Margoliouth 179.
109. Sir Winston's interest ... may make him anxious to achieve some new agreement about joint consultation over the use of atomic weapons. *Observer* 20.6.54.
110. He ... began with a lot of compliments about my fine job on the day before over the bus trouble. Cary, *Not Honour More* 132.

No correlation can be traced between semantic and syntactic types. Causal and non-causal instances are thus fairly evenly distributed over the various sentence-positions.

The over group depends heavily on a governing expression. The fact that it is once found as sentence-kernel (ex. 29) does not disprove this, for any word or word group can form a sentence complementing what precedes. Even in the numerous headlines the *over* group always leans on a governing expression. Moreover, it regularly follows that expression. In the few instances where the *over* group precedes, the effect is one of strong emphasis on the group:

111. Over Crichel Down Sir Thomas's head had to roll, he writes, because ... the case for a ceremonial sacrifice, however undeservedly harsh, may be justified. The clear corollary he draws is that over the Hola atrocities Mr. Lennox-Boyd's head must remain firmly on his shoulders ... *Daily Telegraph* 30.7.59.
112. At least over Indo-China the views of India and Canada ... are known to have come much closer. *Times* 28.6.56.
113. Only over poetry was there a little struggle. Gibbons 145.

Spatial and/or temporal *over* groups are more independent. 'Over the Mountains' would do as title of a literary work, but would 'Over Civilization'? And the front-placing of such an *over* group does not necessarily lend it strong emphasis:

Over supper and during the rest of the evening he told them the trouble he had had with Betty. Maugham, *Creatures of Circumstance* 304.

Other spatial and/or temporal preposition groups also have more independence: cf. titles such as *At the Bay*, *From Here to Eternity*, *In the Wet*, *Across the River and Into the Trees*, and, in a transferred spatial sense, *On Civilization*. *Over* in our sense has more in common with that nearest English approach to a pure relation-word, *of*. Without entering on the syntax of the *of* group we may remember that in its genitival function it cannot normally form or introduce a sentence. It is in the nature of a relation-word to connect.

Syntactic criteria, bearing on sentence-function and sentence-position, would thus seem to have emerged for what was first taken to be a purely semantic variant of the *over* group.

Göteborg.

J. SÖDERLIND.

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- , *Loving*. Penguin Books 958 (1945).

⁵ The figure within brackets indicates the year of first publication.

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Notes and News

A Note on Chaucer's Pronunciation of French *u*

Nowadays the tendency seems to be growing to use the French *ü* sound in words like M.E. *nature*, *endure*, *music*, etc. The main reason for doing so seems to be the argument that Chaucer knew French and that therefore he was able to give to this sound its characteristic French articulation. A second argument is that Chaucer always keeps the *ü* and *ū* sounds apart and never rhymes words like *nature* with words like *our*, with only one notable exception in the *Complaint of Venus*, where *aventure* rhymes with *honoure*.

As to the first argument, the fact that Chaucer was able to pronounce *ü*, which I readily grant, does not prove that he used this pronunciation when speaking English. He was also able to pronounce the French nasalised vowels and yet there is sufficient evidence, both in spellings and in rhymes, that he used the sounds substituted for them by the ordinary, uneducated Englishman. French *chambre* is normally pronounced in Chaucer with either an *au* diphthong or a long *ā* monophthong; the proper name *Palamon*

E. S. XLI. 1960.

rhymes with M.E. *ston* or with M.E. *toun*, and, as far as I know, nobody substitutes the French nasalised vowel in such words. Again, Chaucer must have known the place of the stress in French words and yet there are plenty of instances where the metre proves that he deviates from the French pronunciation and substitutes English stress. So the fact that Chaucer knew French is no reason for using an *ü* sound in *nature*, *endure*, etc.

The second argument is more objective, and, to my mind, the consistent avoidance of rhyming *nature*, etc., with *labour*, etc., makes it certain that Chaucers kept the two vowel sounds apart. There is little uncertainty and no disagreement among scholars concerning the pronunciation of *our*, *labour*, etc., but it is by no means easy to fix the exact pronunciation of *nature*, *cure*, etc. We have four means by which to establish it:

Its origin

Its later development

Rhymes

Spellings

1. Its origin is a tense, rounded, close, front vowel, represented here by *ü*. Chaucer's dialect, and as a matter of fact most dialects by the middle of the fourteenth century, had no rounded front vowels. The South East Midland dialect to which his speech goes back had probably never had them in the course of Middle English, that is, after the unrounding of O.E. *y*.¹ The ordinary Englishman, who had not learned French, must have used a substitute for this *ü* sound, and this substitute must have contained a close, front element and a rounded, back element. Theoretically we get the combination *iu*, where the quantity and the stress of the component elements are doubtful, i.e., we may have a long or a short *i* and *u*, and we may have had a falling or a rising diphthong.

2. The later development shows *jū*. Now there are two possibilities: either *jū* is original and is the sound substituted for French *ü*, or *jū* is a later development of an earlier *iu*. The change may have taken place when the new diphthongs *æi* and *æu* arose, because in these new diphthongs the second element is more important at first; parallel with these, the falling diphthong *iu* became a rising diphthong *iū* or *ju*. The greater natural sonority of *u* as against *i* would, by itself, have tended to push the diphthong into this direction.

3. Chaucer's rhymes establish, as we have seen, the difference between *ū* and *ü*, *iu* or *jū*. From the point of view of rhymes *jū* is therefore the least likely sound in this connection. The *iu* variant, however, is by no means excluded. The rhyme *aventure* — *honoure* in the *Complaint of*

¹ That O.E. *eo* was monophthongised to *e* via *ō* is very doubtful for the East Midlands. I have not been able to find any clear evidence of this development. From a structural point of view, too, it is difficult to accept that the rounding of the front vowel *y* disappeared, while at the same time another rounded front vowel should have developed. It is a different matter in the West Midlands and the South, where O.E. *y* remains.

Venus points to some common element and *ū* and *iu* have enough in common to constitute an imperfect rhyme, though on the other hand the difference is great enough for such rhymes to be avoided by a careful artist, which Chaucer undoubtedly was.

4. The normal spelling in French words is the symbol *u* :

figure, music, Pruce, vertu, etc.

But other spellings also occur :

suen, suwen, sewen (to pursue)

truaundyse, trowandyse

eschuwen, eschewen (Piers Plowman MSS have *eschiwen*)

rude, rewde

saluwen, salewen, salowen

sure, seur; surete, seurete

aseuraunce

juwel, jewel, jowel

Maysondeu (Fr. 'Maison Dieu', a name for a hospital)

The last word almost certainly indicates an *iu* sound, though advocates of the *ū* pronunciation may object that it represents the popular pronunciation. In return we might ask why Chaucer should have used the 'stylish' *ū* sound, while at the same time preferring the vernacular, English speech to the 'stylish' French. Significant too is the word *aseuraunce*. It occurs in *Troilus and Criseyde* V, 1259 :

O trust, O feyth, O depe aseuraunce

The metre proves that *eu* here stands for two syllables and that the *e* is stressed. This might be regarded as definitive. But unfortunately its etymology throws some doubt on the original French sound, for its Latin ancestor is *sēcurus* and the *eu* spelling and pronunciation may go back to *ec* via *eg*, *ew*, *eu*. The same difficulty applies to *seur*, though the form *sure*, which also occurs in Chaucerian MSS, strongly points towards *iu*.

It remains to say something on the *ew* spellings in original English words. *Ew* usually goes back to O.E. *ēow*, but sometimes to *īw*, *ȝw* :

trewē: O.E. *trēow*, *trȳw*

newē: O.E. *nīwe*, *nīowe*, *nēowe*

hewē (servant): O.E. *hīwan*

hewē (colour): O.E. *hīw*, *hēow*

ew (yew-tree): O.E. *īw*

Spellings like *slewthe*, *slouthē*; *trewthe*, *trouthē*, etc., may be due to O.E. stress-shifting: *trēowðe* — *trēowðe* — *trōwðe*. This *ōw* then developed into *ūw* — *ū*, just as in *ēow* — *you*. As *ew* represents a monosyllabic sound, we get either *ēu* or *īu*, and in view of what we have shown so far, the probability is *īu*. In the O.E. *ēow* combinations the second element will have raised the *ē* to *ī*, just as it raised *ō* to *ū* in *trouthē*. The doublets *trewthe*, *trouthē*, *slewthe*, *slouthē*, etc., gave rise to other doublets and to the loss of the *i* element after *r* and *l*, which is typical of Modern English.

To round off the case I may be allowed to give the Middle English Dictionary (Kurath and Kuhn) forms of three words. They are not restricted to Chaucerian spellings, but they are very illuminating:

ewe (female sheep): *eue, ewe, hewe, owe, yeue, yowe, yoo*

fruit: *fruit, frut, frute, freut, frouf*

beauty: *beaute, beute, beuete, beuaute, buute, boutte*

These *ou, ow* spellings also clear up the notorious crux in *Troilus* IV, 210. *thus seyden here and howne*. *Howne* is the old *n* plural of O.E. *hiwa* — *hiwan*, 'domestic servants', later *hind*, or it is a variant of *hewen*, 'family, household', which occurs in Ælfric and Orm;² *here* stands for O.N. *hera* or for Dutch *heer*, 'lord', probably the Old Norse form, because there is also an O.N. *hjú, hjún*, 'man and wife, members of the household, domestics'. So the meaning is: thus said lords and servants, thus said high and low, thus said everybody.

To conclude, though we can never be quite sure of the pronunciation of an individual speaker, all the evidence points to Chaucer having pronounced *iu* in French loanwords, with the stress on the first element of the diphthong. This *iu* coalesced with earlier *ew, iw* and, later on, developed into the rising diphthong *jū* of *new, knew* and *due*.

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G. STORMS.

Sterne as Plagiarist

Sterne's notoriety as an arch-plagiarist has snowballed through the years, but, apart from L. V. D. H. Hammond's investigation of the sermons,¹ no systematic attempt seems to have made to assess either the extent of his borrowings or the use to which he put them. The present study is based on a critical compilation of all the debts with which Sterne has been charged, excluding vague and quite unprovable echoes which have, from time to time, been noted by enthusiasts for whom the name Sterne connoted only plagiarism. The following is a summary of the incidence of verbatim borrowings in *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey* together with their sources:

Tristram Shandy

- I, xii, 29² : a sentence paraphrased (and italicized) from Dr. Thomas Tenison, *Baconiana* (London, 1679), Introduction, p. 16. (Cf. C. M. Tenison, 'Sterne and Plagiarisms', *N & Q*, 8th Series, VI (1894), 6.)

² Cp. the O.E.D., s.v. *hewe, hewen* and *hind*. For other, rather desperate attempts at explaining the expression see F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed., 1957, note to this line, p. 828.

¹ *Laurence Sterne's Sermons of Mr. Yorick* (New Haven, Conn., 1948).

² Page references are to the Odyssey Press edition, ed. J. A. Work (New York, 1940).

- II, i, *passim*. : data on Uncle Toby's 'campaigns' from N. Tindal, M.A., *The History of England, by Mr. Rapin de Thoyras, Continued from the Revolution to the Accession of King George II* (4 vols., London, 1732-45), III, 293.
(Cf. Theodore Baird, 'The Time-Scheme of *Tristram Shandy* and a Source', *PMLA*, LI (1936), 803-20.)
- iii, 88-9 : data from the article on *Fortifications* in Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (2nd ed., 1738), I. (Cf. Edward Bensley, 'A Debt of Sterne's', *TLS*, Nov. 1, 1928, 806.)
- xii, 111 : data from article on *Curtin* in Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, I. (Cf. Bensley.)
- xiv, 116-18 : reference to Stephinus' sailing chariot from John Wilkins, *Mathematical Magick* (London, 1708), II, ii. (Cf. Gwin J. Kolb, 'A Note on "Tristram Shandy": Some New Sources', *N & Q*, CXCVI (1951), 226-7.)
- xix, 148-9 : data from articles on *Soul* and *Sensory* in Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, II. (Cf. Bernard L. Greenberg, 'Laurence Sterne and Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*', *MLN*, LXIX (1954), 560-2.)
- 152-3 : data from article on *Caesarian Section*.
- III, iv, 160-1 : data from article on *Stoics* in Chambers. (Cf. Bensley.)
- Author's Preface (between Chapters xx and xxi), 200: a sentence (in quotation marks) from Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter Le Motteux, rev. J. Ozell (London, 1737), III, xvi. (Cf. Huntington Brown, *Rabelais in English Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933.))
- xxv, 213 : data from article on *Bridge* in Chambers. (Cf. Bensley.)
- IV, vii, 277 : passage adapted from Sterne's *Sermons*, VI (1769), p. 7 (originally from Walter Leightonhouse, *Twelve Sermons, Preached at the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* (London, 1697), pp. 429-30. Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*)
- viii, 279 : another sentence from the same sermon.
- xvii, 293 : a sentence adapted from Sterne's *Sermons*, VII, p. 134.
- V, i, 343, 346 : four excerpts adapted from Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (6th ed. Oxford, 1651). (Cf. John Ferriar, *Illustrations of Sterne*, London, 1798.)
- ii, 350 : another short excerpt from Burton.
- iii, *passim*. : eleven miscellaneous passages from the *Anatomy*; three short passages from Francis Bacon, 'Of Death', *The Essayes or Counsels*.
- ix, 364 : a brief sentence from Burton.
- x, 365 : a phrase from Bacon.
- xx-xxii, *passim* : assorted data from Tindal.
- xxviii, 386 : a sentence from Burton.
- xxix, 387-9 : fairly lengthy passage from Rabelais, I, xxv, concerning duel between Gymnast and Tripet. (Cf. Brown.)
- xlii, 403 : a passage adapted from Obadiah Walker, *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (6th ed., London, 1699), p. 111. (Cf. J. M. Turnbull, 'The Prototype of Walter Shandy's *Tristra-paedia*', *RES*, II (1926), 212-15.)

- xliii, 406-7 : another passage adapted from Walker, p. 149.
 VI, xxiii, xxiv and xxxiv, *passim* : more data from Tindal
 xxxvi, 466 : another short passage from Burton.
 VII, xiv, 494, 495 : two more brief adaptations from Burton.
 VIII, xix, *passim* : further data from Tindal.
 xxvi, 579 : a couplet from Burton.
 xxxi, 583 : reference from Burton regarding Hilarion the hermit.
 xxxiii, 587 : ammunition from Burton for Walter Shandy's speech on love.
 xxxiv, 592 : more help from Burton for Walter Shandy's letter to Uncle Toby.
 IX—Nil.

A Sentimental Journey

Fragment re Abdera : adapted from Burton. (Cf. Ferriar.)

Anecdote re Dwarf : sentence adapted from Scarron, *The Whole Comical Works*, trans. by Mr. Tho. Brown, Mr. Savage, and others (London, 1700), I, 235. (Cf. W. A. Eddy, 'Tom Brown and *Tristram Shandy*', *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 379-81.)

This summary of the incidence of Sterne's borrowings shows that they are by far most extensive in Volume Five of *Tristram Shandy*, in both number and length.³ Among the 'sources', Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* and Tindal's *History* are used, as one would expect from their nature, merely as reference books from which facts concerning fortifications and military campaigns are culled to lend authenticity to the accounts of Uncle Toby's 'hobby-horse'. Wilkins' *Mathematical Magick* performs a similar function and Walker's treatise on education likewise supplies a few details for Mr. Shandy's *Tristra-paedia*, and also furnishes a passage ideal for purposes of burlesque (see reference below). Ozell's *Rabelais*, apart from a single sentence (and a few stray words⁴) provides only Yorick's description of the encounter between Gymnast and Tripot in Volume Five, Chapter Twenty-nine, and this is plainly stated to be out of 'a book from his right-hand coat pocket'. Burton, the source most heavily drawn upon, is used mainly as a commonplace book of suitable quotations from ancient authors. Mr. Shandy must sprinkle his discourses with learned references

³ When viewed in relation to the increase of borrowings in Volume V, the following quotation from a letter written by Sterne to his friend John Hall-Stevenson in June, 1761, takes on new significance: 'To-morrow morning, (if Heaven permit) I begin the fifth volume of Shandy — I care not a curse for the critics — I'll load my vehicle with what goods he sends me, and they may take 'em off my hands, or let them alone —' (*Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. L. P. Curtis, Oxford, 1935, p. 140). Another passage from a letter written on July 28 of that year to the same correspondent is also interesting as a possible explanation of the greater literalness of quotations in Volume V: 'I go on with *Tristram* — I have bought seven hundred books at a purchase dog cheap — and many good — and I have been a week getting them set up in my best room here —' (*Letters*, p. 142). The fifth and sixth volumes of *Shandy* did not find so ready a sale as had the first four.

⁴ Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*

to authorities, and Tristram, as his father's son, must also display some touches of quaint erudition. Sterne could scarcely find a better symposium than the *Anatomy* to supply such strokes. The wonder, in retrospect, is that he restrained himself from borrowing far more than he actually did.

Most of the Burtonian echoes occur in Volume Five, along with excerpts from Tindal, Rabelais, and Walker. The only verbatim debt located in Volume One is the passage from Dr. Tenison's introduction to *Baconiana*, and it is printed in italics to indicate its derivative nature. Volumes Two and Three contain a few background details from Tindal, Chambers, and Wilkins, besides the single sentence from Rabelais in the 'Author's Preface'. In Volume Four, three improved fragments from two unpublished sermons (eventually published posthumously) are fitted in. Burton is the only source used verbatim in Volumes Six, Seven, and Eight, though Tindal is called on for some historical points. Volume Nine is free of borrowings. In *A Sentimental Journey*, the Lucianic fragment from Burton and the anecdote about the dwarf from Scarron (probably by way of Tom Brown) are the only direct derivatives, and these are so worked up as to be all but unrecognizable.

In the 'Art of Sinking in Poetry', Pope's 'Scriblerus' defines imitation as being of 'two Sorts; the First is when we force to our own Purposes the Thoughts of others; the Second consists in copying the Imperfections, or Blemishes of celebrated Authors'.⁵ The definition of the second type is a thrust at the usual advice given in treatises on rhetoric. Obadiah Walker's *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen* puts it in this manner: 'For Imitation; let him imitate those he readeth (as is taught in Rhetoric) by translating, paraphrasing, epitomizing, and composing upon his own subject somewhat like the other'.⁶ Usually such adjurations were accompanied by a recommendation that a commonplace book be kept. Sterne's borrowings seem to be described better by the first definition fashioned by Martinus Scriblerus, however, and whether or not he kept a commonplace book for this purpose is a moot point.⁷ He seems to have preferred to make use of ready-made compilations such as Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, Walker's *On Education*, and Tindal's *History*, not to mention Burton's *Anatomy*. He had many eminent forerunners in the practice of borrowing; not only Burton, but Rabelais, too, absorbed much outside material into his *magnum opus*. And, of course, all the humanists, from Budaeus and Erasmus on, were so steeped in the classics that their writings are often almost entirely made up of adapted expressions. While no delver into

⁵ *Miscellanies*, ed. Pope and Swift, Vol. IV (London, 1727), p. 41.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁷ Dr. Hammond's investigation of borrowings in the sermons seems to indicate that he did not. On the other hand, his favorite philosopher, John Locke, wrote an article in French for *La Bibliothèque Universelle* on the organization of a commonplace book which was later translated and included in his posthumous works. ('A New Method of a Common-Place-Book', *Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke*, London, 1706.) Bacon, also, spoke in favor of such compilations, as did the third Lord Shaftesbury.

books on the scale of these giants of scholarship, Sterne shared their enthusiasm for odd and out-of-the-way scraps of knowledge.⁸ Like the audience for whom he wrote, he was eager for erudition in a comprehensible form. Like the compilers of Cyclopaedias, he was motivated in part by the effort to achieve some sort of synthesis of the data which experimental science had been accumulating in pursuance of Bacon's inductive method.⁹

In the matter of borrowing, as in other aspects of his work, Sterne's methods are a strange mixture of the old and the new. He seeks to revivify second-hand material by presenting it in a 'singular' manner. Standard neo-classic theories concerning the imitation of models were leavened in the latter half of the eighteenth century by a growing belief that every man had, as Samuel Johnson put it in 1778, 'a style peculiar to himself'. The concept of the natural diversity of individuals as one of the principal sources of originality was used by many critics as an argument against imitation. Writing in defence of Sterne's style in 1776, Samuel Pratt comments: 'Singularity is at all times better than sameness; I mean, it is better to write like an original, than a copier ... Every good writer is possest of some marks of excellence peculiar to himself.'¹⁰ Judged by such standards of his own time, Sterne might be said to be truly 'original', regardless of how much of other men's books he appropriated, since he encased his borrowings in his own very individual and apparently spontaneous manner of expression.

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⁸ Sterne's digressive method of composition, which adds to the impression that much extraneous matter has been lifted wholesale from other works and used to eke out his rather meagre narrative, might be considered an application of 'inventio' — the art of exploring the material to discover all the arguments which may be brought to bear in support of a proposition and in refutation of the opposing arguments. 'Rules of Amplification' are to be found in most manuals of rhetoric, and always include digressions. The burlesque of an extract from Walker's *On Education*, referred to above, is a good example of Sterne's playful use of such rules of rhetoric.

⁹ 'Thus, — thus [says Tristram Shandy] my fellow labourers and associates in this great harvest of learning, now ripening before our eyes; thus it is, by slow steps of casual increase, that our knowledge physical, metaphysical, physiological, polemical, nautical, mathematical, aenigmatical, technical, biographical, romantical, chemical, and obstetrical, with fifty other branches of it, (most of 'em ending, as these do, in *ical*) have, for these two last centuries and more, gradually been creeping upwards towards that *Ἀκμή* of their perfections, from which, if we may form a conjecture from the advances of these last seven years we cannot possibly be far off.' (I, xxi, 64.)

¹⁰ *Observations on the Night Thoughts of Dr. Young* (London, 1776), pp. 73-4. Quoted by Elizabeth L. Mann, 'The Problem of Originality in English Literary Criticism, 1750-1800', *PQ*, XVIII (1939), 97-118.

Virginia Woolf and Bergson's 'Mémoire Par Excellence'

'... there is nothing that does not leave some residue, and memory is a light that dances in the mind when the reality is buried', says Virginia Woolf in *The Shooting Party*.¹ In fact, in such novels as *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse* memory does not exist as merely a 'residue' but is co-extensive with every perception, immanent as an all-pervasive spirit in every phenomenon.

Her early novels, *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day* deal with the kind of recollections which seem to be only remnants of the traditional 'memory digressions'.² In these novels, Virginia Woolf presents personality as developing along a linear course of chronological sequence, each succeeding phase being more significant than the preceding one, and all events ultimately resolving into conventional *dénouement*, marriage, or death. Characters like Rachel Vinrace, Katherine Hilbery, Hewet or Ralph Denham remain so much engrossed in the present, with only an occasional glimpse of the future, that the past whenever evoked seems to be rather a pleasant emotional diversion than an organic part of their experience. Rachel's love for Hewet or Katherine's for Denham completely obliterate their past which, instead of *enduring*³ in the present, perishes at each instant, making life a mechanical growth and not a process of creative evolution.

In her later novels like *The Years* and *Between the Acts*, Virginia Woolf's treatment of memory again lapses into more or less traditional patterns. Eleanor, another 'goddess of Time',⁴ finds herself occasionally transported into associated memories. For instance, in 1910, at a concert she is reminded of Nicholas by 'the fat bouncing young man in his flaxen wig'.⁵

Or we have sometimes an instance of voluntary memory when two characters engage themselves in a mutual effort to recall a particular experience.

'I can still see you all sitting round that table, Miss Eleanor', said Crosby. But the table had gone. Morris had taken this; Delia had taken that; everything had been shared out and separated.

'And the kettle that wouldn't boil', said Eleanor, 'D'you remember that?' She tried to laugh.

'Oh, Miss Eleanor', said Crosby, shaking her head, 'I remember everything!'⁶

¹ Virginia Woolf, *The Haunted House* (London, 1943), p. 60.

² This phrase is used by Dr. David Daiches in his survey of the modern novel: *The Novel and the Modern World* (Chicago, 1948), p. 24.

³ This word is used here in a typical Bergsonian sense to imply the present moment as 'containing within it in a distinct form the ceaselessly growing image of the past'; Bergson, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. T. E. Hulme (London, 1913), p. 38.

⁴ Cf. with Proust's Albertine in *The Captive*, Pt. 2, trans. Scott Moncrieff (London, 1929), p. 197.

⁵ Virginia Woolf, *The Years* (London, 1940), p. 197.

⁶ *The Years*, p. 232.

But even in such moments, under the inevitable pressure of memories, it is only the present that predominates. 'But I've only the present moment, she thought.'⁷

Between the Acts is, to borrow Mrs. Swithin's words, 'an imaginative reconstruction of the past'⁸ in the present perspective. Whereas the acts roll on unfolding the past centuries, the intervening moments are full of social chatter and mild emotional flutters.

It is only in the middle phase of her career, in such novels as *Mrs Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, that Virginia Woolf becomes increasingly aware of the importance of memory to a literary artist. A careful analysis of these two novels will reveal a very close resemblance between Virginia Woolf on the one hand and Proust or Bergson on the other, in their treatment of memory. But although Virginia Woolf, unlike Proust or Bergson, does not make any clear distinction between the voluntary and involuntary memory she does, none the less, address herself frequently to Bergson's 'mémoire par excellence'. In *Orlando* we have the first clear exposition of the Bergsonian conception of memory as being a perpetual concomitant of every perception.⁹ All experiences are inextricably blended with a medley of associated recollections impinging upon our sensory impressions, thus making our mind a shop-window¹⁰ or a mosaic of very complex design.

... nature ... has further complicated her task and added to our confusion by providing not only a perfect rag-bag of odds and ends within us — a piece of a policeman's trousers lying cheek by jowl with Queen Alexandra's wedding veil — but has contrived that the whole assortment shall be lightly stitched together by a single thread.¹¹

She then proceeds to describe memory which always, in Bergson's words, 'remains capricious in its manifestations'.¹²

Memory is the seamstress, and a *capricious* one at that. Memory runs her needle in and out, up and down, hither and thither. We know not what comes next, or what follows after. Thus the most ordinary movement in the world, such as sitting down at a table and pulling the inkstand towards one, may agitate a thousand odd, disconnected fragments, now bright, now dim, hanging and bobbing and dipping and flaunting, like the underlinen of a family of fourteen on a line in a gale of wind. Instead of being a single, downright, bluff piece of work of which no man need feel ashamed, our commonest deeds are set about with a fluttering and flickering of wings, a rising and falling of lights.¹³

This explains how the memory of the 'lost Princess' melts into the face of 'that rather fat, shabby man who sat in Twitchett's room ever so many

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁸ Virginia Woolf, *Between the Acts* (London, 1941), p. 14.

⁹ Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. N. M. Paul & W. S. Palmer (London, 1911), p. 72.

¹⁰ Marcel Proust, *Within a Budding Grove*, Pt. 2, trans. Scott Moncrieff (London, 1924), p. 264.

¹¹ Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (London, 1928), pp. 73-74.

¹² *Matter and Memory*, p. 102 (italics mine).

¹³ *Orlando*, p. 74 (italics mine).

years ago when old Queen Bess came here to dine'.¹⁴ Orlando continues to catch at another 'of those little coloured rags' till he realizes that he has been completely 'disturbed' by Memory into a sense of despair for not being able to keep 'pace with her vagaries'.

These recollections keep Orlando in a perpetual glow of emotional flutter so that his life becomes a ceaseless stream of associated images and ideas.

And so, the thought of love would be ambered over with snow and winter; with log fires burning; with Russian women, gold swords, and the bark of stags; with old king James' slobbering and fireworks and sacks of treasure in the holds of Elizabethan sailing ships. *Every single thing, once he tried to dislodge it from its place in his mind, he found thus cumbered with other matter like the lump of glass which, after a year at the bottom of the sea, is grown about with bones and dragonflies, and coins and the tresses of drowned women.*¹⁵

Not only in *Orlando*, but also in such novels as *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, Virginia Woolf makes a consistent presentation of the various aspects of memory. Mrs. Dalloway, at the age of fifty, is like an enormous iceberg whose three-fourths of submerged consciousness occasionally peeps out in the form of associative recollections. In this novel, Virginia Woolf assumes a closer Bergsonian attitude in her frequent blending of pure memory with 'learnt recollections',¹⁶ so that it is seldom that we have, as in Proust, instances of pure *souvenir involontaire*. Even her seemingly involuntary memories are often blended with an element of contemplation which is less Proustian than Bergsonian in character. For instance, Aunt Helena 'sat in her white Cashmere shawl', he remembered, Dalloway, the chimes of St. Margaret's evoke associated images from their past life,¹⁷ and St. Margaret's itself takes on the form of Mrs. Dalloway. But although the past re-surges involuntarily in his mind, its course soon after falls under the directive force of deliberate will in the form of questions:

Ah, said St. Margaret's, like a hostess who comes into her drawing-room on the very stroke of the hour and finds her guests there already. I am not late. No, it is precisely half-past eleven, she says. Yet, though she is perfectly right, her voice, being the voice of the hostess, is reluctant to inflict its individuality. Some grief for the past holds it back; some concern for the present. It is half-past eleven, she says, and the sound of St. Margaret's glides into the recesses of the heart... like Clarissa herself, thought Peter Walsh, coming downstairs on the stroke of the hour in white. It is Clarissa herself, he thought, with a deep emotion, and an *extraordinarily clear, yet puzzling, recollection of her, as if this bell had come into the room years ago, where they sat at some moment of great intimacy*, and had gone from one to the other and had left, like a bee with honey, laden with the moment. But what room? What moment? And why had he been so profoundly happy when the clock was striking?¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁵ *Orlando*, pp. 93-94 (italics mine).

¹⁶ *Matter and Memory*, p. 95.

¹⁷ Note two vast movements of memory beginning each on pages 65 and 80 respectively: *Mrs. Dalloway* (London, 1950).

Compared with Proust, this description is obviously a much feebler attempt at reproducing a past situation through the medium of involuntary memory which also, towards the end, becomes deliberate and self-conscious.

Sometimes a few words may evoke, by association, a past memory in all its original details. Peter Walsh has been snoring on a bench in Regent's Park, near an elderly nurse knitting over the sleeping baby, when suddenly he cries out 'the death of the soul!' And at once 'the words attached themselves to some scene, to some room, to some past he had been dreaming of. It became clearer; the scene, the room, the past he had been dreaming of'.¹⁹ In the following paragraph we float along his stream of consciousness:

It was at Bourton that summer ... when he was so passionately in love with Clarissa. There were a great many people there, laughing and talking, sitting round a table after tea, and the room was bathed in yellow light and full of cigarette smoke... He could see Clarissa now, turning bright pink; somehow contracting... 'The death of the soul'. He had said that instinctively, ticketing the moment as he used to do — the death of her soul.²⁰

In the course of this vast re-surfing of the past, we find Peter Walsh recalling colours, sounds and smells, details both significant and insignificant. For instance, Aunt Helena 'sat in her white Cashmere shawl', he remembered, 'with her head against the window ... she was a great botanist, marching off in thick boots with a black tin collecting box slung between her shoulders'. And again, 'he stood by Miss Parry's chair as though he had been cut out of wood, talking about wild flowers ... He could hear her describing the moon'.²¹ And Clarissa came with 'her voice, her laugh, her dress (something floating, white, crimson) ...'²² Finally, the vividly remembered scene of his farewell meeting with Clarissa by the fountain 'in the middle of a little shrubbery, far from the house, with shrubs and trees all round it. There she came, even before the time, and they stood with the fountain between them, the spout (it was broken) dribbling water incessantly. *How sights fix themselves upon the mind! For example, the vivid green moss*'.²³ He could also 'remember Sally tearing off a rose, stopping to exclaim at the beauty of the cabbage leaves in the moonlight (it was extraordinary how vividly it all came back to him, things he hadn't thought of for years) ...'²⁴ In evoking such involuntary memories of the past, Virginia Woolf adopts the same attitude as Bergson in suggesting that once the reel of memory unwinds itself, all the little details, important or unimportant, emerge from their ambush in their true pristine colour and warmth.

¹⁸ *Mrs. Dalloway*, pp. 55-56 (italics mine).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 65-66.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 71 (italics mine).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

This pure memory, says Bergson, 'records, in the form of memory-images, all the events of our daily life as they occur in time; it neglects no detail; it leaves to each fact, to each gesture, its place and date. Regardless of utility or of practical application, it stores up the past by the mere necessity of its own nature ... in it we take refuge every time that, in the search for a particular image, we remount the slope of our past.'²⁵

To the Lighthouse is designed on a different memory-pattern. Although Mrs. Ramsay, like Mrs. Dalloway, is about fifty, it is not her past that informs the narrative but her present and subsequent 'resurrection' in the mind of Lily Briscoe. In the first part of the novel the present expands to reveal, as it were, the infinite possibilities of its impact upon the future; the middle section may be termed 'the storing of memories' through such media as the summer house and the housekeeper; whereas in the last section all these memories unfold themselves in Lily Briscoe's mind, enabling her to realize her vision. To bring this vision into proper perspective, she has to put some distance between herself and the canvas.

Lily stepped back to get her canvas — so — into perspective. It was an odd road to be walking, this of painting. Out and out one went, further and further ... And as she dipped into the blue paint, she dipped too into the past there. Now Mrs. Ramsay got up, she remembered ... and there was Minta in front of them with a hole in her stocking ... The Rayleys, thought Lily Briscoe, squeezing her tube of green paint. She collected her impressions of the Rayleys. Their lives appeared to her in a series of scenes ...

And thus '*she went on tunnelling her way into her picture, into the past*'.²⁶

There is a close resemblance between Proust's narrator Marcel and Lily Briscoe in their efforts to recapture the past through the medium of art; Marcel through writing his book,²⁷ and Lily Briscoe through painting. In both cases memory forms the essence underlying all great art. A significant difference between Virginia Woolf and Proust, however, is that like Dorothy Richardson and unlike him, she does not confine herself exclusively to *souvenir involontaire* but moves freely between what Bergson calls the planes of action and pure memory.²⁸ Like Bergson, she believes

²⁵ Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer (London, 1913), p. 92.

²⁶ Virginia Woolf, *To the Lighthouse* (London, 1949), pp. 265-267 (italics mine). The 'tunnelling process' seems to be Virginia Woolf's favourite device for evoking the past involuntarily, and she came by it, as she tells us in her diary, after long experimentation. 'It took me a year's groping to discover what I call my tunnelling process, by which I tell the past by instalments, as I have need of it. This is my prime discovery so far; and the fact that I've been so long finding it proves, I think, how false Percy Lubbock's doctrine is — that you can do this sort of thing *consciously*.' Virginia Woolf, *A Writer's Diary* (London, 1953), p. 61 (italics mine). See also Edward A. Hungerford, "'My Tunnelling Process': The Method of Mrs. Dalloway', *Modern Fiction Studies*, III (Summer 1957), 164-167.

²⁷ Proust, *Time Regained*, trans. Stephen Hudson (London, 1951), p. 288.

²⁸ *Matter and Memory*, pp. 86-105; 129-134.

in the indestructibility of the past²⁹ and its power to re-emerge into consciousness with all its infinite details, in the inseparableness of perception from recollection, and the power of memory to project all human experience in true perspective.

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Joyce and Norway

Joyce never visited Norway, perhaps for the same half superstitious reasons that prevented him from returning to Ireland. But Norway was often in the forefront of his mind and was closely associated with his thoughts of Dublin. To Lucia who was in Ireland in 1935 he wrote: 'You think you're in Ireland but you're also in Norway. The Norwegians founded the city of Wicklow...'

Joyce's ties with Norway began with his adulation of Ibsen, whom at first he read in translations (English and French). The first of Joyce's articles ever to be printed was his review of *When We Dead Awaken* in April 1900, and the earliest of the letters now published in Mr Gilbert's selection is the English version of his tribute to Ibsen of March 1901, which was actually sent in Norwegian. He continued to admire Ibsen to the end, as Professor Ellmann makes abundantly clear in the biography reviewed on pp. 334ff. Joyce admired Ibsen's revolt, his independence, his integrity. He found both in Ibsen's life and in his works (e.g. in *Love's Comedy*) a paradigm for the isolation of the artist, his exile from his native country and his defiance of hostile opinion at home. Joyce was wrong, however, in thinking that Ibsen forsook his wife (or else he has been reported wrong — Ellmann's sources for the information on pp. 221 and 238 are unpublished).

Joyce seems to have read practically everything by Ibsen, including his poems. It is more than likely that he recited 'Agnes, my lovely butterfly' (from *Brand*) to his friends, as Ellmann tells us p. 79, but the poem heard by Padraic Colum, who is referred to in Ellmann's note, was 'a lyric... about water lilies', which must have been 'Se, min bedste, hvad jeg bringer...'

The information provided by Stanislaus that Joyce, in planning *Ulysses*, at first thought of a Dublin *Peer Gynt* is significant, and the similarities are more important and numerous than Ellmann finds them to be (p. 275). Both Stephen and Peer are essentially poets, men of imagination; both refuse or evade religious obedience at the death-bed of their mothers, both are tempted by incontinence and self-sufficiency, both turned into beasts in the den of Circe (or the trolls), both haunted by guilt and both saved

²⁹ Bergson, *Mind-Energy*, trans. W. Carr (London, 1920), p. 56.

by their friends. The parallel is not extremely close — thus Penelope-Molly is not much of a Solvejg — but close enough to be interesting.

Joyce read other Norwegian writers besides Ibsen. He bought Bjørnson's apostatical tragedy *Beyond Our Power* in 1900 or 1901 and discussed Bjørnson in the Literary and Historical Society at University College. The inventory of books left in his flat in Trieste in 1920 includes Jonas Lie's *Østenfor Sol* and Knut Hamsun's dramatic trilogy *Ved rigets port*, *Livets spil* and *Aftenrøde*. Lie's story deals with a brilliant young doctor who is betrayed by his closest friend and thwarted in his career as a medical scientist. He at last discovers the perfidy and determines to overcome his enemy by 'silence, exile and cunning' almost, though not quite, using those words. It can hardly be doubted that Joyce acquired the book soon after its publication in 1905, at a time when he was engaged in writing *Stephen Hero*, and that Lie's story had some influence on his conception of himself. Hamsun's trilogy about the artist-rebel at least gave support to this conception, and Joyce must surely have read Hamsun's *Sult (Hunger)* as well. Probably Hamsun encouraged his interest in Nietzsche and the philosophy of the superman. In 1936 Joyce told the Danish journalist Ole Vinding that he had read Gunnar Heiberg. 'The discussion of love in Heiberg's plays is so close to the manner of Joyce's *Exiles* that there would seem to be a connection. None of the writers mentioned can be left out in any serious discussion of influences in Joyce's work.

Joyce read all or most of them in Norwegian, and the Norwegian language formed his second close tie with Norway. He began with a Danish grammar (according to *Stephen Hero*) and apparently a Norwegian teacher, and at various times studied with seven Norwegian teachers and one Danish (see Ellmann p. 705). Ellmann has traced the Danish one but gives no information of the others, except in one case the bare name of Pedersen. Nor does he say how Joyce was taught. Who, one would particularly like to know, was his first teacher in Dublin?

Stanislaus Joyce, in *My Brother's Keeper*, reports one of James's dreams 'in which Ibsen figured and Norway is confused with Denmark in a way Norwegians do not appreciate'. Ellmann, alas, has not considered Norwegian susceptibilities. Nothing will rouse the Viking temper in modern Norsemen more readily than any suggestion that their language is not their own. Ellmann calls the language that Ibsen wrote and Joyce learnt either Danish or Dano-Norwegian. Pedersen, we are told, gave him 'Danish lessons' (p. 244), and Joyce 'had read Gunnar Heiberg as well as Ibsen in Danish' (p. 707). Unless the latter piece of information derives verbatim from Ole Vinding, who ought to have known better, it must be due to an odd sense of politeness on Ellmann's part. There is a lack of discrimination here which Joyce, with his linguistic awareness, would have discountenanced. Not that Joyce himself is free from confusion, but Ellmann makes it worse confounded. I doubt whether Joyce anywhere speaks of modern Norwegian simply as Danish. 'Dano-Norwegian' is not

quite so unacceptable. After a plethora of spelling reforms, written Norwegian and Danish have now drawn about as far apart as the spoken tongues were even in Ibsen's day, and Ibsen's style has come to seem closer to Danish than to that of up-to-the-minute Norwegian writers. But even so one wonders why, when Joyce speaks of his translation of one of James Stephens's poems into Norwegian, Ellmann must call it 'Dano-Norwegian' — a frequently useful but just as frequently ugly and unnecessary adjective.

Joyce's Norwegian was by all accounts fairly fluent. His translation of Stephens's poem, done in 1932, is correct enough and not without merit as such translations go, though Joyce is wrong in commenting that the Danes and Norwegians 'have no word ... for the Last Day or General Judgment' (*den ytterste dag* or *Dommedag* — Joyce uses 'Ragnarok'; see Gilbert p. 318). I assume that neither Ellmann nor Gilbert has any Danish or Norwegian and that a few slips which occur in their quotations in these languages are due to faulty transcriptions and are not Joyce's mistakes. In one instance, however, Joyce blundered with a somewhat comical effect, as I have been able to ascertain thanks to the kindness of Miss Harriet Weaver and Mr Peter du Sautoy in providing me with photostats. Quoting from *Peer Gynt* at the end of a letter to Miss Weaver, he wrote, 'Han er faderlig syndigt imod min Person', which is more or less the Norwegian for 'He [God] is sinful towards my person in a fatherly way'. Ibsen's words are, 'Han er faderligt syndet imod min person'; literally, 'He is paternally minded towards my person'. (Mr Gilbert has amended Joyce's quotation to 'Han er faderligt syndet ...' without seeing that 'syndet' retains the main blunder.) Had Joyce realised, he might have taken this slip as an omen!

A third reason for Joyce's strange attachment to Norway was the similarity of her political situation to that of Ireland. Both countries were united to more powerful neighbours to the east. Norway, however, regained her full independence in 1905, and there is an obvious allusion to this event in Joyce's question to his brother on September 1, 1905: 'Is it not possible... to make Dublin a capital such as Christiania has become?'

Finally, and this was to become equally important to Joyce in his later phase as the knowledge of the language, he began to think of Dublin more and more as a city founded, like Wicklow and many other places, by the Danes or Norsemen (in this kind of context he used the words 'Danes' and 'Danish' in the traditional generic way about the western Scandinavian seafarers). Everything now added up, and in *Finnegans Wake* we find that the historical perspective continually goes back to the Viking marauders and settlers. And Finn himself is of Norse descent.

One of the stories most frequently woven into the texture of *Finnegans Wake* is that of the hunchbacked Norwegian sea captain and the Irish tailor. Originally one of Philip McCann's anecdotes, it was apparently taken over by John Joyce, who told it with great gusto and with many

comic embellishments. It is a pity Ellmann is not able to repeat it in greater detail (see p. 22 of his biography), for it forms the central incident of the 'Tavernry in Feast' episode of *Finnegans Wake*, in which the marriage of the Hill of Howth and the River Liffey is fused with the union of the Norse invaders and the Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. The sea captain, a northern Ulysses, turns symbolically into the uncouth Viking who comes first to plunder, then to settle, is baptised much against his inclination and finally marries the landlord's daughter. The captain's name is given as 'Pukkelsen', from the Norwegian 'pukkel' for 'hump', and he is definitely identified with the chief character of the book, Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker ('le gros norvégien H C E', as Joyce wrote to Louis Gillet). He is also identified with Finn MacCool and Tim Finnegan, since he is resuscitated like them, from 'Divy and Jorum's locquor' (FW p. 316). In all this section of *Finnegans Wake* Joyce uses Norwegian words and word-fragments very plentifully, and it must be especially hard to understand this part without some knowledge of one of the Scandinavian languages. Campbell and Robinson have not done too well here in their generally useful *Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake*, in fact they seem somewhat at a loss whenever Scandinavian words occur.

Mr James Atherton in his painstaking study of literary allusions in *Finnegans Wake* recognises his own handicap in not knowing Norwegian. He might, however, have checked the Norwegian titles of Ibsen's plays more carefully than he seems to have done. In two pages (257-8) he gets no less than five titles wrong (whatever Norwegian orthography is used) and in addition mis-spells a quotation from a poem. He also has mistakes in the Old Norse titles of Edda poems (p. 219); and on p. 153 a mis-spelling of 'sinnbilled' as 'synnbilled' as well as a bad interpretation of the Joycean sentence 'Man sicker at I ere bluffet konservativ?', where the Norwegian word disguised as 'bluffet' is obviously not 'bluffers' but 'blevet', meaning 'become'. The whole sentence is a near-quotation of the first line of Ibsen's poem *Til min ven revolutions-taleren!* — 'De siger, jeg er bleven "konservativ".' Joyce has substituted the indefinite pronoun 'man' ('one') for 'de' ('they') and the old-fashioned or Danish second person plural 'I' ('you'; it could also of course be the English first person singular) for Ibsen's 'jeg' ('I').

Mr Atherton is possibly right in saying that 'An account by a Norwegian scholar of Joyce's use of Ibsen is very much needed.' But meanwhile might one suggest that scholars without a working knowledge of Scandinavian languages could take a little more trouble in seeking information in the right quarters?

I wonder if Mr Pedersen is still alive to help with the interpretation of Joyce.

Oslo.

KRISTIAN SMIDT.

D. H. Lawrence After Thirty Years. To commemorate the death of D. H. Lawrence thirty years ago an exhibition was held at the University of Nottingham from 17 June to 30 July 1960. It comprised over three hundred books, manuscripts, paintings, drawings and photographs, many of which had never been shown or described before. The Catalogue, including nine full-page illustrations and an unpublished letter of Aldous Huxley on Lawrence's death, may be obtained on application to the Senior Assistant Registrar, The University, Nottingham, at the price of 7s. 6d. post free.

New Appointments. At Bern, Dr R. Fricker, hitherto Professor of English in the University of Saarbrücken, is to succeed Prof. R. Stamm, who has gone to Basel as successor of Prof. H. Lüdeke.

At Innsbruck, Dr H. Kühnelt has taken over the Chair of English Philology from Prof. K. Brunner.

Dr. G. Storms, hitherto Lecturer in English Philology in the R. C. University of Nijmegen, has been promoted to the Chair formerly held by Prof. F. Th. Visser.

Corrigendum. In the article on 'English Actors in the Netherlands 1600-1610' in the August number Hoppe should read Hoppé (*passim*), and *body*, in l. 5 on p. 257, should be corrected to *boy*.

Reviews

Mélanges de Linguistique et de Philologie. FERNAND MOSSÉ
In Memoriam. Paris: Didier. 1959. 534 pp. Price for subscribers 3,000 fr.

The death of Fernand Mossé on July 10, 1956, deprived the study of English and Germanic philology in France of its most distinguished representative. His publications are too well known to need enumeration; editors and readers of *English Studies* gratefully remember him as a contributor of many years' standing. The old words *Si monumentum requiris* ... may now also be applied to the impressive volume published in his honour. It contains close on sixty contributions from more than a dozen countries. A little less than one half are concerned with English

subjects; these are the only ones that we can pass in review, however briefly. They provide an interesting cross-section of international work in English studies to-day. That some of them, from a scholarly point of view, are less valuable than others was perhaps to be expected.

The volume opens with a moving tribute to Fernand Mossé as a man and a scholar by no less an authority than J. Vendryès. He had taken the whole field of Germanic studies for his province, though perhaps his most significant contribution was in the sphere of English. "Grâce à lui les études sur la langue anglaise sont chez nous solidement établies. Il laisse à ses élèves et à ses amis un bel exemple à suivre et une grande œuvre à continuer."

The articles are arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the writers. Simonne d'Ardenne emends *of twere twom* (*The Owl and the Nightingale* 991) to *of weie twom* 'of two ways (of conduct)'. Three notes on 'Some Problems of Old English Morphology', by C. E. Bazell, give evidence, like other publications by the same author, of a rich fund of esoteric learning. A. C. Bouman sees in Beowulf's Song of Sorrow (ll. 2444-2462) a parallel to the story of David and Absalom. K. Brunner regards Norfolk as the source of the Anglian elements in the late medieval 'Schriftsprache'. An article by J. Capelovici deals with the necessity of teaching the reduced forms of such words as *of*, *and*, *to* etc. in French schools; but the argument is not unexceptionable. M. Daunt, in a paper that seems to be at least partly aimed at juvenile readers, collects a number of instances of 'Minor Realism and Contrast in Beowulf'. N. Davis presents evidence of the spelling habits of six men employed by the Pastons, showing, among other things, 'that the variety of form even in a very small circle was so great that the use of such criteria to localize texts otherwise unplaced is a hazardous venture'. This is an important contribution.

'La palatalisation en anglais', by M. Durand, contains a number of surprising statements, of which one specimen will have to suffice: 'C'est ainsi que a ... ne palatalise pas: le a de *caeg* qui ne s'est pas diphtongué en ea à cause de e qui suit ($e-e > \text{zé}ro-e$), n'a pas palatalisé le k qui subsiste dans *key*.' One wonders what Fernand Mossé himself would have said to this. In 'A Ballad and Folk Tale Motif' S. Einarsson adduces examples from several literatures, including English and Scottish ballads, of the motif of the scheming woman killing or betraying the man asleep with his head in her lap. Mossé's scholarly interest in runes is acknowledged by R. W. V. Elliott in a paper on 'Two Neglected English Runic Inscriptions: Gildon and Overchurch'. Similarly, his adoption of the 'structural' point of view in the work of his last period (notably the second edition of his *Manuel de Gotique*) has inspired his colleague J. Fourquet to what he calls 'un essai d'application de la méthode structurale au vieil-anglais'. The essay, which in fact outlines a 'classification structurale des divers rameaux du germanique', is one of the most significant items in this volume.

G. Kirchner lists and classifies Americanisms (vocabulary, word-formation and syntax) in Melville's *Moby Dick*. H. Kökeritz adduces examples of English *i* for French *ü*, as in *lines* (MWW 4.2.22) < *lunes* 'caprices'. M. Lehnert discusses the origin and establishment of possessive *its*. F. P. Magoun Jr. summarizes a recent Brazilian version of the Beowulf story, itself a translation of an earlier, untraced, Italian publication. Horror comic or hoax? one wonders as one reads it. At any rate, it is a far cry from this to the next paper, on 'Diphthong and Glide', by K. Malone. According to Malone, Fr. *travail* and E. *employ* contain diphthongs, but the sonants represented by the *i* in English *hide* and the *ou* of E. *loud* are glides.¹ The development of these sounds is traced from Old Germanic through Old and Middle English to the modern period. H. Marchand, in a well-documented contribution, traces the origin and development of 'The Negative Verbal Prefixes in English' (*un-*, *dis-*, and *de-*). L. Musset examines certain elements in the toponymy of part of Normandy that seem to point to immigration from the Danelaw about 930. T. F. Mustanoja shows how the phrase *pilled* (*piled*, *piel'd*, *peeled*) *priest*, as it appears in Heywood and Shakespeare, is pregnant with depreciatory associations which are firmly rooted in the literary traditions and folklore of the oriental and occidental worlds. Émile Pons, taking as his starting-point Mossé's *Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique*, compares the extension of the construction *be* + pres. part. in English with that of *aller* + pres. part. (*va clopinant*) in French (without saying anything about such groups as 'est allée en s'accentuant' and 'vont en se raréfiant' which he uses himself in the text of his article). A. A. Prins contributes a number of notes on *The Owl and the Nightingale* and two other Middle English texts (towards the end one or two lines seem to have dropped out.) R. Pruvost discusses and illustrates the meaning of 'wit' and 'will' in Lyly and other sixteenth-century writers, pointing out that stress is always laid on the *moral* aspects of these concepts. (It is not clear what is meant by *εὐφῖα* as the equivalent of *ingenium*.) B. Trnka offers an 'outline of the phonemic account of the first phase of the so-called great vowel-shift'. Closely related is a longer article by J. Vachek on the 'Quantitative Correlation of Vowels in the Phonematic Development of English'. (What is meant by 'The OE relations of the type *dǣz* — *dǣ-zes*'?) In 'Das -r- emphaticum im Germanischen' J. de Vries, from a wealth of relevant material, concludes that the *r*-less form of E. *speak* is older than the form with *r* in Du. *spreken*, G. *sprechen*.

Credit for having contributed one of the few *readable* papers is due to R. M. Wilson, who in 'On the Continuity of English Prose' shows that both R. W. Chambers' affirmation and his critics' (Orr, Prins) denial of this continuity are based on subjective impressions, and who emphasizes the need for a much more careful and detailed investigation of the problem

¹ See also the same author's *Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech* (Copenhagen, 1959), 238-9.

than it has so far received.² C. L. Wrenn considers some of the features in which the Sutton Hoo cenotaph and *Beowulf* seem to parallel and illustrate one another. Finally the present writer discusses the precise meaning of 'Euphuism' and the use and misuse of this term in a number of handbooks.

We repeat that we have to leave more than half the contents out of account. The *Mélanges* form a remarkable tribute to a remarkable personality.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

WILHELM HORN, *Laut und Leben. Englische Lautgeschichte der neueren Zeit (1400-1950)*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von MARTIN LEHNERT. Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1954. 2 vols., pp. xx, 1414. DM. 23.—.

In 1908, at the age of 32, Wilhelm Horn published his *Historische neu-englische Grammatik*, for its time a useful reference grammar, and in 1954 appeared posthumously an inordinately expanded revision of it, entitled *Laut und Leben. Englische Lautgeschichte der neueren Zeit (1400-1950)*. Horn had died in 1952, and the longhand manuscript (over 2000 folio-pages, we are told) of the present two volumes was entrusted to the care of his former student and assistant, Martin Lehnert, currently 'Ord. Professor an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin', who edited it for publication. Between the appearance of Horn's first Anglistic study in 1901, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Gutturalaute*, and his death in 1952 lies over half a century of great devotion to the historical study of modern English pronunciation and to the training of young scholars in English philology. It is regrettable that his academic career was destined to span two world wars and that he himself should become caught in the political and cultural upheaval that followed in their wake. The last few years of his life, after the fall of Berlin where Horn had been professor of English since 1932, were apparently hard and the prospects of ever getting his work published so dim that he seriously considered burning his manuscript. His friends managed, however, to stave off such a desperate action. Even if much in *Laut und Leben* is highly questionable, it would have been unfortunate had this final summing-up of Horn's ideas been allowed to perish.

² An important contribution to the subject was made by Norman Davis in a paper on 'Styles in English Prose of the Late Middle and Early Modern Period' read to the VIIIth Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures at Liège on September 3, 1960.

The editing of Horn's gigantic manuscript must have been an unenviable task. Lehnert can hardly have failed to notice its shortcomings, but one feels that loyalty to the memory of his old teacher and friend may have tied his hands where drastic changes would really have been desirable. Had he been more generous with the editorial blue-pencil, the reader might have been spared much of the disturbing verbosity, the lack of concentration and balance, the repetitions and inconsistencies which it is needless to specify here. Unfortunately nothing could apparently be done about the central hypothesis of the book, the alleged but unproven relationship between sound-change and vowel pitch, which Horn harps on *ad nauseam*; it is possible, of course, that Lehnert believes in it himself. At any rate, his hand can be discovered here and there, not only in the remarkable § 575 but also in many obvious afterthoughts, ranging in length from a brief source reference to a whole paragraph, by means of which it was possible somehow to bring Horn's statements up to date. Discrepancies still exist, however, between text and bibliographies, probably because to all intents and purposes Horn discontinued working on his grammar at the beginning of World War II (see the preface to vol. 2). The whole burden of revision therefore came to devolve on the editor who no doubt did his best to give credit where credit was due; it is not easy, however, to draw a line between what was accidentally omitted and what may have been deliberately withheld by the author and hence overlooked by the editor. Lehnert maintains (vol. 2, preface) that 'dieses Werk weniger als persönliche Leistung eingeschätzt werden möchte ... als würdige Fortführung unserer deutschen sprachwissenschaftlichen Tradition', an appraisal which this reviewer is not willing to endorse. While I can appreciate the immense amount of labour that must have gone into the preparation of the grammar and the dogged determination which made Horn complete the manuscript, I feel nevertheless that *Laut und Leben* cannot in any way be said to measure up to the usual standards of the German philological tradition. With its fantastic notions concerning the nature of vowel change, its socio-linguistic platitudes, and its many misrepresentations and evasions, this is undoubtedly Horn's 'persönliche Leistung', his testament to students of historical English phonology. They can take from it what is good — and there is a good deal of it — and discard the rest as sad cases of philological aberration.

The first thing to strike one is the incongruity of the alliterative title, which is indeed a misnomer. It might have been suitable for a popular survey of the philosophy of language, but Horn's book is nothing of the kind. It is a regular historical grammar, admittedly more padded than is common with generalities of a psychological, sociological and political nature — we hear of 'Triebkräfte', 'Gemütslage', 'Zweckmässigkeit', 'Kampf zwischen Zweck und Ausdruck', 'soziologische Hemmung', 'lautliche Einzelgänger', and are actually asked to believe that 'die Diphthongierung (of ME *i* and *ū*) trat ein in der Zeit des grossen sprachlichen Umsturzes mit ihrer lebhaften Tonbewegungen' (p. 418) — but it is nonetheless a

historical phonology of the English language from 1400 to 1950 as the subtitle correctly has it. Why then was it necessary to put on this false front? The acceptance of the book will depend solely on its possible phonological merits, not on the quasi-philosophical speculations with which it has been too liberally larded.

Infinitely more serious in terms of its potential influence on the historical study of modern English sounds is Horn's obsession with the relationship between pitch and vowel quality. Whether or not this is an independent idea with him or was stimulated by Sievers and Luick, will not concern use here. Horn himself maintains that his theories are based exclusively on observations of the living language (p. 50). Even if these could be shown to be accurate, which I seriously doubt, it would certainly not follow that they are valid also for the earlier stages of the language. We know absolutely nothing about the pitch phonemes of the past, so that any inference drawn from observations on modern usage regarding the relationship of pitch to vowel quality, say, in the sixteenth century must be pure conjecture. Yet the crucial point is the accuracy of the observations themselves. It is true that pitch can now be accurately established by mechanical means, but unfortunately we have no guarantee whatever for the accuracy of the phonetic analysis. The phonetic transcriptions used by Horn were made from gramophone records, some of which date back to the time of World War I and are technically of inferior quality, while the rest are of more recent vintage, though antedating World War II. The analysts were all German postgraduate students who undertook the investigations in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the doctorate; those who transcribed the antique dialect records before 1919 had had no previous acquaintance with the dialects in question! So of course they heard what they were supposed to hear, and reported their findings in *Lebendige Sprache*, defunct since 1942. To my knowledge these transcriptions have never been checked by expert British or American phoneticians, yet their accuracy is apparently taken for granted by those Anglists who have already hailed Horn's pitch theory as a pioneering achievement. Obviously even great scholars are sometimes apt to strain at gnats and swallow camels.

It would indeed be an onerous task to retranscribe the records analysed for the Horn-Ketterer series *Lebendige Sprache*, and understandably enough I have done nothing of the kind. But I have spot-checked two of these records and the result is quite revealing. They are one of the late Miss L. E. Armstrong's Odeon records illustrating sentences from *Handbook of English Intonation* (by L. E. Armstrong and I. C. Ward, Leipzig, 1926) and the Suffolk record issued in 1919 by the Lautabteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek and transcribed first by L. Ehrmann in *Lautbibliothek* 5 (Berlin, 1927) and later by Ruth Hohenstein in *Intonation und Vokalqualität in den englischen Mundarten von Norfolk und Suffolk* (*Lebendige Sprache* 3, Berlin, 1938). Horn states (p. 36) that Miss Armstrong pronounces *large* in 'The house is not large enough' as [lb:dʒ]

but *gardens* in '... the green Temple gardens' as [^hgq:dənz]),¹ the former at high, the latter at low pitch. This is not true, however; both words are unquestionably pronounced with Standard English [ɑ:].² The two transcriptions of the 1919 Suffolk record, which incidentally is recited very haltingly and with the unnatural intonation of a layman reading the Lesson in church, not only differ widely between themselves but are manifestly inaccurate throughout,³ partly because neither transcriber was familiar with the Suffolk dialect, partly because Ruth Hohenstein must have tried, consciously or unconsciously, to adjust her transcriptions to the previously established pitch variations.⁴ Indeed, this is bound to be the case with all the records analysed and transcribed for *Lebendige Sprache*, the series of publications that provided Horn with the modern 'evidence' of his theory.

Even if expert phoneticians should be able to prove that there exists in these records a certain relationship between pitch and vowel quality so that, say, English [ɛ] in *get* might change to [e] or [ɔ:] in *law* might tend towards [ɔ:] at high pitch, the result would be noteworthy but hardly significant historically. Investigations by Parmenter, Treviño and Bevans have revealed that 'when the pitch of the fundamental is raised, changes are made in the size and shape of the supraglottal cavities in order to maintain the best resonance for the overtones which characterize the quality of the vowel'.⁵ Horn reprints their diagram on p. 45 but characteristically enough says nothing about their important conclusion just cited. This implies, of course, that the quality of the vowel does not change noticeably when the pitch is raised or lowered in normal speech. If it did, the result would be phonemic overlapping and the consequent creation of a vast number of homophones, which would render communication difficult if not impossible. Pitch fluctuations are normal in human speech, and even though certain relative patterns can be established for various types of utterances, no single word and no single phoneme is ever pronounced constantly or predominantly with high or low pitch. This simple, verifiable fact does not, however, prevent Horn from asserting (p. 202) that the Great Vowel Shift about 1400 occurred because the vowels appeared in 'Hochton',

¹ The words occur on pp. 12 and 32, and also on pp. 94 and 102.

² According to Paget's acoustic analysis of the English vowels, [ɔ] has actually lower pitch than [ɑ:]! See the diagram reprinted in *Laut und Leben*, p. 68.

³ In *The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect* (Uppsala, 1932), p. xxi, I attempted a retranscription of the first verse of *The Prodigal Son*, the text used in all these recordings, and the deviations between what I heard and what Ehrmann and Hohenstein reported are striking. In the second verse I heard ['a:təwɔ:d] (*afterward*), which Ehrmann rendered [æ:ftəwɔ:ɹd] and Hohenstein [ɑ:ftəwɔ:d]; Brandl, initiator of these dialect records and clearly endowed with a remarkable ear, analysed the word as [hɔxəwudz] — he also heard [sli:p] as [slɔ:p]!

⁴ Although I am constantly stressing the vacillation in the modern Suffolk dialect between dialectal forms and their Standard English equivalents and on p. 20 particularly emphasize the fact that Standard English [i:] is the regular variant of dialectal [e:] for ME ē, Ruth Hohenstein reinterprets (p. 14) such [i:] variants as due to high pitch!

⁵ 'The Influence of a Change of Pitch in the Articulations of a Vowel', *Language* 9 (1933), p. 80.

i.e. at high pitch. In other words, Horn wants to persuade us that every word containing, say, ME $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$ was always spoken at high pitch — for how long? — so that [e:] and [o:] were eventually raised to [i:] and [u:] respectively.⁶ The same hypothesis is used to explain the puzzling late ME $\bar{i}$ < earlier $\bar{e}$ in *friar*, which thus coalesced with original ME $\bar{i}$ and was later diphthongized because of 'besonders starker Änderung der Tonbewegung' (p. 425)! Of course no reasons are given why *friar*, *briar*, *contrive* and other words of this particular category should have been pronounced at a higher pitch than other words having ME $\bar{e}$. Again, why should every original ME $\bar{i}$ and $\bar{u}$ have been subjected to particularly strong pitch fluctuation resulting in diphthongization — did they perhaps get so disturbed by the concerted onslaught of high-pitch eager ME $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$ that their own pitch became unstable and apparently has remained so ever since? Horn leaves us in the dark on this momentous issue. But he declares confidently that *great*, *steak*, etc. are 'low pitch forms' (p. 264) since in his opinion it is unlikely for such common words as these to be dialectal importations into Standard English (p. 269). Yet he forgets to explain why they must have low pitch in Standard English and consequently high pitch in those dialects which today pronounce them with [i:]. And what about such undisputed dialectal forms in Standard English as *bury*, *merry*, *left*, (n)either? The vacillation between [ʌ] and [ʊ] in words like *blush*, *push* is similarly said to be due to a struggle between 'Tieftonformen' and 'Hochtonformen' (pp. 183, 190), whereas *break* and *one* are later labelled 'Einzelgänger', words that 'in der Entwicklung vorseilen' (p. 1270), though we are never told what development they 'vorseilen'. Moreover, *one* is assumed to be a 'besondere Lautung innerhalb der Hochsprache unter besonderen Tonverhältnissen entstanden, entsprechend dem besonderen Ausdruckswert des Wortes' — all these unspecified 'special' conditions must then have obtained also in dialectal [wʌk] *oak*, [wʌts] *oats*, [wʌm] *home*, [wʌl] *whole*! The treatment of the vowels and diphthongs is full of such wild hypotheses propounded with the unreasonableness of one who imagines that he has found the philosopher's stone.

As sources for our knowledge of the history of English sounds Horn mentions, besides the living language itself, the so-called occasional spellings (pp. 71-74) which he rightly considers valuable as revealing pronunciations more advanced than those recommended by the conservative orthoepists; further rhymes, the statements of orthoepists, and early shorthand manuals. In dealing with the rhyme evidence, however, Horn behaves very cavalierly, dismissing as phonologically invalid those that do not happen to agree with his postulates, e.g. such Spenserian rhymes as *way : sea*, *state : seat*, and *save : leave*.⁷ His attitude to the homonymic

⁶ Oddly enough he suggests (p. 203) that they first become [i:] and [ū:], the lengthened centralized vowels in *bit*, *good* — or are his symbols ambiguous here?

⁷ On p. 281, however, he says that the rhyme *save : leave* is conclusive.

pun is equally biased: 'Man kann kaum aus den Wortspielen die Aussprache erschliessen, wohl aber werden die Wortspiele aus der Aussprache ihrer Zeit verständlich' (p. 76) — a contradictory statement, it seems to me, for if a pun is understandable in terms of contemporary pronunciation it would automatically follow that, in turn, it must shed light on that pronunciation.⁸ His reference to the shorthand systems is directly misleading: 'die Untersuchungen (i.e. of the systems) wurden inzwischen weiter ausgedehnt' (p. 116). Yet Horn never published any phonological investigation of the English shorthand systems, although he mentions their probable usefulness in his *Historische neuenglische Grammatik* (1908), § 16; my own detailed examination of them in 1934/35 is accorded only a passing note with reference to the 'Schriftumsverzeichnis', whereas a parallel study by William Matthews in 1943 appears only in the bibliography. Such misrepresentations occur elsewhere in *Laut und Leben*. Thus when dealing with the East Anglian dialects, Horn uses only the unreliable material in Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* and the Ehrmann-Hohenstein transcriptions of the antique Suffolk/Norfolk records but ignores my investigation of the Suffolk dialect, published in 1932; from the latter he culls, however, the interesting term ['hæðə] *hither*⁹ without acknowledging the source (p. 409). It is therefore not surprising to find (pp. 363, 369) the characteristic East Anglian vowel for ME *eu* and *ō* identified with German *ü* with the qualification that the sound may after all be 'einen nicht deutlich aufgefassten Mittelgaumenvokal *ū*' (i.e. [ü:]); no mention is of course made of my careful analysis of this sound as a front vowel [ɥ:], more or less diphthongized, nor of my explanation how ME *eu* might have developed into modern [ju:].¹⁰ So it is presumably Lehnert who is responsible for the reference to my book on p. 999 and for the summary on p. 1066 of my theory concerning the reduction of initial *kn* and *gn* to *n*.¹¹

Aside from the distressing preoccupation with pitch and vowel quality which warps his entire phonological treatment and all but ruins his book, Horn is on the whole quite conservative in method and point of view. No wonder then that *Laut und Leben* perpetuates most of the old chestnuts. For instance, Horn asserts (p. 337) that ME *ar* became modern [ɑ:] via

⁸ For the phonological value of the homonymic pun see my *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, especially pp. 65 ff.

⁹ For my explanation of ['hæðə] as a more sonorous variant of ['hɛðə] in the phrase [kʌb 'hæðə] (*come hither*, bidding a horse turn to the left) see *The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect*, p. 145.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff., 189 f.

¹¹ In *Englische Sprachkunde* (Bern, 1950), p. 106, n. 1, Funke criticizes me for not having cited Luick (§§ 801, 802) in my article in *Language* 21 (1945), pp. 77-86. However, the last fascicule of Luick's *Grammatik*, published in 1940, was not accessible to me in the United States until 1946. Moreover, in §§ 801, 802 Luick never mentions my theory which was first advanced in my paper, 'English Pronunciation as described in Shorthand Systems of the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Studia Neophilologica* 7 (1934/35), pp. 133 ff., thus five years prior to the appearance of the Luick fascicule. Of this remarkable omission Funke has nothing to say.

[æɹ] and [æ:r], in my opinion a most unlikely development.¹² Similarly he ignores the evidence of spellings, rhymes, puns and the noteworthy statement by Bellot (mentioned on p. 235), which he simply dismisses as erroneous (!), in order to propound the old postulate of ME *ē* having become modern [i:] by a direct phonetic change (p. 285) in the 17th century. I am convinced that this was not the case and I have given good reasons for my opinion in *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, pp. 194 ff. The fact is that in practically every numbered paragraph of *Laut und Leben* the reader encounters statements or interpretations to which serious objection must be raised, but since a listing of all such inadvertencies and errors would probably fill a whole issue of this journal, I shall refrain from a detailed criticism of the two volumes.

To the specialist *Laut und Leben* is an exasperating book. With complete abandon it mingles fact and fiction, sound scholarship and wild guessing, precise data and flagrant misinformation. Hence it is a dangerous book to put into the hands of inexperienced students who may be persuaded that *Laut und Leben* represents a distinct advance in method and results. I regret to say that nothing can be farther from the truth.

Yale University.

HELGE KÖKERTZ.

The Praise of Wisdom. A Commentary on the Religious and Moral Problems and Backgrounds of St. Thomas More's *Utopia*. By E. L. SURTZ, S. J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957. xii + 402 pp. Price \$4.00.

The Praise of Pleasure. Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's *Utopia*. By E. SURTZ, S. J. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. vii + 246 pp. Price \$4.75.

The study of More's *Utopia*, which in the twenties and thirties was most assiduously practised in Germany¹ (one need only recall the name Oncken), has since the end of the second world war attracted a good deal of attention in the U.S.A. In 1949 Russell Ames published his doctoral thesis *Citizen Thomas More and his Utopia*,² in which he represents More as the spokesman of the rising merchant bourgeoisie of London against decaying feudalism (see H. W. Donner's critique in *E. S.*, Febr. 1951). Three years later there appeared, as Vol. 5 of 'The History of Ideas Series', *More's Utopia, The Biography of an Idea*, by J. W. Hexter.² Hexter

¹² See my *Mather Flint*, pp. 87 ff., and *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, pp. 10 f, 169 f.

¹ For a survey see H. W. Donner, *Introduction to Utopia*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1945.

² Both books were published by the Princeton University Press.

describes More as a Christian Humanist, for whom Pride is the root of all evil and who is, therefore, under no delusion that economic reform is the answer to all problems. The most searching analysis of the ideas expressed in *Utopia*, however, is contained in the two volumes mentioned at the head of this review. In *The Praise of Wisdom* the author studies religion and morality in *Utopia*. 'It is probably the first work to examine the pertinent sections ... point by point and to determine the relation of each point to fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century formulations of Catholic teaching.' The titles of a few of the twenty-one chapters into which the book is divided will give some idea of the author's approach: 'God: Reason and Faith'; 'Toleration and Heresy'; 'Asceticism and Good Works'; 'Family and Marriage'; 'Conduct of War'. *The Praise of Pleasure* concerns itself with problems of education and philosophy, together with the closely allied problem of communism, in *Utopia*, and, especially, with the philosophy of pleasure espoused by the Utopians. What arguments do they use to support this philosophy? When are pleasures true and when false? Does a hierarchy of pleasures exist for the Utopians?

Like other students of *Utopia*, Father Surtz has been puzzled by apparent or real contradictions between ideas expressed in it and what we know from other sources about More's personal views. In his Preface to *The Praise of Wisdom* he confesses 'that he has found many religious and moral sentiments in the *Utopia* perplexing, even irritating'. In *The Praise of Pleasure* he endeavours to provide a key to the problem by insisting on its character as a declamation, a literary exercise belonging to the same kind as Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. 'Ideas which one treated idealistically in a literary piece could be retracted and damned in practical life.' We are afraid that for some readers this solution may raise new difficulties.

The two books call for little criticism of detail. It may be doubted if it was wise to retain a form like *other* instead of *either* in otherwise modernized quotations. — On a different level, one is surprised to see the author take More's little joke about the worthy divine who wished to be made bishop of Utopia in sad earnest (*The Praise of Wisdom*, p. 151). — On p. 182 of the same book, line 13, *was* should be *with*. — P. 256 gives a less than candid paraphrase of Erasmus' well-known description of the youthful More in his letter to Hutten: 'Cum aetas ferret, non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus'. — If *other* is not modernized into *either*, one fails to see why the 16th-century participles *constitute* and *vitiare* should have a *d* added, as is done on pp. 39 and 41 of *The Praise of Pleasure*. — There is evidence of somewhat negligent proof-reading on p. 86, and in one or two other places in the latter work. — To Thackeray's nonce-word *embracive* (see OED³) Father Surtz adds *all-embracive* (*The Praise*

³ and an (American) reviewer in *Modern Philology* LVII, 4, May 1960, p. 269: 'Miss Campbell's approach is more historical and descriptive than penetratingly critical and appreciative. But it is embracively so.'

of *Pleasure*, p. 107) with reference to the philosophic interests of Pico della Mirandola. But even the Oxford Dictionary fails to provide an instance of *liceity* (*ib.*, p. 59).

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Letters of James Joyce. Edited by STUART GILBERT. Faber and Faber, 1957. 427 pp. Index. 42s.

The Critical Writings of James Joyce. Edited by ELLSWORTH MASON and RICHARD ELLMANN. Faber and Faber, 1959. 275 pp. Index. 25s.

James Joyce. By RICHARD ELLMANN. New York, Oxford University Press, 1959. xvi + 821 pp. Index. 63s.

The Books at the Wake. By JAMES S. ATHERTON. Faber & Faber. 1959. 308 pp. Index. 30s.

Here is a wake indeed! Joyce is raised almost lifesize out of the multitudinous drawers and fast-vanishing memories in which his remains have been scattered. And though 'fun' may not be the most appropriate word at this wake, at least there is lots of excitement in joining it.

Joyce's *Letters* we have had for a couple of years. But they belong with the biography and the miscellaneous prose and verse to the three-dimensional view of Joyce which is now presented to us. And Mr Stuart Gilbert's edition of the letters can only be properly assessed now that a full and completely objective biography is there to consult. One wishes in fact that Mr Gilbert himself could have had the advantage of consulting it, for it shows on comparison that he was hampered by a reticence which, while quite understandable in a friend of the Joyce family, now appears to have been needlessly great. Professor Ellmann's quotations prove that there are many letters of prime interest which have not been included in the Gilbert selection, especially those to Nora Joyce (quoted by Ellmann pp. 289-93 — Mr Gilbert did not know of the existence of these).

However, Mr Gilbert is a pioneer. New editions are sure to follow, and with the present trend in the publication of personalia, we shall probably have the complete letters of Joyce before long and perhaps wish that more of them had been lost. Meanwhile the general reader will feel very warmly towards Mr Gilbert for providing a fascinating record of Joyce *intime* — his friendships and struggles, the progress of his work and his thoughts about it, and not least his concern for his family and his angry, defiant optimism on behalf of his ailing daughter. Joyce was an indefatigable letter-writer. The fact that he found the time and energy

for so much correspondence in the midst of composing *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* surely indicates that writing came almost as natural to him as breathing. And this in turn helps to explain the zest and temperament which his letters can still convey, even to the unconcerned latter-day reader peering over the shoulders of the original recipients. The pedantically-minded must hope that the next edition will be completely reliable in punctuation and spelling and in the marking of omissions (compare for instance the letter on pp. 266 ff. with the same letter as quoted in Ellmann's biography pp. 616 f.), and that the Index will be improved (it includes Yeats but not Ibsen, Zimmer but not Sigerson). But both the scholar and the browser should be pleased with Mr Gilbert's book for a beginning.

The scholar certainly must be pleased with *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, which, as far as one can judge without the manuscripts, is a model of careful editing. The book is inclusive enough to have raised quizzical eyebrows over the adequacy of the title, for here are satirical verses and odds and ends of historical survey and scenic description as well as criticism in the more usual sense. But the study of Joyce has now gained such importance that a complete collection of what we may call his public writings is not only justified but definitely called for.

The Critical Writings, then, comes as a boon to the student of Joyce. On the other hand, its appeal to the general reader may be considered doubtful. Frankly, it is not intrinsically of very great interest. There is a preciosity especially in some of the early articles which prevents one from taking them too seriously; Joyce's opinions, as expressed for instance in his aesthetic theories, are sometimes more striking than sound — or so it seems to me; and the verses are facile rather than witty. Even the review of *When We Dead Awaken*, written in the flush of Joyce's Ibsen enthusiasm, is disappointing, and Ellmann tells us that that Joyce himself became dissatisfied with it. Joyce is one of the great masters of English prose, and his fiction makes an impressive display of his stylistic resources. But considering all his verbal innovations, his style, or rather his styles, are surprisingly imitative, indeed one sometimes feels he is most at his ease in parody. When he is confined to discursive and expository prose, as in much of *The Critical Writings*, he is apt to be slightly wearisome.

All this, however, does not detract from the merit of the editors, who have published these miscellaneous pieces with their own pertinent and useful introductions and footnotes. *The Critical Writings* will be indispensable to any student of Joyce's ideas and mental development.

The absolutely indispensable book from now on, of course, will be Professor Ellmann's biography — a towering work to match Joyce's own towers of industry, and at the same time an account so absorbing to read that in this respect, too, it will make a welcome companion to Joyce's works of imagination.

It is right, no doubt, that major biographies should be posthumous. Ellmann has obviously suffered from none of the restrictions or the meddling

which hampered his predecessor, Herbert Gorman. One commiserates with Gorman as one reads, here, of his difficulties, and one congratulates Professor Ellmann not only on the prodigious mass of information he has been able to bring together, but just as much on his ability to organise it. Occasionally, perhaps, it has become unwieldy, and there are cases of lopsidedness in the treatment. But the main thing is that Ellmann has made Joyce seem a human possibility and not just a semi-mythical freak. Heroes awake indeed. Joyce comes alive with his faults, great and trivial, and with his relationship to his own work, as well as with his courage and his martyrdom. Ellmann's candidness makes him whole.

Joyce is made to contribute generously to his own portrait. There is an extremely interesting letter which he wrote to Nora Barnacle as early as August 1904, in which he speaks of his hates, his love and his hopes, his self-reproaches, and 'the simplicity which is at the back of all my disguises'. There is also an extract from his brother Stanislaus' diary of 1903 which oddly mixes admiration of Joyce's genius with the criticism of his cold egoism which was to become so prominent in Stanislaus' later attitude.

The seediness of Joyce's early life on the Continent is unsparingly described: the borrowing, the commandeering and the near-starvation, the evictions and the constant makeshifts, the quarrels and the drinking. The pathetic story of waste and frustration drags on for years and years. Even after Joyce's faith in himself had been triumphantly vindicated, his habitual restlessness would not desert him. Who ever, unless bent on a roving life, would move from Paris to Dieppe and from Dieppe to Rouen in the month of March? Joyce was nomadic from as far back as he could remember. And as with all nomads life was full of magic to him. Always on the watch for strange coincidences, Joyce the sceptic was more superstitious than the devoutest Catholic. Ellmann has some excellent paragraphs on this aspect of his life (pp. 562-3).

What a blackguard he seems at times. Though he repeatedly declared that he had no faith in friendship he exploited it cynically whenever it could serve him. When his law-suit went badly in Zurich he circulated a lie about his financial involvement and waited for contributions to come in. This seems to have been fairly typical. He quarrelled eventually with practically everybody, including his benefactress Miss Weaver (mildly, it is true) and his patient helper Paul Léon. And yet, in the context of all the woes and aspirations of his life one is not inclined to blame him. Ellmann tells all these things without bias or judgment and actually succeeds in suggesting Joyce's essential innocence.

Ellmann does, perhaps, concentrate somewhat too exclusively on the sordid aspects of Joyce's distressful years. One assumes that there must occasionally have been more gaiety and happiness, in particular more relaxation, sight-seeing, play- and concert-going and entertainment than Ellmann has recorded. If Stanislaus is the main source of information for this period, the omissions are explicable. But surely even stern Stanislaus

found some bright interludes. Ellmann might have told us a little more about life in Blackrock and other childhood surroundings — personally I miss James's rounds with the milkman. More of the incidents and anecdotes from Joyce's later life reported by his friend Jolas might also have found room in the comprehensive biography, especially since one does come across quite piffling observations in some of the footnotes which might well have been left out (for instance that 'Stendhal had felt the same boredom [as Joyce] when he was in Trieste in 1831.').

Above all it would have been interesting to see more of Joyce in the actual process of writing: the dedicated artist in the smithy of his soul, the literary craftsman putting his thoughts down on paper. What were his habits? How did he use his notes, how concentrate, how write? These are questions which Ellmann answers almost parenthetically or not at all, and they are too important in the biography of a great writer to be so summarily dismissed.

This, however, is my main complaint, and I hasten to say that the artist has not been forgotten. The biography, in fact, seems to be organised around two dominant themes: the artist's vocation and the relation of art and life. Under the first of these aspects Joyce is presented almost as the prototype of the man of vision struggling to survive in a hostile world. He has even more stamina and perseverance in reality than has the fictional hero in Knut Hamsun's dramatic trilogy which Joyce possessed. Under the second aspect Joyce is shown to have thriven on hostility because he could use it as material for his work.

The cost of his vocation was high: a life (his own) and perhaps several more. There is an ironical relevance to Joyce's development in *When We Dead Awaken*, which at first sounded a call to the young Irishman to accept 'the beautiful, miraculous life of earth' in defiance of all the nets flung at him, but which also helped to channel his revolt into literature and so eventually brought him to the same pass as Professor Rubek in Ibsen's play.

In one period of despondency, we now learn from Ellmann, Joyce thought of turning *Finnegans Wake* over to James Stephens to finish. This, however, was only an impulse which fortunately came to nothing. He went on doggedly sacrificing his life to his art and transforming his own and other's experiences into works of imagination. So powerful was this urge that he shaped his life to the requirements of his fiction. 'The sculptor August Surer', we are told, 'was rather irritated to see how Joyce seemed to stage-manage conversations as if to use his friends as subjects for experiment'. 'Since he felt dependent for material upon actual events', says Ellmann elsewhere, 'he had an interest in bringing simmering pots to a strong boil, in making the events through which he lived take on as extreme a form as possible'. One example of this is his relationship with Gogarty: for the sake of his writing, Joyce was 'thoroughly committed... to keeping on bad terms with him [Gogarty]' (Ellmann p. 214; see also pp. 286-7). This aspect of Joyce's life forms, as I said,

a major theme in Ellmann's biography, and one is a little surprised to find that the account of the Joyce-Gogarty relationship, after being carefully loaded for a climax, fizzles out in a footnote on p. 390. This is one of the few cases in which Ellmann's structure collapses on him. The relation of Joyce to his parents, on the other hand, while not turned into the main motif of the book as one might perhaps have expected, is admirably dealt with in the appropriate contexts, especially pp. 302 ff.

Ellmann has disciplined himself strictly to the task of writing a biography. All the interpretation and appreciation which he must have itched to indulge in has been rigorously controlled. But where it is allowed to appear it is mostly excellent. I question the detailed application of the gestation image to the various sections of *A Portrait of the Artist*, but in a more general way the image is certainly illuminating. The interpretation of Stephen and Bloom in *Ulysses* as both together representing the author is satisfying and convincing (e.g. p. 369), though it seems wrong to dissociate Bloom as definitely as Ellmann does (p. 372) from the God of Christianity, especially on the background of the Circe episode. There are interesting remarks on what Ellmann calls 'the blurred margin' (p. 377) of *Ulysses*, i.e. the fringe of characters and incidents which, as in real life, are left incomplete and unexplained. The final assessment of *Finnegans Wake* (pp. 792-3) is at once cautious and persuasive. And the final paragraph of the whole book makes a beautiful summary and conclusion.

One is left with some minor queries and objections. The child in the lower picture facing p. 273 surely cannot be a boy of seven, as Giorgio must have been if the caption is right. It seems more likely that the photograph was taken not in 1912 but during Joyce's visit with Giorgio to Galway in 1909, and that the young woman is not Nora but her sister. On p. 444 two of Verlaine's poems are quoted wrong. And Ellmann insists on using the word 'Danish' even where 'Norwegian' would be obviously correct. The last point deserves, I think, to be discussed in a broader context, but being a rather special one may conveniently be considered apart from this review (see under Notes and News).

To expend a great deal of time and energy in the detailed exegesis and the discovery of the sources of such a universal catalogue as *Finnegans Wake* may seem a waste of scholarship. One is not surprised to learn that Mr Atherton's book began as a dissertation towards the degree of M.A., for it is the sort of work which would seem to need a utilitarian incentive of a personal kind at the start. But one also readily understands how Mr Atherton, having once begun, found his detective instincts sufficiently attracted by the nature of his task to want to go on with it. The ripe fruit of his perseverance is a book which will hardly draw any new readers to *Finnegans Wake* or stimulate any waverers in their enjoyment of it, but which the admirer of Joyce will find not only useful but positively absorbing.

Mr Atherton's contribution to our knowledge of Joyce is twofold. In
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the first place he helps to delimit the extent of Joyce's reading and to describe its nature. And in the second place he provides, in his appendix and index, a systematic guide to what is possibly a major part of all the literary allusions discoverable in *Finnegans Wake*. The division of Joyce's sources into 'Structural Books', 'Literary Sources' and 'Sacred Books' will probably prove less enlightening. For surely *Genesis* and *The Master Builder* are as important to the structure of *Finnegans Wake* as Bruno and Freud. And 'The Fathers', included under 'Literary Sources', have an obvious close connection with 'The Sacred Books'. But we may accept Mr Atherton's classification as a matter of practical convenience and leave it at that.

Mr Atherton does not attempt to explore Joyce's debt to any one author exhaustively, but tries rather to survey the whole field of influences and allusions. Many of the names he brings together are well known as those of Joyce's tributaries: Vico, Swift, Ibsen, for example. Others will be less familiar to many of Joyce's readers: Dion Boucicault, W. G. Wills, *The Book of the Dead*, to mention some. In listing minor sources Mr Atherton does not pretend to be complete, but one wonders whether he has looked for such names as Arius, Chrysostomos, Photius, Sabellius, Valentinus, Averroes and Mainonides, all of them mentioned in the early chapters of Joyce's *Ulysses*. A note on names and titles which he has looked for and *not* found might have been of some interest. As it is, it is interesting to note that Joyce's knowledge of Aquinas seems to have been less extensive and less immediate than is generally supposed and that allusions to William Blake are surprisingly infrequent in *Finnegans Wake*.

While he probably misses a number of writers and titles, Mr Atherton occasionally errs by detecting echoes where none seem intended. Thus the phrase 'enemy of our country' is surely of too general a character to be listed as an allusion to *An Enemy of the People*. On the whole, however, Mr Atherton shows admirable restraint as well as acumen in pursuing his quarry and his book is likely to be well thumbed until his predictable next edition supersedes it.

Oslo.

KRISTIAN SMIDT.

The Art of E. M. Forster. By H. J. OLIVER. Melbourne University Press, Cambridge University Press. 1960. v + 86 pp. Price 12/6 net.

For Forster-lovers the year 1960 seems a good year. First there is the unusually felicitous dramatization of *A Passage to India* — which has been playing to packed houses for several months now — by an Indian lady-novelist. And, secondly, they have been given this most perceptive study

of E. M. Forster's art by the Reader in English in the University of Sydney. Also, the conjunction of the two is intriguing.

The booklet under review is no. 4 in a series of monographs published by the Australian Humanities Research Council and so far the only one to deal with a subject from the field of 'Eng. Lit.'. If the other numbers are characterized by the same qualities of critical awareness and eminently readable scholarship, the Council is really to be congratulated. And if the way in which this is said should imply certain misgivings, the point is merely that, without wishing in any form to detract from the merits of such further items as 'Le Cimetière Marin' (no. 2) or 'l'Après-midi d'un Faune' (no. 3), the Australian commentator — just as the Indian adaptor — appears quite exceptionally well-placed to score. For their common object is evidently to render justice to the achievement of that courteous octogenarian whose powers of foreign observation, as his recent visit to the Netherlands has shown, are as acute as ever and as rarely English. But to absorb what Forster has to give — and as nearly all of what he has to give, as we can ever hope to do — and then to produce the necessary intelligent and sensitive simplification to convey this again, either in two hours' traffic of the stage or in five brief chapters between a few pages of 'Introduction' and 'Retrospect', seems a feat wholly dependent on precisely that intermediate position between the possessing of salutary 'distance' and the being a mere 'stranger', which certain English-speaking countries a long way from the United Kingdom have increasingly come to occupy.

Mr. Oliver, then, systematically discusses Forster's choice of subject and method, his minor fiction, *Howards End* and *A Passage to India*. Each time he proves to be fully conversant with the body of criticism published to date. Moreover, he unsparingly avails himself of the advantage he has over Professor Trilling — whose excellent book on Forster appeared in 1944 — in that he can refer us again and again to the essays now collected in *Two Cheers for Democracy* and the letters and notes in *The Hill of Devi*. And Mr. Oliver has several refreshing points to make, besides. Thus, he shows how dangerous a fallacy it is to attach Forster as closely to the Bloomsbury Group as the textbooks have so often done; how silly to expect him to do what he has not set out to do, viz. the writing of 'full-blooded' sagas of English passion under alien skies; and how risky to follow uncritically Mr. Savage's obsession with withered branches.

One of the great assets of *The Art of E. M. Forster* is the way in which the reader is made familiar with the evolution of the artist and his use of language and imagery, without any whitewashing of any blemishes; how even the order in which *Howards End* and *A Passage to India* were written cannot be reversed in a proper evaluation of his œuvre.

To-day the question of human relationships has perhaps never been so burning. What E. M. Forster had to say on this count forty years ago still stands — above all, no doubt, because he has never bothered to say it.

He has never written a tract, either pure or in novel-form. What his great books, with all their 'faults', have done is communicate an experience. That is why one cannot really pick out single passages for successful literary analysis. But who will deny in these Africa-haunted days the fearful symmetry...?

There is Forster's immense culture, there is Forster's ever-present counterpoint of violence, there is Forster's boundless capacity for the symbolic — and for sympathy. Yet, it is Forster more than any other writer who has taught us that one did not need to be solemn to be great. Indeed, if Mr. Oliver's emphasis on Forster's work as the 20th-century's vindication of the comedy of manners is perhaps a trifle too strong, it is worth any student's while to consider E. M. Forster's 'place' in the light of his command of humour, of wit, and of irony — and the fact that, in more respects than one, he was to the novel of his time what Shaw was to its drama.

Leiden.

A. G. H. BACHRACH.

Current Literature, 1959

I. Prose, Poetry and Drama

Looking back over the year 1959, one feels that on the whole it has much more to its credit in the fields of criticism and biography than in that of original creative literature. New plays of any note have been conspicuously absent from publishers' lists, and though several volumes of new poetry have appeared, it is collected editions of the works of poets still living or recently dead that have claimed the limelight, though in the field of prose fiction there has certainly been rather more to show; but even here the books which are really memorable are very few.

One of the outstanding novels of the year is Pamela Hansford Johnson's *The Unspeakable Skipton* (Macmillan, 15/-), a study of a would-be author, irresponsible and feckless, who is leading a bohemian existence in Bruges and exploiting, imposing and sponging upon his friends and acquaintances, only to be finally taken in and swindled by one of his victims. There is no doubt that Skipton is a humbug, a rogue and an impostor, yet he is an attractive rogue and impostor for all that. With supreme self-confidence, and completely amoral, he bluffs his way through life, regarding the world as his oyster. He is, indeed, in the tradition of the great comic characters of English literature, like Falstaff and Micawber. But if Skipton is at the centre of the picture, and if it is in him that the reader is chiefly interested, there is a whole array of other figures, all as realistically

drawn; and the atmosphere of shabby gentility in an old-world city where the church bells ring day and night is finely evoked. This is a novel of a new type for Pamela Hansford Johnson, but she has brought it off well. It should come to rank amongst the greatest of her works.

By contrast, John Wain's fourth novel, *A Travelling Woman* (Macmillan, 13/6), proves disappointing. The 'travelling woman' of the title is presumably Janet Links, the wife of a partner in an old-established firm of solicitors, whose husband, after four years of marriage, begins to wonder what he saw in her in the first place, and embarks upon an illicit love-affair with the wife of one of his partners. Indeed, the story, which is rather diffuse, is made up of several matrimonial or extra-matrimonial complications that criss-cross each other, but the point of it all is not very clear. A study of human nature of a certain type in very ordinary people? Possibly, but one cannot be sure. The publishers' blurb calls it 'a novel which points no moral, but from which readers may draw one if they wish'; but with all the wishing in the world the difficulty is finding one to draw. It is amusing, gay, light-hearted and serious by turns, and it has the saving grace of not being too long, but the characters, all of whom are rather pathetic creatures, seem lacking in depth. The most moving part of the book comes at the end. We cannot feel that it adds very much to John Wain's reputation as one of the foremost novelists of the present generation.

There is much more depth, and much more that one can sympathise with, in Stella Zilliacus's *Bond of Perfection* (Secker & Warburg, 18/—), a story of the tangled relations of an ill-matched man and wife and the husband's elder sister, who comes to live with them. In the end the inevitable separation takes place, the husband being as anxious to escape from his sister as the wife is from him. There are no recriminations. The rather matter-of-fact, almost friendly and solicitous manner of the parting is perhaps not very convincing, but the book as a whole is an interesting study of divergent temperaments in a delicate situation, very human and very understanding. Miss Zilliacus tells us much more about essential human nature and the human situation than we could ever glean from John Wain's novel.

Waiting for the Sky to Fall, by Kenneth Martin (Chapman & Hall, 16/—) deals with a group of young people in London living earnestly but rather aimlessly, sometimes even recklessly, frequenting the clubs of Chelsea and drifting about the streets of Kensington and the West End in pursuit of a happiness and a purpose that seem constantly to elude them. They fall out of love as easily as they fall in; where morals are concerned their ideas seem somewhat hazy (though most of them like to think that they are more unconventional than they actually are), they are serious, cynical and blasé by turns, and altogether they find existence a burden and a problem. Their self-assurance followed by periodic bouts of depression and metaphorical gnashing of teeth seems to betray a spiritual vacuum: or is it just that they are bewildered and unsure of themselves? 'You cannot

fail to find this long novel readable', the publishers assure us; 'it is beautifully written'. With the last clause we would agree, but as for the first, Mr Martin's young people are as boring a set as one could meet anywhere — so boring that it is difficult to take them and their 'problems' seriously. He treats us to too much of them. They may be typical of a certain section of modern youth, but we should be reluctant to think it a representative section. They are too shallow and superficial, and their preoccupations too trivial, for them to be even interesting.

Almost as disappointing is P. H. Newby's *A Guest and His Going* (Jonathan Cape, 15/—). It has been well reviewed in several journals, but we have not been able to discover all the merits in it that some reviewers have found. Set in London at the time of the Suez crisis, the story revolves around a certain eccentric Egyptian student who turns up at the Helvetia School of English in Hampstead, gets into a scrape by stealing a car and becoming involved in a crash with it, takes refuge in the Egyptian Embassy, and then finishes by giving a party and acting so tactlessly as to attract considerable publicity and make himself look rather foolish. The situations are incredible and the story for the most part farcical. The best that can be said for the book is that it is entertaining, not too long, and from a stylistic point of view competently written, but it does not strike us as one of the happiest of Mr. Newby's novels.

But if the novels of 1959 have, on the whole, been of no more than middling quality, there have been several really good volumes of short stories. H. E. Bates's *The Watercress Girl and Other Stories* (Michael Joseph, 13/6) is a collection of thirteen delightful tales about children and the world as seen through children's eyes, but each is really a parable of the adult world. They are characterised by feeling, imagination, and an understanding of the child mind, while the language is simple, natural and life-like, yet they are never childish in any derogatory sense of the word. This volume certainly ranks amongst the best of its kind which have appeared over the past few years. Then there is Gerald Bullett's *Ten-Minute Tales* (Dent, 15/—), a collection of twenty-nine stories in various moods, each of which, as the title suggests, can be read in about ten minutes. Some have previously appeared in magazines, others have been broadcast. They are here published in book form for the first time. There is an introduction by Storm Jameson in which she discusses Gerald Bullett's work in general and gives some pleasant reminiscences of him. It is, of course, chiefly as a novelist that he is remembered, but he also wrote poetry, and it is Storm Jameson's thesis that even in his novels his instinct was primarily that of the poet rather than the writer of prose. The present collection shows that he was also a master of the short story, a literary form which in some ways is more difficult than the novel.

The first volume of *The Short Stories of William Faulkner* was published in 1958. The series has now been completed with the appearance of the second and third volumes (Chatto & Windus 15/— each vol.), while Professor Earl Leslie Griggs has given us the third and fourth volumes

of his careful and scholarly edition of *The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (O.U.P., 5 guineas the two vols.), covering the years 1807 to 1819, and Joan Evans and John Howard Whitehouse have completed their edition of *The Diaries of John Ruskin* with a third volume (O.U.P., 70/), representing the period from 1874 to 1889, when Ruskin was much occupied with religious speculation and suffered from frequent fits of depression. *The Heart of Emerson's Journals*, edited by Bliss Perry (New York, Dover Publications, \$1.85) is a paper-back reprint of a work which originally appeared in 1926. The *Journals* in their entirety were published in ten large volumes over the period 1909 to 1914. The present selection (a most interesting and attractive anthology, though some of the passages included are rather short and scrappy) is a gleaning from them, covering the years 1820-1875. Emerson is perhaps not amongst the giants in the way that he used to be; much of his thought is typically nineteenth century, but he was an important and significant figure in his day, and his works were almost as widely read in England as in his own country. Moreover he was at the centre of a culture and a movement whose influence was considerable on both sides of the Atlantic, and the present volume may help to bring home to those nowadays who know all too little about him and his work, and the values he stood for, wherein that influence lay.

Noteworthy contributions to autobiography, memoirs and reminiscences which may also rank as works of literature in their own right have been few indeed, but mention should be made of Laurie Lee's *Cider with Rosie* (Hogarth Press, 18/—), a picture of the author's childhood in a remote Cotswold village in the years immediately after the first World War. It is charmingly written, and contains some unforgettable characters, in particular the author's mother, a brave and noble woman who, deserted by her husband after his return from the war, struggled against great odds to bring up respectably a family of children in circumstances that might well have daunted many another. She had been used to ways of life more refined than those to which her lot condemned her, but she bore her troubles stoically and never complained. The chapter which deals with her is the most moving in the whole book.

But Mr Lee not only gives us portraits; his work is a veritable repository of rural customs, beliefs, traditions and superstitions. The life he depicts is isolated, primitive, crude, in some respects coarse, and yet full of interest. He never mentions the name of the village, but we may be sure it is a very different place today, though only forty years have elapsed.

The only notable anthology of poetry that has appeared is Edith Sitwell's *The Atlantic Book of British and American Poetry* (Gollancz, 2 vols., 3 guineas). It is a massive work of well over a thousand pages. Dame Edith casts her net wide, but her selection is very much a personal one both as regards the poets she includes (especially from amongst the moderns) and her comments upon them. The anthology is interesting

as the choice amongst British and American poetry of one who is herself a distinguished poet and is acclaimed as such on both sides of the Atlantic.

Amongst individual collections of verse the first that deserves notice is *Collected Poems of Sir John Squire* (Macmillan, 25/—), published posthumously but prepared by the poet himself before his death. John Betjeman contributes a brief introduction in which he speaks of Sir John as man and writer. In his day Squire was thought of primarily as an essayist, a critic, and editor of *The London Mercury* — 'the Great Cham' of literature in the twenties and thirties. Yet first and foremost he was a poet, and always wished to be thought of as such. Long before his death new interests and fashions in English verse led to an undeserved neglect of the type of poetry associated with his name, and he and those like him came to be dubbed, half humorously, half contemptuously, 'the Squirearchy'. Now, with this new volume, we have an opportunity to see his verse as a whole and to form a more detached estimate.

John Davidson. Poems and Ballads, edited by R. D. MacLeod (Unicorn Press, 16/—) adds twenty-two poems to the selection made by Davidson in 1904, and is prefaced with a critical-cum-biographical essay, though the biographical element remains slight out of deference to the wish expressed by the poet himself during his lifetime. 'The conclusion is', says Mr MacLeod, 'that Davidson, from his youth onwards, was a sick man mentally, perhaps inherently so. ... He had found life hard; he fought back with all his energies; he was beaten in a fight in which all the odds were against him'. This helps to explain much of his poetry; it also provides a clue to the suicide which ended his life. Mr MacLeod writes as an admirer of Davidson, and perhaps some allowance must be made for this fact in considering his assessment of the poems, but taken as a whole his introduction is modest, discerning and helpful, and it is well to have Davidson's verse easily accessible once again. It is improbable that he will ever rank as a major poet, or even as one of the most important of those who were writing in the early years of the present century, but future generations may see in him a symbol, and an illumination, of one aspect of the diverse mood and temper of his age. But ultimately, of course, his poetry is of value for what it reveals of himself, and Mr MacLeod has certainly helped us to understand that.

A new volume has been added to 'The Poetry Bookshelf' in *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson*, edited by James Reeves (Heinemann, 9/6), which contains no less than 181 pieces, carefully chosen to represent all the various aspects of Emily Dickinson's verse, while the house of Rupert Hart-Davis has produced, in a most artistic volume (price 4 guineas), Ralph Hodgson's *The Skylark and Other Poems*, decorated with wood engravings by Reynolds Stone.¹ The 'other poems' comprise a number of early ones, written between 1907 and 1917, as well as some later verses, including a long unfinished piece, *The Muse and the Mastiff*. Ralph

¹ It is now obtainable in a cheaper edition (Macmillan, 15/—).

Hodgson's poetry may be out of fashion today, but some of it at least was well known to, and appreciated by, an earlier generation. If this finely produced volume draws attention to it once again it will have done a service.

Robert Graves. Collected Poems, 1959 (Cassell, 25/—) is strictly speaking not the collected, but the selected poems of its author, and Mr Graves has himself done the selection. A number of pieces which appeared in earlier collections have been rejected, and some others included, but, as Mr Graves declares, 'no silver spoon has been thrown out with the refuse'. The poems are arranged in roughly chronological order, the earliest having been written in 1914. Robert Graves is one of the foremost of our present-day poets, as well as a prose-writer of distinction, and this collection of the best of his verse is to be warmly welcomed, though no doubt it will be added to in the future.

Another selection made by the poet himself is to be found in *Eighty-Five Poems* by Louis MacNeice (Faber, 10/6). All the poems included are short pieces and have been chosen to exemplify different phases of their author's work and the various kinds of poetry which he has written. Many readers will, no doubt, have their own opinions on what ought to have found a place in such a selection and what ought to have been excluded from it, but this is Mr MacNeice's choice, and as such we must accept it, even if we feel that he does less than justice to himself.

I. A. Richards has, of course, been well known for some years as a literary critic and also as a critic of criticism. In *Goodbye, Earth, and Other Poems* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 12/6) he presents us with his first collection of verse. It is a slender volume, and none of the pieces contained in it is long, but all are full of thought and suffused with a quiet, reflective and subdued mood of melancholy. The style is condensed, sometimes almost enigmatic, and characterised by overtones of ambivalence which reveal new facets of meaning at each re-reading. There is a short prefatory essay on the reading and understanding of poetry, and as an appendix a series of glosses which help to illuminate some of the more esoteric of the verses.

In *New Poets, 1959* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 18/—) the late Edwin Muir introduces us to Iaian Crichton Smith, Karen Gershon and Christopher Levenson. None of them has yet published a volume of verse, though all have written for magazines and have had their poetry broadcast. They are all, we presume, comparatively young. Mr Crichton Smith is the poet of landscapes, of the natural scene, and of ordinary people going about their daily lives; Karen Gershon reflects a sense of sympathy, pity and horror as she contemplates the tragedy which lies behind so much of life; Mr. Levenson's verses, which arise from his experience and response to life in the post-war world in various countries of Europe, reflect the uncertainty, the insecurity, the chaos, the cynicism and the decay of values by which the modern age is characterised. All three are poets with something to say, but it is not always that they can communicate it convincingly or memorably. A smaller selection of their work might have been better.

Another promising young poet has appeared in Geoffrey Hill, whose first volume of verse, *For the Unfallen* (price 12/6), is published by André Deutsch. It is only a small volume, and all that it contains is not equally worthy of commendation. Sometimes the writer seems to be embarrassed with words, sometimes we are painfully conscious of his efforts to express himself effectively; but in a number of poems, nevertheless, he does achieve a mastery of his medium, with striking, sensuous imagery. Here is a poet of whom we may well hear more.

The lighter side of the literature of the period is represented by *A Century of Humorous Verse*, edited by Roger Lancelyn Green (Everyman's Library, 8/6). It covers the period 1850-1950 and contains representative pieces by all the well-known humorous poets of the age as well as some by authors whom we might be surprised to find in such company — for instance, Oliver Wendell Holmes, A. E. Housman, John Galsworthy and T. S. Eliot. Altogether it is a most entertaining selection, and especially amusing is the collection of limericks with which it concludes.

As was stated at the beginning of this survey, no really notable new play has been published during the year, though *Plays of the Year*, Chosen by J. C. Trewin (Elek Books, 18/—) contains *Any Other Business*, by George Ross and Campbell Singer, *The Queen and the Welshman*, by Rosemary Anne Sisson, *The Party*, by Jane Arden, and *Touch It Light*, by Robert Storey. It is inevitable that a volume which appears annually should sometimes have to fall back upon material which in more fortunate times it would exclude, and the plays represented here are workmanlike and capable rather than remarkable from a literary point of view, though they have enjoyed a fair measure of success upon the stage. Alan Jay Lerner's *My Fair Lady*, the musical comedy based upon Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, has appeared as a Penguin Book (price 2/6), while Penguin Books have also published *New English Dramatists*, edited by Martin Browne (price 3/6). It contains *Each Has His Own Wilderness* by Doris Lessing, *The Hamlet of Stepney Green* by Bernard Kops, and *Chicken Soup with Barley* by Arnold Wesker.

The obituary for 1959 includes Edwin Muir (Jan. 3), Laurence Housman (Feb. 20), Ashley Dukes (May 4) and Frank Kendon (Dec. 28). They were all distinguished names in English literature, which they have greatly enriched with their works.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XL

123. a. Mason walked over and *sat* on the corner of his desk, the left foot on the floor, the right foot swinging in an arc in mock embarrassment at their kidding. Erle Stanley Gardner, *The Case of the Cautious Coquette*, 4, p. 24 (Pocket Books).

Bliss drank a glass of beer with his employer, made his way to the Tube, and fell fast asleep on his journey homewards. He called for Frances, and they *sat* for a time on a bench in one of the squares. E. Phillips Oppenheim, *The Amazing Quest of Mr. Ernest Bliss*, ch. XX.

Mine's whisky and soda. What's yours? We'll *sit* at this table. Id., *ib.* VII.

b. Bliss sat down in his chair, laid his hat on the floor at his side, and opened the book on birds. Id., *ib.* VI.

There was a murmur of voices, and then came the roar from the bookmakers' enclosure. She suddenly *sat down*. A man who had been standing by their side lowered his glasses. Id., *ib.* XVI.

a. Define the difference in meaning between *to sit*, used perfectly as in the sentences under a., and *to sit down*.

b. Why does the author of the sentence first quoted say *the*, not *his left (right) foot*?

124. (Detective interrogating the members of a household where a hold-up has taken place) 'He said something — I forget what —'

'Hands up or I shoot!' supplied Miss Bunner, dramatically.

'Something like that', said Miss Blacklock, rather doubtfully.

'And you all *put your hands up*?'

'Oh, *yes*', said Miss Bunner. 'We all did'. Agatha Christie, *A Murder is Announced*, ch. 5, p. 41 f. (Pan Books).

'And then', Philippa spoke faster, it was as though now her long reserve had broken down, she couldn't *get the words out* fast enough, 'that hold-up happened and I began to be frightened'. Id., *ib.*, ch. 21, p. 181.

A few steps further on, with inquisitive intent, I overturn a large flat stone (flat stones always harbour something interesting). Under this one is a nest of black ants. (Follows a description, too long to quote here and immaterial to the point at issue, of a fight between the ants and a rove-beetle) ... I carefully *put the stone back* in its place. W. N. P. Barbellion, *An Autumn Stroll*, in *Essays of To-Day*.

No. You and Mac and I have to stick together now — we *have* to. I won't ruin Charley's life by mixing him up in our troubles. I've *made my mind up*. Ellery Queen, *There Was an Old Woman*, ch. 12, p. 92 (Pocket Books).

Account for the mid-position of the noun-objects in the italicised groups.

Comments and answers to be sent to

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P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech. By KEMP MALONE. Edited by S. EINARSSON and N. E. ELIASON. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1959. 297 pp. Price Dan. kr. 48.— (bound in cloth Dan. kr. 56.—).

On his sixtieth birthday in 1949 Kemp Malone's colleagues and former students presented him with *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, containing a number of papers which they had contributed. On his seventieth he has been presented with a selection from his own papers which had previously appeared in various learned journals and other publications. Five of them have been revised by the author, two of them rather drastically; the rest (fourteen papers of various length) are reprinted with little or no change.

As was to be expected, most of the papers deal with Old English and Old Norse subjects. A good example is 'The Tale of Ingeld', the longest of all, which opens the collection. Second in length, and equally indicative of the author's wide interests, is 'The Phonemes of Current English', which should be required reading for all students of Modern English sounds and their teachers. *English Studies*, to which Kemp Malone has frequently contributed, is represented by 'Herlekin and Herlewin' (XVII, 1935, 141-44). The volume is concluded by a Supplementary List of the Writings of Kemp Malone, consisting mainly of his publications of the years 1949 to 1959. — Z.

SAMLA Studies in Milton: Essays on John Milton and his Works by Members of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association. Edited by J. MAX PATRICK. University of Florida Press (Gainesville), 1953. xvi + 197 pp. Paperbound. \$ 3.50.

This collection is boosted by a cover-blurb from Professor C. A. Robertson, a foreword by Professor Emeritus Hanford, and an introduction by the editor. Despite the claim in the blurb that these studies 'should have a special attraction nowadays, and not only for the Milton specialist or the English scholar but also for the "common reader"', they can be of no interest to any but the minute specialist. The essays are not linked by any common theme, and the most helpful thing for a reviewer to do is to list them.

'Milton's Views on Universal and Civil Decay' and 'The Substance of Milton's Angels', by J. A. Bryant and R. H. West respectively, are labours in the History of Ideas. In 'Milton's Defence of Bawdry' Professor A. H. Gilbert quotes some of Milton's sentences on obscene language. R. H. Bowers discusses 'The Accent on Youth in *Comus*', and T. B. Stroup elaborates a Spenserian source in '*Lycidas* and the Marinell Story'. As a complement to his 1925 *PMLA* article on 'The Shakespearean Element in Milton', A. Thaler cites scores of verbal and situational parallels of astonishing irrelevance. Miss L. P. Boone analyses 'The Language of Book VI, *Paradise Lost*', in terms of nationality and archaism; she misses the only important points about the diction of Book VI — that it is more archaic than is usual in the epic, and is for obvious dramatic reasons similar to that of Books I and II — in a welter of statistics. Further statistics, aided by graphs and tables, make up the final article, by Mrs Ants Oras, on 'Milton's Blank Verse and the Chronology of His Major Poems'. On her sixty-seventh page Mrs Oras concludes with the hope that this evidence 'may be of sufficient weight to justify adhering to the conventional chronology of Milton's blank verse poems'. Maybe it will.

Letters of Alexander Pope. Selected and with an Introduction by JOHN BUTT. (The World's Classics 574.) Oxford University Press. 1960. xxviii + 384 pp. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Professor Butt's selection from the Letters of Alexander Pope makes very interesting reading. The world of literature is represented among those addressed from William Wycherley (1704) to Christopher Smart (1743); in between we meet with John Gay, Jonathan Swift (Pope's letters to whom testify to a warm friendship), William Warburton, and others. A letter to the portrait painter Jonathan Richardson written in 1739 encloses a copy of Samuel Johnson's *London*: 'This is imitated by one Johnson who put in for a Public-School in Shropshire, but was Disappointed. He has an infirmity of the convulsive kind, that attacks him sometimes, so as to make Him a sad Spectacle.'

Outstanding among the other letters are those written to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu between 1716 and 1721, to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, between 1740 and 1744, and especially to his almost lifelong friend, Martha Blount (see, for instance, his vivid description of Bristol and its surroundings in two letters written in November 1739). Other letters reveal to us a man keenly interested in landscape and other gardening, in architecture, in minerals, and in a variety of other things, and with a strong aversion from political and other intrigue. Though he declares himself 'of the Religion of Erasmus, a Catholick', he enjoyed the friendship and the esteem of many prominent members of the Church of England.

The Editor's Introduction and Notes are very helpful and as detailed as the limited space at his disposal allowed. One may perhaps doubt whether all readers will catch the allusion to Quarles on p. 164, or see the point of the pun on *Bowl* and *βουλή* on p. 224. Is 'Two General Distribution of Laws', at the bottom of p. 231, a misprint for 'Too ...'? — Z.

The Novello — Cowden Clarke Collection. The Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. 1955. Pp. 20. Price 2s.

In 1808 Vincent Novello, son of Giuseppe Novello, who had come to England in 1771, and founder with his son Alfred of the publishing firm which still bears his name, married Mary Sabilla Hehl. Their first child, Mary Victoria, achieved fame as a writer and is particularly remembered for her massive *Concordance* to Shakespeare's works. In 1828 she married Charles Cowden Clarke who, as a young man, had exercised a beneficial influence on Keats, whom he first knew as a pupil in his father's school at Enfield. To Vincent Novello's house in Oxford Street came Shelley, Keats, Leigh Hunt, and Charles and Mary Lamb. Later at Shacklewell and in Bayswater and elsewhere in the circle of friends included Mary Shelley, Jane Williams, Dickens, Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Gaskell, Cobden, Florence Nightingale, and Emerson. Dickens continued to correspond with the Cowden Clarks till his death and printed some of Mary's lesser pieces in *All the Year Round*.

The Novello — Cowden Clarke Collection reveals in detail the activities of this singularly gifted and affectionate family and the impression they made upon their contemporaries. The Collection contains more than a thousand books and pamphlets, 46 manuscripts, some 450 autograph letters, a number of scrap-books and sketch-books, and a large amount of unclassified material. It was presented to the University of Leeds for inclusion in the Brotherton Collection in 1953. The donors were Donna Nerina Medici di Marignano Gigliucci and Contessa Bona Gigliucci, great-grand-daughters of Vincent Novello. Of the Cowden Clarks' own works there are a number of presentation and special association copies. Manuscript insertions appear in a few volumes. Thus, on the title-page of Hazlitt's *Liber amoris, or, The New Pygmalion* (1823) Mary Cowden Clarke has written: '(wh. Charles Lamb said Hazlitt shd. have called *The New Hogmalion*)'.

This unpretentious little guide aims at indicating the highlights in the Collection, and sketches the personal and historical background. A hand-list of the books and manuscripts is available on request. Enquiries about the Collection should be addressed to: The Keeper of the Brotherton Collection, The Brotherton Library, The University of Leeds, Leeds 2, England.

Nijmegen.

J. G. RIEWALD.

A Survey of English Institutions. By C. A. BODELSEN. Sixth Edition. København: H. Hagerup. 1960. 224 pp. Price D.Kr. 15.65.

The Government and Institutions of England. By C. A. BODELSEN. Sixth Edition. København: H. Hagerup. 1959. 60 pp. Price D.Kr. 5.50.

Professor Bodelsen's surveys of the government and institutions of England supply a real want, whether one judges them by their contents or by the number of editions they have run into since they first appeared in 1942. The main heads of the table of contents of the smaller book will indicate the nature of both: The Constitution — The Crown — Parliament — The Government — Local Government — The Administration of Justice — The Law and the Lawyers — Education — The Church — The Commonwealth.

One admires the way in which the author has kept each succeeding edition abreast of a sometimes rapidly changing situation. Thus on p. 191 of *A Survey* one reads: 'Whether the spirit of give and take, which has so far characterized relations between the white parts of the Commonwealth ... will also be adopted by India, Pakistan, Ghana, etc. and the new non-European Dominions that will soon come into being ... remains to be seen.' But on the less transitory features of English political and cultural institutions, too, these books are equally up-to-date and informative. — Z.

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¹ For earlier numbers see *E. S.* XXXVII (1956) pp. 243-244.

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Keats and a Nightingale

Among recent studies of Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale' the most suggestive perhaps is that by Miss Janet Spens, who points to the new significance of Hazlitt's *Lectures on the English Poets*.¹ With reference to that aspect of the ode which has caused most difficulty, the change in mood from happiness to thought of death, Miss Spens ably copes with two questions: 'First, why Keats was led into what appears on the surface something of an irrelevance, so that the ecstasy becomes the "plaintive anthem" of the last. And secondly, whether the change can be justified by what may be called poetic logic.' These questions, so intimately concerned with artistic unity in this poem, may perhaps be examined from a different angle, namely, that of the song itself which prompted the poem. Criticism has virtually excluded the minor actor in this little drama — a nightingale to which Keats listened with 'a tranquil and continual joy' during its nesting period in the spring of 1819. The present aim is to suggest that the ode reflects the song of a nightingale and not a throstle, blackbird or another harbinger of 'summer in full-throated ease'. To justify this approach to the nightingale ode it is necessary first to consider the distinctive qualities of the nightingale's music, then to point out wherein the movement of the poem harmonizes with this song.

Bird song impresses hearers differently in addition to the fact that considerable variation in notes often appears among individuals of the same species. Still, nightingale song generally, possesses unique qualities conveying impressions which may fairly be termed universal. These have been well described by Robert Bridges, one of the few to devote any attention to the subject of Keats's ode:

The song of the nightingale is, to the hearer, full of assertion, promise, and cheerful expectancy, and of pleading and tender passionate overflowing in long drawn-out notes, interspersed with plenty of playfulness and conscious exhibitions of musical skill. Whatever pain or sorrow may be expressed by it, it is idealised — that is, it is not the sorrow of a sufferer, but the perfect expression of sorrow by an artist, who must have felt, but is not feeling; and the ecstasy of the nightingale is stronger than its sorrow, although different hearers may be differently affected according to their mood. Keats in a sad mood seized on the happy interpretation and promise of it, and gives it in this line —

Singest of summer in full-throated ease.²

Though he recognizes that Keats's ode 'vies in richness and variety with its subject', Bridges dismisses the poem with contradictory strictures, which will be mentioned directly.

¹ Janet Spens, 'A Study of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale",' *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 3-4 (1952-53), 234-243.

² Robert Bridges, *Collected Essays*, London, 1929, IV, 130.

A more objective impression of the nightingale comes from the naturalist Harold J. Massingham :

The song lacks tenderness — parts of it are a pelting rain of hard jewels — but it has three characteristics which crown it. First, there is the perfect phrasing, the mastery of workmanship, the sheer lyrical power; secondly, there is the marvellous variety of pitch and tone, and, thirdly, the passion of the music, its fieriness and plangent strength. The daringly high prelude — *whew, whew, whew* — repeated sometimes a dozen times, peals out, and there is silence, then a wire twanged, as though an invisible hand, delicate as Oberon's, struck his stringed instrument with tremendous force, while the leaves of the tree seem to vibrate with the sound, and silence again; a rich, mellow, rapid warble, and again silence; a liquid bubbling note followed by a clear, bright whistle, wind and stringed instruments snatched up in turn.³

More than half a century after Keats George Meredith surpassed all his predecessors in reproducing the nightingale in verse. In 'Night of Frost in May' the single bird, then a chorus, provide the vocal part in this spring setting. There is space here only for excerpts from these thirty-four vivid tetrameters :

In this shrill hush of quietude,
The ear conceived a severing cry...
When chuckles three, a warble shy,...
 laid the trance on breath and frame,
A prelude of the passion charm.
Then soon was heard, not sooner heard
Than answered, doubled, trebled, more
Voice of an Eden in the bird
Renewing with his pipe of four
The sob: a troubled Eden, rich
In throb of heart:...
The fervour of the four long notes,...
It seemed a single harper swept
Our wild wood's inner chords and waked
A spirit that for yearning ached
Ere men desired or joyed or wept.

So completely does the poet project himself into this May night that, as one critic remarks, intelligibility to one reader or another 'depends primarily on the extent to which he has entered into the experiences on which it [the poem] is based'.⁴ Certainly a reader will appreciate more fully if he has heard nightingales singing on a cold spring night. Meredith's undivided attention to this song measures the gulf separating him from Keats, whose purposes and art belong to another world.

Although most readers of Keats have never heard nightingales, yet the distinctive qualities of the song may be recognized from the foregoing passages. These agree in several particulars: nightingale song consists of a unique variety of notes of different pitch and tone separated by pauses which lend distinctness to each series: and second, in their impression

³ Harold J. Massingham, *Some Birds of the Countryside*, New York, n.d., pp. 185-86.

⁴ Mary S. Henderson, *George Meredith: Poet, Reformer*, London, 1907, p. 209.

upon the hearer most of these songs appear sprightly and cheerful, one series, however, producing quite a different effect. A seeming joy is shared by most birds, but only with the nightingale are the songs intermixed with another to be described as 'full of pleading and tender, passionate overflowing in long drawn-out notes', 'a rich, mellow, rapid warble', 'the fervour of the four long notes', and, as Keats elsewhere terms this striking crescendo, 'the nightingale's tender condoling' ('To Some Ladies'). This sudden, slow warble uttered with gathering intensity identifies the nightingale as truly as do its other combinations of rapid, sprightly song.

While it reflects the distilled music of all nightingales, Keats's ode is yet the product of the poet's experience with a single bird. Fortunately details of this experience were set down by Charles Brown, with whom Keats was living at the time:

In the spring of 1819 a nightingale had built her nest near my house. Keats felt a tranquil and continual joy in her song; and one morning he took his chair from the breakfast table to the grass plot under a plum-tree, where he sat for two or three hours. When he came into the house, I perceived he had some scraps of paper in his hand, and these he was quietly thrusting behind the books....⁵

It is probable that, although in the main Keats wrote down the ode during these two hours, the poem had been gradually taking shape during the earlier days and nights of the nightingale's song period.⁶ The poet's high seriousness, his deliberate habits, his sense for poetic architecture: these are universally evident in his verse as of course also in pronouncements in the *Letters*. Happily the manuscript sheets of the nightingale ode have been preserved. With these before him Sir Sidney Colvin perhaps understates the case when he writes: 'Single lines, groups of lines, or half-stanzas may doubtless have begun to take shape in his mind earlier, during some of those times of "tranquil, continual joy" in the bird's music.'⁷ In short, Keats's ode was not the spontaneous inspiration of a single experience, but of a period during which, as the poet listened night and day, the work gradually took form.

Before considering the ode in relation to the song it is well to remember that Keats's ode falls well within the venerable tradition of nightingale poetry, that it witnesses the poet's response to literary tradition as well as to nature. During the middle ages, when there was more direct

⁵ *Life of John Keats by Charles Armitage Brown*, ed. Bodurtha and Pope, London, New York, and Toronto, 1937, pp. 53-54. That these half-sheets represent, not the first draft, but a revised recomposition is argued by Robert N. Roth, 'The Houghton-Crewe Draft of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLVIII (1954), 91-95. The ode appeared first in July, 1819; in the 1820 edition *The Nightingale* of the title was altered to *A Nightingale*.

⁶ Arriving in England about April 15, the nightingale continues his singing until early June. When Keats wrote the ode early in May, he had been hearing the song for some weeks.

⁷ Sir Sidney Colvin, 'A Morning's Walk in a Hampstead Garden', *The John Keats Memorial Volume*, London, 1921, p. 67.

observation of natural phenomena than the bestiaries allowed, the nightingale was celebrated as a joyful singer, a symbol of romantic love and, later, of the Christian soul. Undoubtedly Keats knew its role in 'The Owl and the Nightingale'; at times he seems to echo lines from Alcuin, the eighth century poet of the nightingale.⁸ But more noticeable are immediate influences. Robert Bridges first observed that Keats's line,

'Tis not through envy of thy happy lot

probably derived from William Browne's,

Philomel, I do not envy thy sweet carolling.

Partly because of further possible connection of Keats's ode with Coleridge,⁹ the importance of the Conversation Poem 'A Nightingale' is undeniable. Here Coleridge delivers a spirited rebuke to the Miltonic bird, 'most musical, most melancholy':

'Tis the merry Nightingale
That crowds, and hurries, and precipitates
With fast thick warble his delicious notes,
As he were fearful that an April night
Would be too short for him to utter forth
His love-chant, and disburthen his full soul
Of all its music.

This poem marks the demise of Philomel; yet in his eagerness to exorcise the fable, Coleridge neglects those plaintive notes which once served to identify the nightingale with the ravished maid. Keats, too, stresses the happiness of the music. That he listens to that other strain, that he introduces it perceptibly into the latter movements of the work is suggested in the analysis now to follow.

⁸ With line 6,

But being too happy in thine happiness
and with lines from 'Bards of Passion and of Mirth':
Where the nightingale doth sing
Not a senseless, tranced thing,
But divine melodious truth: . . .
Of heaven and its mysteries,

compare 'De Luscinia':

Dulce melos iterans vario modulamine musae,
Atque Creatorem semper in ore canens . . .
Felix o nimium, Dominum nocteque dieque
Qui studio tali semper in ore canit!

(J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, CI, p. 803)

⁹ In the spring of 1819, a few weeks prior to the composition of the ode, Keats wrote that he had recently walked with Coleridge, who 'broached a thousand things — let me see if I can give you a list — Nightingales — Poetry — on Poetical Sensations . . .' (To George and Georgiana Keats, March 19, 1819 — *Letters*, ed. M. Buxton Forman, 4th ed., Oxford, 1952, p. 323). On the possible relations with the ode, cf. H. W. Garrod, *Keats*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 119 ff.

Keats's ode consists of three divisions or movements: desire for escape (stanzas 1-3), escape (4-7), return to reality (8). Yet these divisions are not only carefully organized each within and to itself: they are linked to form an artistic unit of eight stanzas, as the progression is directed with studied art and with full awareness of the actual song of the nightingale. The heart of the poem is the realization of escape, and the four stanzas comprising this group are evenly divided so as to reflect two distinct moods. Moreover, as stanzas 1-3 prepare for the happy realization in 4 and 5, so 6 and 7 serve a like role as transition to the final stanza. A review of this process makes clear the careful balance of motif and the explicit relevance of the bird song.

The initial stanza voices the dominant impression in these bursts of song from the nightingale, one of the first spring arrivals in Britain. To every hearer the bird sings 'of summer in full-throated ease'. Through five of the total eight stanzas this clearly is the song about which Keats builds his thought. With the phrase *Already with thee* the faery scene has been summoned to the accompaniment of the full-throated music with its promise of summer. Here is the world of 'The Flowre and the Leaf', on which Hazlitt had recently lectured, as Miss Spens points out (pp. 240-241). This mood reaches its climax in the fifth stanza, well termed 'the dramatic centre of the poem, ... an equilibrium born of previous conflicts'.¹⁰ Concluding the stanza with a catalogue of flowers, an ancient device, Keats reviews the spring scene seasonably leading from its faded violets to the high pomp of summer with:

The coming muskrose, full of dewy wine,
The murmuring haunt of flies on summer eves.

Poesy has rendered its 'draught of vintage', its summer warmth.

The murmur of flies now serves to translate the reader from the balmy world of fragrance to one of sound; the nocturnal faery is unchanged, but a different mood descends. Stanza 6, beginning 'Darkling I listen', marks the new theme of Death, pervasive now in two stanzas. Finding in Spenser's Cave of Despair, by way of a Hazlitt lecture, the inception of Keats's phrase 'easeful death', Miss Spens seeks to justify the change in mood by a poetic logic identified with Keats's yearning to enjoy 'a fellowship wit essence' (*Endymion*). Apart from this question, the immediate point is that this change is accompanied by and harmonized with the changed note of the nightingale, which, only at the last explicitly designated as 'thy plaintive anthem', is implicit throughout stanzas 6 and 7.¹¹ Indirectly

¹⁰ Herbert M. McLuhan, 'Aesthetic Patterns in Keats's Odes', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XII (1942-43, pp. 167-174), 173.

¹¹ This interpretation is hinted by Charles Williams, who with reference to the beginning of stanza 6 states: 'The song continues; only, though the same, it is a different song' (*Reason and Beauty in the Poetic Mind*, Oxford, 1933, p. 69). Later (p. 74) Mr. Williams speaks of 'a first and second nightingale', recognizing the background of changing song.

this anthem note is suggested in the now different overtones: 'pouring forth thy soul in such an ecstasy', 'thy high requiem', a phrase appropriate only to the new song. Then 'the self-same song' now recalls 'the *sad* heart of Ruth... *sick* for home... stood in *tears*'. Inevitably, this is 'thy plaintive anthem', the tolling bell no less than the iterated *forlorn* carrying over into the final stanza the connotations of the two preceding stanzas.

The fewness throughout of explicit allusions to the bird's song accounts in great part for the almost universal charge of inconsistency and artistic ineptness in this phrase 'thy plaintive anthem'.¹² The opening stanza clearly announces the bright, joyful nightingale song. Yet through five stanzas Keats directly refers to the song only once again, in line 22:

What thou among the leaves hast never known.

This silence may explain the general assumption that when in lines 57-58 the poet returns to the song, this song must be the same:

While thou art pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy!

But the poet's dream of summer has now given way to that of death, the nightingale's song now 'a high requiem', a 'plaintive anthem'. These phrases startle only if the reader neglects the background of continuous song, which, now different, is attuned to the different mood. Apparent contradiction arises from the fact that, after the first expressive allusion, the song becomes only an implied accompaniment until in 'plaintive anthem' Keats, as it were, reminds the reader of this harmony throughout the final stanzas.

Examination of Keats's masterly repetitions increases one's sense of the intimate relationship of the bird music to the movements of the ode, and thereby perhaps compensates for the sparsity of direct allusion. Professor Colvin has noted the effectiveness of the repeated *away* in stanzas 2, 3, and 4, but has failed to observe the unifying force of the words in the closing line of stanza 2 — '*with thee fade away*' — repeated in varying combinations: '*fade far away*' (l. 21), '*Away! away! for I will fly to thee!*' (l. 31 [Keats first wrote '*with thee*'], '*Already with thee*' (l. 35), and finally 'thy plaintive anthem fades'. Again, this same critic has observed that in the final stanza the echoed word *forlorn* is used in a changed sense: 'The soul of romance has died out of the word, which now describes the despondency of the poet's private mood' (p. 73).

¹² Keats 'loses hold of his main idea in the words "plaintive anthem" which in expressing the dying away of sound, changes its character' (Bridges, *op. cit.*, p. 130). Garrod lays the blame upon Wordsworth's 'Solitary Reaper', whose 'plaintive numbers' 'caused Keats to strike the only false note which the Ode discovers' (*op. cit.*, p. 116). Miss Spens also admits the sudden drop both of sound and music, but believes that 'the poem required it... the link had snapped,... the revulsion is needed to cut off and make convincing the Immortal experience' (*op. cit.*, p. 243).

Precisely the same contrast applies in the final use of *fade*. The poet has fulfilled his desire to '*fade away into the forest dim*' with the bird whose happy notes had drawn him into the dream-like union. Now the nightingale takes swift flight, *it* now fades, the plaintive notes ringing in the distance in contrast to the earlier happy song filled with promise. In effect, then, both words, *forlorn* and *fade*, ironic echoes, fittingly agree with and enhance the effect of the contrasting bird song.

Affirming the 'inconsistency' in the change, Professor Colvin adds that 'the imagined music may have become plaintive to the poet because he feels it and his vision melting away from him together.... There is a floating vagueness which leaves us doubtful whether the dying music is meant to be that of his dream only, or that of the real nightingale whose song had in the first instance set him dreaming' (p. 73). The music was hardly 'imagined', for the vision melts as a real nightingale flies away from the poet seated beneath the plum-tree. The sudden flight of a singing bird usually has a very pronounced effect upon one who has been listening. For Keats that effect is vividly expressed in 'past the near meadows, over the still stream...'. But only then does the reader realize that a nightingale has been singing all the while, that the poet has marked well the twofold quality in these notes so subtly woven in the fabric of 'Ode to a Nightingale'.

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Water and Animal Symbolism in T. F. Powys

Theodore Francis Powys (December, 1875 — November 27, 1953) is the first of the Georgians — the oldest, one of the most productive, and one of the most distinguished of that generation of serious English and (if 'Georgian' may be so extended) American writers of fiction of which Hemingway is the youngest and which includes Forster, Joyce, Woolf, Lawrence, Dos Passos, Fitzgerald, and Faulkner. He is also the most Georgian of the Georgians. In the history of twentieth-century fiction in England and America, the Edwardians — Wells, Galsworthy, and Bennett — stand for naturalism; most of the Georgians, for the fusion of naturalism with symbolism; and Powys — the most Georgian, because the most symbolical, of the Georgians — for symbolism. Powys' characters and his settings constitute an allegorical world in which the interactions of symbolic characters in symbolic settings figure a meaning: theme, rather than scientific law, is its master. Taking 'setting' to mean everything natural and artificial except the characters and their actions, Powys' fiction is full of (among other kinds) symbolism drawn from nature, organic and

inorganic. In this paper, I shall discuss two strands of his nature symbolism — the water and the animal.¹

For Powys, 'Love and Death... are the two realities of life' (*IB*, 216); and the commonest symbol of the latter, though there are other important ones (notably the dogs in *Mark Only* and the dark wine in *Mr. Weston's Good Wine*), is water. It is the most usual means by which death comes to the good in Powys: "'the folk of Folly Down'", Mrs. Grunter tells Mrs. Meek in *Mr. Weston's Good Wine*, "'do like drowning best'" (269) (and Folly Down is the world); and the pond in *Unclay* has a special status as an agent of death:

it tempted, it fascinated. It was said that to drown oneself there gave no pain. One had only to step in, and sink at once. Drowning there was thought to be a pleasure. Little children, in times past, had ventured, and old men. The pond pitied all men's sorrows, and the relief that it gave was death [63-64].

Mrs Gulliver, Mr. Pink, Miss Pink, Mrs. Moggs, and Paul the monkey (in *Mockery Gap*); Polly Wimple, Fred Pim, and two small boys (in *Innocent Birds*); John Pardy (in 'John Pardy and the Waves'); and Walter Gidden (in 'The Hunted Beast') drown in the sea. 'Wold Burt' (in 'No Room'), Tom Button (in *Mark Only* and *Innocent Birds*), and a man in 'Lie Thee Down, Oddity!' drown in a river. The daughter of Mr. Hayball's Yorkshire correspondent (in *Mark Only*); Old Barker (in 'The Stone and Mr. Thomas'); Mr. Guppy (in 'The Candle and the Slow-Worm'); Ada Kiddle (in *Mr. Weston's Good Wine*); Jack Foy, Joe Bridle, and Susie Dawe (in *Unclay*); George Douse's father (in 'The Two Thieves'); Mr. Gasser (in 'The Dewpond'); Winnie Garland (in 'The Gong'); and John Ruddle (in 'His Best Coat') drown in ponds. Betty White (in 'In Good Earth') drowns in a well. And Mary Trevis (in 'The White Weathercock'), Mary Gulliver (in *Mockery Gap*), Mary Gillet (in 'The Left Leg'),

¹ The following works by Powys are cited in this paper. The editions used, with the exceptions noted, were published in London by Chatto & Windus. Dates of composition, when known, are given in italics; of publication (both of individual works and of volumes), in roman. Page references to these works in these editions are given parenthetically in the text with, when necessary, the abbreviations indicated. **Novels:** *Mr. Tasker's Gods* (= *MT*) (1916, 1925) *Black Bryony* (1917, 1923), *Mockery Gap* (1923, 1925), *Mark Only* (1924), *Innocent Birds* (= *IB*) (1926), *Mr. Weston's Good Wine* (New York: The Viking Press, 1928; 1st [English] ed., 1927), *Kindness in a Corner* (1930), *Unclay* (1931). **Novellas:** 'The Left Leg,' 'Abraham Men' — *The Left Leg* (= *LL*) (1923); 'In Good Earth,' 'The Two Thieves' — *The Two Thieves* (= *TT*) (1932). **Short Stories:** 'No Room' (c. 1923, 1928), 'The White Weathercock' (c. 1923; November 2, 1923), 'I Came as a Bride' (1924-1925; July 30, 1927) — *The House with the Echo: Twenty-Six Stories* (= *HE*) (1928); 'John Pardy and the Waves', 'The Stone and Mr. Thomas', 'The Candle and the Slow-Worm' — *Fables* (1927, 1929); 'The Hunted Beast' (1928-1929; 1930) — *The White Paternoster and Other Stories* (1930); 'The Gong' (April, 1934), 'His Best Coat' (May 21, 1934), 'Lie Thee Down, Oddity!' (September 19, 1934) — *Captain Patch: Twenty-One Stories* (1935); 'The Dewpond' (September, 1928) — *Bottle's Path and Other Stories* (1946). **Nonfiction:** *Soliloquies of a Hermit* (1915; London: Andrew Melrose Ltd., 1918; 1st [American] ed. [as *The Soliloquy of a Hermit*], 1916).

Mrs. Bugby (in *Innocent Birds*), and Ivy Mitton (in 'In Good Earth') either contemplate or narrowly escape death by water.

Traditionally, water has a quite different symbolic rôle, of course. As a primal element — the origin of all living things, a necessary condition of all life, and a therapeutic agent — it is a fertility symbol and, as the commonest cleanser, the chief symbol in purificatory rites — a symbol of life and love, birth and rebirth, rather than of death. But, for Powys, 'God's best gift' is not life or love, but death; and the approval — and, ironically, the symbol — that the generality of mankind reserves for life and love he bestows upon death.

Powys has not, however, turned his back on tradition as much as this account would suggest. For one thing, death as life's greatest blessing, as a welcome release from

The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to,²

as 'Sleep's brother',³ as an escape to the comfort of heaven from earth, 'Where nothing lives but crosses, cares, and grief',⁴ is the official, traditional Christian view. Second, there are many traditional links between death and life, and between death and love. Death as 'a consummation | Devoutly to be wished',⁵ as 'a lover's bed',⁶ 'as a bride',⁷ 'as a lover's pinch',⁸ and as a return to the womb — and love as a little death (likewise a return to the womb) and as the death of individual identity — are familiar tropes in both sacred and secular literature and to anthropology and psychoanalysis:⁹

Love wounds with heat, as Death with cold;
So that I fear they do but bring
Extremes to touch, and mean one thing.¹⁰

Death as a birth or rebirth is equally familiar. The legend of the phoenix is ancient; no later than the second century, Christians began to regard death as a birth, and the day of death as a *dies natalis*;¹¹ and, as Lord Raglan has shown, christening, marriage, and funeral ceremonies

² *Hamlet* III.i.

³ William Drummond of Hawthornden, 'Madrigal' ('The ivory, coral, gold') 10.

⁴ *Richard II* II.ii.

⁵ *Hamlet* III.i.

⁶ *Antony and Cleopatra* IV.xiv.

⁷ *Measure for Measure* III.i.

⁸ *Antony and Cleopatra* V.ii.

⁹ Cf. Cleanth Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn: Studies in the Structure of Poetry* (New York, 1947), pp. 15, 74 ff., 176; Kenneth Burke, 'Symbolic Action in a Poem by Keats', *A Grammar of Motives* (New York, 1945), p. 450; *idem*, 'Thanatopsis for Critics: A Brief Thesaurus of Deaths and Dyings', *Essays in Criticism*, II (1952), 370, 372.

¹⁰ Jonson, 'Love and Death' 6-8.

¹¹ Alfred C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, I (Washington, D. C., 1941), pt. I, ch. iv.

are... merely variants of the same death and rebirth ceremony. Just as the corpse dies as a mortal and is reborn as an immortal; just as the baby dies to sin and is reborn to righteousness; so the bride dies as a maiden and is reborn as a queen.¹²

And water itself, because it figures prominently in all these death-and-rebirth ceremonies, is a powerful link between death and life, and death and love. Third, tradition has conferred a special status upon water and upon death by drowning. Because water bulks so large in magico-religious cult, primitive man believes it to have *mana* or sacred power;¹³ and at least one of the church fathers, Hugo of St. Victor, thought it to have a relationship to spiritual 'reality' independent of and antecedent to its use in such cult: as C. S. Lewis puts it, 'Water, *ex naturali qualitate*, was an image of the grace of the Holy Ghost even before the sacrament of baptism was ordained'.¹⁴ Because of these and similar beliefs about water, because when death is thought of as a return to the womb water can conveniently represent the amniotic fluid,¹⁵ and perhaps because water is reputed to be an especially pleasant means of bringing death — death by drowning has a favored status:

Because of the divine character of water, it was [in Egypt] thought fortunate to be drowned, a drowned person sometimes being regarded as a deity.... The greatest service that one could render a god was to be drowned, and thus to be united with him;¹⁶

and the drowned 'suffer a sea-change | Into something rich and strange'.¹⁷

And Powys, far from rejecting tradition, uses it to help validate water as one of his symbols of death. Many of Powys' good characters find or look for a fulfillment in death that is a surrogate for sexual fulfillment in life. For the celibate clergyman Henry Neville, in *Mr. Tasker's Gods*, death is a 'welcome release' (35); for Miss Pink, in *Mockery Gap* (209), and for the heroine of 'I Came as a Bride' (*HE*, 81), the grave is a bridegroom and a lover; for Mrs. Bugby, in *Innocent Birds*, the 'dim small circle of black water' at the bottom of her husband's well is a friend whom she longs to embrace (186) (and Mr. Bugby, who encourages this longing, says that "'The grave... be a good kind second husband to a married 'oman. An' a deep garden well mid do instead of parson at thik wedding'" [80]); for Mr. Solly, in *Unclay*, who fears love, death — 'however much Love may pester mankind — always makes full amends' (76); and, for John Glidden, in 'In Good Earth', the seed that brings happiness is not that sown in woman but man himself sown in the churchyard (*TT*, 92). And there are many other links, literal and

¹² *Death and Rebirth: A Study in Comparative Religion* (London, 1945), p. 65.

¹³ E. O. James in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* s.v. 'Water, Water-Gods (Primitive and Savage)'; R. R. Marett in *ibid.* s.v. 'Mana'.

¹⁴ *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (London, 1938), p. 46.

¹⁵ Burke, 'Thanatopsis for Critics', p. 372.

¹⁶ S. A. B. Mercer in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* s.v. 'Water, Water-Gods (Egyptian)'.

¹⁷ *The Tempest* I.ii.

figurative, between death and love, and death and life. Death is a return to the womb. In *Innocent Birds*, 'one of those huge waves that are only met with at night time on the high seas... came out of the night and gathered the two drowning ones [Polly Wimple and Fred Pim, whose love is never consummated] into its black womb' (251). Death is often compared to, or described in terms of, love. George Pring, in 'Abraham Men', says that "'The only safe place be the grave.... 'Twere best for we to be rotted in mud than to be hurt by they maids.... 'Tis worse than death, the pain they do make we feel. What good be living for we, 'tis a bad maid life be'" (LL, 303); Mark Andrews, in *Mark Only*, says that "'there bain't wife nor maid that be so loving as they good dogs,'" which are a symbol of death (267); for Truggin, the sexton, in *Kindness in a Corner*, grave-digging is 'an act of love' ('Those that Truggin loved, he wished to bury') (23), and he says that "'a wise bull mid prefer that ["a grave"] to a wedding-dance wi' a young cow'" (49) and "'to diddle-daddle a maid be the next best thing to burying her'" (51); and the character Death, in *Unclay*, says that "'Love is as strong as death....'" (313). Death is the inevitable and close sequel to love. 'The first change [in a man] — the forerunner of Death — is Love. When the sun of Love rises, and a man walks in its glory, he may be sure that a shadow approaches him — Death', we are told in *Unclay* (57); and Susie Dawe, in that novel, longs 'to run merrily down the lane of love, at the end of which is Death' (185). And, finally, love and death sometimes either are identical or are two aspects of the same thing. In *Black Bryony*, the bryony plant is a complex symbol both of fertility and life and of corruption and death (8, 11, 15, 41, 76, 82, 99, 107, 115, 131, 171, 178); in *Innocent Birds*, a kiss carries Polly Wimple 'suddenly into the magic circle of being called Love and Death, that are the two realities of life' (216), and Mrs. Crocker says that love, because it 'is related to death,' is not to be feared (63); in *Mr. Weston's Good Wine*, the central symbol, the good wine, comes in two varieties — the light, which is love, and the dark, death; and, in *Unclay*, Death says, "'I kill, and Love gives life, but in reality we are one and the same'" (324). Thus, in these and in other ways, Powys converts a symbol of life and love into one of death.

Animals have a complex and pervasive rôle in Powys' fiction: they function figuratively — that is to say, in the imagery — as well as literally and, hence, symbolically. Here we are concerned with them as symbols, as elements in the setting which, as always in Powys, have a significance beyond their verisimilar particularity. Yet these two rôles, the symbolic and the figurative, are so intimately connected that the latter had best be glanced at in a discussion of the former.

In *Mr. Tasker's Gods*, to take an early but striking example, Mr. Tasker's pigs are symbols of his greed and brutality; but Mr. Tasker (among others) is also a figurative beast. What's more, his pigs (among other beasts) are figuratively not only gods but also men. The sexual activities of bulls are 'manlike' (17); pigs, possessed like the Gadarene swine ('the

evil spirits of the men, Mr. Tasker's in particular, had entered into the pigs...'), fight 'like human creatures' over the carcass of a dead horse (29-30); Mrs. Lefevre, the Reverend Henry Neville's housekeeper, is 'unpleasantly human' (34); the thoughts of the Reverend Hector Turnbull when he looks at a girl are 'the thoughts of a male hyena' (63); suckling pigs struggle 'for their joys manfully, like their masters' (70); Mr. Tasker's call to his pigs is 'a beast's call to a beast' (72); and — to exclude many more instances (e.g., 45, 65, 71) — Henry Turnbull discovers that Mr. Tasker's churchwardenship is 'a sort of mask... worn by a brute beast of the most foul nature', that his call to his pigs comes 'from somewhere that is below humanity and from something of which man is but the surface' (74). Here the animal symbolism and the animal imagery interact to figure — crudely, perhaps, yet dramatically — what is a familiar Powysian theme: that man and beast are 'the two in one' (*MT*, 70) — a point that Powys makes more explicitly in his early work of nonfiction *Soliloquies of a Hermit*, where he says that 'All our little moral sensations are upon the surface of our lives; it is the great immoralist that lies beneath' (112). And this interaction of symbol with image, to figure this and related themes, is characteristic of Powys' fiction generally.

Though one species or genus of animal sometimes functions as a symbol throughout an entire novel or story — Mr. Tasker's pigs, the mythical dogs in *Mark Only*, the good and the evil birds in *Innocent Birds*, and (more systematically and allegorically) the various animals in *Fables* are memorable examples — a local, temporary symbolic use of an animal is perhaps more characteristic. The most striking use of this kind is conjoined with outrageously pathetic fallacy. Here, for instance, are two passages — the first from *Mark Only*, the other from *Innocent Birds* — where this combination is a device just as efficient as, and much more powerful as well as more subtle than, the nuntius of classical tragedy, not only for describing, but for evaluating, what cannot be presented directly:

Mr Tulk spat in the direction of his bed. Emmie went there tiredly.

An old rat ran along the beam in the granary roof and watched. Now and again it licked its paws. The rat had been hungry itself that evening and had eaten its own young ones. It fancied that Charles was making a meal too [211];

the wise spider had decided that man was but a larger creation of his own kind, though of course more greedy, for the spider considered himself, as is usual with well-fed people, as but a moderate eater.

The spider looked out of his web — his eyes were like tiny beads of fire — in order to see what Mr. Bugby did with the struggling fly he had carried into the copse.... [ellipses in the original]

The spider watched until Mr. Bugby left the girl, who lay as still now as any fly that he had laid out in his nest; and then he left the shelter of his web to see what had happened.

When the spider left his web, the footsteps of Mr. Bugby could be heard going jauntily down the Maddar hill towards the village.

Mr. Bugby was whistling [213-214].

And here are two passages from *Mark Only* where the combination of

symbolic animal and pathetic fallacy is a device for satirizing some of the beliefs with which man comfortably deludes himself:

A mouse who had made its nest there [in a field], reasoning, no doubt, that land in that state could only have been intended by the creator of all things — to the mouse this creator was a rat — as permanent pasture. But the plow had turned over the little house, and the mouse became an infidel [27-28];

It may be that... the cows pray for the advent of their Saviour, Who will one day cover all the lands with eternal spring, and carpet the New Jerusalem with four-leaf clover [94].

But the comparison of man with animal — whether by means of symbols or images, and whether local or not — is not always unflattering to man, not even in *Mr. Tasker's Gods*, where the dead horse upon which the pigs bloodily feast is just as symbolic as the pigs. Indeed, as some of the images already cited from that novel suggest (the pigs fight 'like human creatures'), the animals have a semi-independent claim upon our interest; particular animals usually have a dual symbolic rôle: like the albatross or the sea serpents in 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', they symbolize not only certain men, certain classes of men, or certain human characteristics, but also certain classes of animals; to put the matter more exactly, they symbolize certain aspects of *all* life, animal as well as human. Powys' themes typically concern not just human life but all life.

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Notes and News

A Note on Marlowe's *Faustus*

The first scene between Faustus and Mephistopheles contains a passage which does not seem to have been fully elucidated. It constitutes Faustus's answer to the explanation which Mephistopheles gives for his appearance. The powers of hell, Faustus is told, are always in quest of those who abjure God, and who, as conjurers, 'pray deuoutely to the Prince of hell.'¹ To this Faustus replies:

So *Faustus* hath already done, and holds this principle,
There is no chiefe but onely *Beelzebub*:
To whom *Faustus* doth dedicate himselfe.
This word Damnation, terrifies not me,
For I confound hell in *Elizium*:

¹ *Marlowe's Doctor Faustus: Parallel Texts*, ed. W. W. Greg (OUP, 1950), p. 179, line 280.

My Ghost be with the old Phylosophers.
But leauing these vaine trifles of mens soules,
Tell me, what is that *Lucifer*, thy Lord?

(*Ibid.*, lines 281-8)

The line: 'My Ghost be with the old Phylosophers' has twice been commented upon. F. S. Boas writes: 'Faustus is well content to be "damned with Plato",² but he does not adduce any authority to justify this juxtaposition of Faustus and Plato. One is reminded of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* (I, 39). Here one of the interlocutors prefers erring with Plato to being right with others.

J. C. Maxwell has suggested that the line is an old saying attributed to Averroes and handed down to the sixteenth century in various forms.³ He thinks that, especially in view of the following line, Marlowe must have been familiar with the Averroist denial of the individuality and immortality of the human soul. This admirable suggestion, however, does not explain why the reference should appear in this particular context. There is no plausible reason for introducing it. The passage remains somewhat obscure. A link seems to be missing here. Without it, Faustus's answer is hardly meaningful.

The clue to the passage may be found in the preceding line: 'For I confound hell in *Elizium*.' This recalls a line in *Tamburlaine*, in which the two words are already found coupled: 'Hell and Elysian swarm with ghosts of men.'⁴ The fusion of pagan and Christian notions is not unusual. It is the 'familiar' and almost unconscious blending of pagan and Christian phraseology' (*ibid.*).

Marlowe's conception seems to be derived from Virgil, who gave Elysium a different location from the traditional one in Greek mythology. In the *Aeneid* it is not placed in the Western Ocean, but in Hades. Aeneas on his way through the underworld arrives at a place where the path divides: one leading to Elisium, the other to Tartarus.

Hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas:
dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit.⁵

Both Elysium and Tartarus, as Aeneas becomes painfully aware when he tries to embrace his father Anchises, are peopled with unreal shadows, with ghosts. This situation is alluded to by Marlowe in the *Tamburlaine* passage, 'Hell and Elysian swarm with ghosts of men'. *Ghost* is Marlowe's translation of *anima*, and *Hell* is his equivalent of *Tartarus* or even of

² *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, ed. F. S. Boas (London, 1949), p. 72. See also Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

³ 'Two Notes on Marlowe's *Faustus*', *Notes and Queries*, CXCIV (1949), 334f.

⁴ *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. U. M. Ellis-Fermor (London, 1952), p. 175.

⁵ *Aeneid*, ed. Hirtzel, VI, 540-3. The earliest explicit reference to this passage in English literature is in Broughton's *Letters ... about Sheol and Hades* (1599). OED.

Hades,⁶ the infernal regions in general. This is evinced by another line in *Doctor Faustus*, referring to 'sweet *Musaeus* when he came to hell'.⁷ One might even argue that here *hell* is identical with *Elysium*. For it is in the realm of the happy souls that Aeneas encounters the legendary Greek poet and pupil of Orpheus.⁸

A final remark should be made about the image 'swarm with ghosts of men.' It reoccurs in the passage on *Musaeus*:

And I that haue with Consissylogismes
Grauel'd the Pastors of the Germaine Church,
And made the flowring pride of *Wertenberge*
Swarme to my Problemes as the infernall spirits
On sweet *Musæus* when he came to hell,
Will be as cunning as *Agrippa* was,
Whose shadowes made all *Europe* honor him.⁹

In a note on this passage J. C. Maxwell points out that it contains a complexity of allusion which cannot be explained by *Aeneid*, VI, 667-668.¹⁰ He therefore draws attention to the *Georgics* as a source for the suppressed bee imagery intimated by *to swarm*. This seems unnecessary. The sixth book of the *Aeneid* contains a passage of bee imagery evoked by Virgil's observation of the souls in Hades, which serves the purpose just as well:

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.
hunc circum innumerae gentes populi que volabant,
ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus. (VI, 703-9)

In all probability Marlowe refers to this passage both in *Tamburlaine* and in the lines on *Musaeus* in *Doctor Faustus*.¹¹

It now seems natural to read the first passage in *Doctor Faustus* in this Virgilian context. The Averroist saying uttered by Faustus gives no indication that Marlowe intended him to be an Averroist. The phrase, for which only post-Marlovian restatements have been found so far, was evidently intended to convey a different conception. It indicates an attitude opposed to the Christian doctrine of heaven and hell.¹² At this point of the play, damnation is meaningless to Faustus. In the passage under

⁶ Chaucer appears to have been the first to translate *Hades* by *hell*. See *OED*.

⁷ Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 171, line 138. T. W. Baldwin, 'Marlowe's *Musaeus*', *JEGP*, LIV (1955) is exclusively concerned with 'Hero and Leander'.

⁸ *Aeneid* VI, 667-8. See Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁹ Greg *op. cit.*, p. 170, lines 145-51 (A-text).

¹⁰ See note 3.

¹¹ *Georgics*, IV, 471-3 refers to Orpheus, not to *Musaeus*.

¹² After this article was completed, John M. Steadman ('Faustus and Averroes', *Notes and Queries*, CCI (1956), 416) quoted a fuller version of the saying, which occurs in John Collop's *Medici Catholicon* (1656): 'Et quando Christiani adorant quod edunt, sit anima cum Philosophis.' Here the rejection of the Christian position is obvious.

consideration he stands on classical ground, though Marlowe's phraseology is only in part classical. That Faustus expects his ghost to 'be with the old philosophers' means hardly more than that he expects to find himself after his death in the blessed abode of warriors, priests, poets, and those who improved human life or caused others to remember them with gratitude: in Elysium.¹³ To these 'happy souls' he belongs. Whether or not there are other regions for the deceased is irrelevant to him — 'vain trifles of men's souls'.¹⁴

Perhaps the imagery of the first three lines of the epilogue to the play, which are by common consent ascribed to Marlowe, should be seen in conjunction with the Virgilian background of Faustus's reply.

Cut is the branch that might haue growne full straight,
And burned is *Apollos's* Lawrell bough,
That some time grew within this learned man.¹⁵

In the *Aeneid* the happy souls sing joyous hymns to Apollo in concert, amidst a fragrant grove of laurel. One would therefore assume that Marlowe at the end of the play represents Faustus as being excluded from Elysium.

Thus the Averroist saying should perhaps rather be regarded as a mere vehicle for an idea which had little or nothing to do with the philosophy of Averroes. It is difficult to say why Marlowe made use of this phrase in *Doctor Faustus*. The saying, which again became current in Marlowe's day, may have appealed to him as a convenient means of expression. Perhaps he knew of Averroes' philosophical position. The Arabian commentator and his pantheism may have come to Marlowe's mind when he read Virgil's exposition of pantheism in the *Aeneid*:

Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.

(VI, 724-9)

Marburg,
1956.

BERNHARD FABIAN.

¹³ See *Aeneid*, VI, 660 f.

¹⁴ The conception of Faustus as an Averroist would have destroyed the tragical element in the drama: his soul would have completely disappeared after his death instead of falling victim to the powers of hell.

¹⁵ Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 293, lines 2114-6. See also Alwin Thaler, 'Churchyard and Marlowe', *MLN*, XXXIII (1923), 89-92.

The Dedication of Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*

Dr. F. E. Hutchinson's *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation* (Oxford, 1947), enjoys such prestige as the first major discussion of the poet's life and works that its errors will readily become dogmas unless corrected. A case in point is his reference to 'the dedication of the first issue of *Silex Scintillans* "To my most merciful, my most loving, and dearly loved Redeemer, the ever blessed, the onely Holy and Just One, Jesus Christ, The Son of the living God, And the sacred Virgin Mary"' (pp. 99-100). The dedicatory stanza, beginning 'My God! thou that didst dye for me', which Hutchinson goes on to quote, was in fact included in the first (that is, the 1650) issue of *Silex Scintillans*. However, the textual apparatus of L. C. Martin's standard edition of Vaughan's works, both in the first edition of 1914 (which Hutchinson used) and in the second edition of 1957, makes it clear that in 1650 this stanza was simply headed 'The Dedication' (p. 394). The fulsome heading which Hutchinson quotes was substituted when the book was re-issued in 1655, at which time Vaughan also expanded the dedication by the addition of two further stanzas and of three verses from the Book of Revelation. By attributing this later heading to the 1650 issue, Hutchinson (no doubt innocently) encourages the imputation to Vaughan of a more intense piety than he is known to have possessed at this time, whereas its addition in 1655, together with the other additions (especially that of the fervently devout preface), is in accordance with the gradual deepening of Vaughan's piety between 1650 and 1655, for which E. L. Marilla has convincingly argued in 'The Religious Conversion of Henry Vaughan', *RES*, XXI (January, 1945), 15-22.

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The Parable of the Idiot Boy

Wordsworth thought very highly of his *Idiot Boy*. It was one of the two poems on which he based his claim to be a poet, when he wished to justify his 'history of a Poet's mind';¹ and he apparently saw nothing incongruous in mentioning it in the same breath as Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*. In June, 1802, he defended the poem at great length against the criticisms of John Wilson, and to the end of his life was unable to understand why anyone should find fault with it.

Critics, however, have refused to agree with him. Walter Raleigh, while admitting that 'the thing has some of the points of a fine poem',

¹ *Prelude*, XIII, 386-410.

complained that 'it curvets and frisks so uncontrollably that it can hardly be recognized for what it is'.² Garrod's book on Wordsworth ignored it altogether,³ and the latest Wordsworthian critic, F. W. Bateson, has followed his example.⁴ Nor does *The Idiot Boy* appear in the most recent selection of Wordsworth's poems.⁵

Although it is usual to say that Wordsworth had no critical sense where his own work was concerned, I suggest that in this case the poet may have been right and the critics wrong. It seems to me that *The Idiot Boy* has been consistently undervalued, for the simple reason that critics have missed half the point of it: they have failed to realize that it has more than one level of significance. Yet the bare outline of the plot should be enough to suggest a comparison with a group of poems by Blake, which no one has ever been content to take at their face-value: *The Little Girl Lost*, *The Little Girl Found*, *A Little Girl Lost*, and *A Little Boy Lost*.

It is generally agreed that these poems should be regarded as symbolic myths portraying the conflict in the mind of the individual between orthodox religion and morality on the one hand, and instinctive impulses and original thought on the other. There is reason, I think, to believe that *The Idiot Boy* is something very similar, in that it also symbolizes an inner drama; but whereas Blake was expressing a general situation, Wordsworth appears to have been dramatizing a personal experience, which he described more explicitly in *The Prelude*, and it is in the light of that poem that *The Idiot Boy* can best be interpreted.

The Prelude distinguishes three main stages in Wordsworth's development. During the first, which lasted through childhood and adolescence, he was in perfect sympathy with the non-rational side of his mind. That is the significance of the boat-stealing incident, when the cliff 'strode after' him (I, 372-427), the woodcock-stealing incident, when he heard 'low breathings coming after' him (I, 324-32), and the skating scene when, after he had stopped moving, the cliffs continued to 'wheel past' him (I, 474-489). The rationalist would say that on all these occasions Wordsworth was the victim of a subjective illusion; but for him they had a special value, since they proved the 'creative sensibility', the 'plastic power' of his mind (II, 377-393).

The second stage began when England declared war against Republican France. This threw Wordsworth into such a state of emotional conflict that he took refuge in the extreme form of rationalism preached by Godwin. He ceased to value the experiences which had meant so much to him before, and regarded all non-rational mental activity as taboo.

Thus strangely did I war against myself;
A bigot to a new Idolatry

² Wordsworth, 1912, page 71.

³ Wordsworth, 1927.

⁴ Wordsworth: *A Re-Interpretation*, 1954.

⁵ The Reynard Wordsworth.

Did like a Monk who hath forsworn the world
 Zealously labour to cut off my heart
 From all the sources of her former strength. (XI, 74-8)

Translated into the terms of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, this meant that he was allowing Reason to restrain Energy, and the inevitable result was 'pestilence'. Wordsworth uses the same metaphor to describe his mental state at this time ('Sick, wearied out with contrarieties', X, 900), and in the 1850 version reinforced the image by adding:

This was the crisis of that strong disease. (XI, 306)

The third stage began with his recovery from this illness. The cure was brought about by Dorothy, who

Maintained for me a saving intercourse
 With my true self... (X, 915-6)

and by 'Nature's self', which

Revived the feelings of my earlier life... (X, 925)

He learned once more to value the non-rational processes of his mind, and developed a theory that the most fruitful moments in life are those 'spots of time' when

We have had deepest feeling that the mind
 Is lord and master, and that outward sense
 Is but the obedient servant of her will. (XI, 271-3)

The transition from Stage II to Stage III was, of course, the turning-point of Wordsworth's poetical career, and it is this critical phase in his development that seems to be allegorized in *The Idiot Boy*. If we examine the characters one by one, we shall find that each corresponds with a factor in Wordsworth's mental condition at that period.

Let us begin with the hero. What sort of things does he do?

Johnny perhaps his horse forsook,
 To hunt the moon within the brook... (214-5)

Perhaps, and no unlikely thought!
 He with his Pony now doth roam
 The cliffs and peaks so high that are,
 To lay his hands upon a star,
 And in his pocket bring it home. (317-21)

This is the behaviour of a person for whom subjective impressions are the only reality. The moon is not really in the brook, nor is the star within reach of the cliffs; but Wordsworth was equally indifferent to objective facts when he skated away from his companions 'to cut across the image of a star that gleamed upon the ice' (I, 477-8), or when he watched the cliffs 'wheeling past', or that other cliff 'striding after' him. So Johnny is closely connected with those experiences which Wordsworth rejected as irrational in Stage II, but valued highly in Stages I and III as evidence of 'creative sensibility'.

The next thing to notice about Johnny is his capacity for enjoyment :

For joy he cannot hold the bridle,
 For joy his head and heels are idle,
 He's idle all for very joy... (74-6)
 His heart it was so full of glee... (82)
 Oh! happy, happy, happy John. (86)

Now in his other poems Wordsworth constantly associates such enjoyment with unconscious forms of life :

And 'tis my faith that every flower
 Enjoys the air it breathes.
 (Lines written in Early Spring, 11-12)

There is a blessing in the air,
 Which seems a sense of joy to yield
 To the bare trees... (To my Sister, 5-7)

The waves besides them danced, but they
 Outdid the sparkling waves in glee...
 (I wandered lonely as a cloud, 13-14)

He also associates joy with unconscious processes in human beings, when he speaks of

those first-born affinities that fit
 Our new existence to existing things,
 And in our dawn of being, constitute
 The bond of union between life and joy...
 A Child, I held unconscious intercourse
 With the eternal Beauty, drinking in
 A pure organic pleasure from the lines
 Of curling mist... (Prelude, I, 582-5, 589-92)

We may therefore conclude that the Idiot Boy is connected, not only with the irrational, but also with the unconscious part of the mind. This is confirmed by the fact that he has a natural sympathy with his Pony :

His steed and he right well agree...
 But then he is a horse that thinks! (107, 112)

Together they represent a sort of animal thought, an activity which is mental, yet purely instinctive, for neither has any sense of purpose or urgency. While Susan moans and groans, and Betty worries, Johnny

As careless as if nothing were
 Sits upright on a feeding horse. (350-1)

What better emblem could be found for the belief

That we can feed this mind of ours
 By a wise passiveness?
 (Expostulation and Reply, 23-4)

But the most conclusive evidence that the Idiot Boy represents the non-rational, instinctive, and largely unconscious parts of the mind is his one articulate speech, which was, Wordsworth tells us, 'the foundation of the whole':

The cocks did crow, to-whoo, to-whoo,
And the sun did shine so cold!

(450-1)

The essence of this remark is a confusion of opposites, owl and cock, moon and sun, night and day. It represents an absolute refusal to differentiate, which demands comparison with the lines found in a MS notebook and probably written shortly after *The Idiot Boy*:

I seemed to learn
That what we see of forms and images
Which float along our minds, and what we feel
Of active or recognizable thought,
Prospectiveness, or intellect, or will,
Not only is not worthy to be deemed
Our being, to be prized what we are,
But is the very littleness of life.
Such consciousness I deem but accidents, .
Relapses from the one interior life
That lives in all things, sacred from the touch
Of that false secondary power by which
In weakness we create distinctions, then
Believe that all our puny boundaries are things
Which we perceive, and not which we have made
— In which all beings live with god, themselves
Are god...

In this passage Wordsworth seems to be contrasting the conscious mind, dominated by analytical reason, with the real basis of the human personality, which is largely unconscious. It is a contrast analogous to that which Jung makes between the *Ego* and the *Self*. The Idiot Boy's speech makes it clear enough that he is the ultimate negation of 'that false secondary power by which... we create distinctions', and his behaviour throughout the poem shows that he is equally innocent of 'Prospectiveness, or intellect, or will'. On the other hand the words, 'in which all beings live with god' suggest a positive connection between the Idiot Boy and the 'one interior life', for in his defence of the poem Wordsworth says that he has often applied to idiots the phrase: 'Their life is hidden with God'.

So much for the hero of the poem. What about the other characters? 'Poor Susan' appears to be not so much an element in the mind as a mental state: she is what Blake called 'pestilence', and Wordsworth, 'that strong disease'. Betty evidently represents the conscious *Ego* which is 'the very littleness of life'. Her 'prospectiveness and intellect and will' are enough to put her in a 'sad *quandary*', but quite powerless to help her in a crisis. Her only resource is to send for the doctor, who seems a very appropriate symbol for analytical reason, when we recall the lines:

Sweet is the lore which Nature brings ;
 Our meddling intellect
 Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things :
 We murder to dissect.

(The Tables Turned, 25-8)

But the irritable head (*caput et praeterea nihil*) which appears at the window in a night-cap is as useless to Betty as Godwin was to Wordsworth, especially as it is quite uninterested in what really matters, 'the lore which Nature brings', the wisdom of the Idiot Boy :

'The devil take his wisdom!' said
 The Doctor, looking somewhat grim,
 'What, Woman! should I know of him?'

(258-60)

The significance of the story centres on Betty's change of attitude towards her son. At first she puts all her faith in the doctor, and allows herself to be parted from 'the Boy, who is her best delight', just as Wordsworth put all his faith in Reason, and cut himself off from all the sources of his former strength. But eventually she realizes that Johnny is more important to her than anything else, and loses all interest in the doctor, except as a means of finding the Idiot Boy :

She quite forgot to send the Doctor
 To comfort poor old Susan Gale.

(275-6)

This reversal in her sense of values brings about not only her reunion with Johnny but also the cure of Susan. Symbolically, the two events are one, for Wordsworth's 'strong disease' disappeared the moment he recovered contact with his 'true self'.

In *The Little Girl Lost* and *The Little Girl Found*, both parents go to look for the missing child, and it may be asked why Johnny is searched for by his mother only. No doubt the answer lies partly in the mechanics of the plot: if Betty's husband had not been 'in a distant vale', she would never have thought of sending Johnny out alone. But the absence of the male parent has a further significance. It subtly underlines the helplessness of the conscious mind in a crisis, and perhaps expresses Wordsworth's sense that there was something unmanly in ceasing to rely on his 'inward consciousness' and seeking 'safer evidence elsewhere'.⁶

Moreover, Betty combines in herself the attitudes traditionally associated with both male and female parents :

And Betty o'er and o'er has told
 The Boy, who is her best delight,
 Both what to follow, what to shun,
 What do, and what to leave undone,
 How turn to left and how to right.

(52-6)

And Betty, half an hour ago,
 On Johnny vile reflections cast :
 'A little idle sauntering Thing!'

(157-9)

⁶ *Prelude*, X, 781-91.

So far as she delights in her son as he is, she is the typical mother: so far as she wants to turn him into something that he is not, a sensible and efficient person, she is more like the father in *Anecdote for Fathers*, who tries to make his son rationalize a purely instinctive preference:

‘There surely must some reason be
Why you would change sweet Liswyn farm
For Kilve by the green sea.’ (42-4)

This combination of maternal love and paternal intolerance in Betty serves admirably to represent Wordsworth’s ambivalent feelings towards his non-rational side, which he expressed in *The Prelude* by a Siren-metaphor:

What avail’d
When Spells forbade the Voyager to land,
The fragrance that did ever and anon
Give notice of the Shore, from harbours breathed
Of blessed sentiment and fearless love?
What did such sweet remembrances avail,
Perfidious then, as seem’d, what serv’d they then?
My business was upon the barren sea,
My errand was to sail to other coasts. (XI, 48-56)

If this interpretation of *The Idiot Boy* is accepted, it becomes far easier to see why Wordsworth thought so highly of the poem. It was, in fact, a remarkable achievement, for it succeeded in doing at least three things at once: it told, with great humour and lightness of touch, a story of ‘humble and rustic life’, it celebrated a ‘triumph of the human heart’⁷ and it realized a momentous personal experience in terms which embodied a universal truth. What was more, the ease of its composition confirmed the soundness of its thesis:

Let me add that this long poem was composed in the groves of Alfoxden, almost extempore; not a word, I believe, being corrected, though one stanza was omitted. I mention this in gratitude to those happy moments, for, in truth, I never wrote anything with so much glee.

The last word makes it clear who really wrote the poem. Wordsworth’s faith in his Idiot Boy had justified itself.

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London, 1956.

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⁷ Letter to John Wilson, June, 1802: ‘I have, indeed, often looked upon the conduct of fathers and mothers of the lower classes of society towards idiots as the great triumph of the human heart.’

(Except where otherwise stated, quotations from *The Prelude* are from the 1805 version.)

'Sailing to Byzantium', Keats, and Andersen

There has been a good deal of discussion in recent years of the possible sources of the golden bough and singing-bird in Yeats's Byzantium poems. In a cogent article¹ Mr. Thomas L. Dume has argued that a passage in the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, which Yeats bought with his Nobel prize money, was almost certainly their source, and that it is needless to look beyond it, and perhaps Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, for possible suggestions. With this salutary application of Ockham's razor to the treatment of source-material I have no quarrel. But the explanation is satisfactory only as far as the golden bough and bird are concerned. It fails to cover the associated images in 'Sailing to Byzantium', where the golden bird is described as made 'to keep a drowsy Emperor awake' and singing 'to lords and ladies of Byzantium'. I believe that these images, which are not found in any of the sources mentioned by commentators, were suggested to Yeats by his memories of Andersen's tale 'The Emperor's Nightingale'. There the artificial nightingale, made of gold and precious jewels, is found singing to the lords and ladies of the Chinese Court, and at night is kept by the bedside of the Emperor, whom it delights with its mechanical song. In his *Reveries over Childhood and Youth* (1914) Yeats tells us how as a child he read in the boys' papers 'endless stories I have forgotten as I have forgotten *Grimm's Fairy Tales* that I read at Sligo, and all of Hans Andersen except the 'Ugly Duckling' which my mother had read to me and my sisters. I remember vaguely that I liked Hans Andersen better than Grimm because he was less homely, but even he never gave me the knights and dragons and beautiful ladies that I longed for. I have remembered nothing that I read, but only those things that I heard or saw.'²

Since Yeats claims to have forgotten all except what he heard or saw, it is worth pointing out that in the most popular translation of Andersen's tales available during Yeats's childhood, that made by Dr. Dulcken and published in 1864, the frontispiece shows the nightingale (but here the natural bird) perched on his golden stick and singing to Chinese lords and ladies, while the Emperor reclines on his throne, with his eyes closed as if asleep. 'The Ugly Duckling', the only one of the tales which Yeats claimed to remember, seems to be alluded to in stanza 3 of 'Among School Children' ('For even daughters of the swan can share / Something of every paddler's heritage'), a poem which was written only a few months before 'Sailing to Byzantium' and is closely connected with it in theme. We can only speculate on what it was that made Yeats's imagination draw on his dim memories of his boyhood reading of Andersen. Apart from the artificial singing-bird and the equally artificial Court of the Emperor, there is in Andersen's tale, as in Yeats's poem, a sharp contrast between

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, June 1952.

² *Autobiographies*, p. 57-58.

the world of Nature and that of Art, though in the tale it is drawn entirely to the latter's discredit. But I believe that the evocation of Andersen's story in Yeats's memory was assisted by another literary influence which haunts the poem, that of Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale'. That the Ode was much in Yeats's mind during this period seems indicated by the echoes of it found in 'Among School Children' (written in June 1926) and, less blatantly, in the last stanza of 'The Tower' (written in October 1925), both poems that are related in theme to the 'Ode to a Nightingale' as well as to 'Sailing to Byzantium'. In 'Among School Children' the verbal echoes are very marked. The lines in the last stanza,

Nor *beauty* born out of its own *despair*,
Nor *blear-eyed* wisdom out of midnight oil

were clearly written under the influence of Keats's

Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And *leaden-eyed* *despairs* ;
Where *Beauty* cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow.

In 'The Tower' the echoes are less verbal but equally unmistakable :

Now shall I make my soul,
Compelling it to study
In a learned school
Till the wreck of body,
Slow decay of blood,
Testy delirium
Or dull decrepitude,
Or what worse evil come —
The death of friends, or death
Of every brilliant eye
That made a catch in the breath —
Seem but the clouds of the sky
When the horizon fades ;
Or a bird's sleepy cry
Among the deepening shades.

And finally there is an allusion to the Ode in the opening stanza of 'Sailing to Byzantium' (September 1926), in the reference to the natural birds as 'those dying generations',³ with its implied ironic comment on Keats's poetic fiction of the immortal nightingale :

Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird !
No hungry generations tread thee down.

That the 'Ode to a Nightingale' and 'Sailing to Byzantium' are closely related in theme is obvious. Both are poems of escape, escape from a world of flux where the poet is faced with physical decay and pain to a world of changelessness into which human suffering cannot enter. Both

³ Neither this allusion to Keats's ode nor the image of the golden bird singing to the drowsy Emperor are, however, found in the earlier drafts of the poem.

poets choose an immortal bird as their representative of that world. And yet their quests are really for quite different states of being. Keats wishes to combine the incombisible. He longs to eternize the breathing human passion, the youthful love and joy, and to find for them the permanence of a work of art. But the permanent by its very nature is inanimate and excludes all that Keats most wishes to preserve. In a fine work of art the fancy can cheat us so well that we can momentarily believe that the figures on a Grecian urn are really in a state of wild ecstasy, that we are in the presence of happy love

For ever warm and still to be enjoy'd,
For ever panting, and for ever young.

But soon we are brought to remember that it is after all only a 'cold Pastoral'. In the 'Bright Star' sonnet the problem is even more clearly focussed. The poet here yearns for the steadfastness of the bright star but without its eremitic seclusion and coldness —

Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,
And watching, with eternal lids apart,
Like nature's patient, sleepless Eremite,
The moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores...

It is the warm, human, physical contact, — 'pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast' — which Keats wants perpetuated. Again the antinomy remains unresolved. And so he is led in the 'Ode to a Nightingale', by a trick of the imagination, a kind of poetic sleight of hand, to bestow eternal life upon a natural bird which retains the qualities that only belong to the world of flux: happiness, plaintiveness, ecstasy. But from these cheatings of the fancy there comes again the inevitable awakening at the end of the poem. And it is only in the realm of allegorical myth that Keats finds, in the 'Ode to Psyche', the perfect vicarious fulfilment of all his desires. For Psyche is both the human soul and an immortal Goddess, who thus achieves in her union with Cupid a unique fusion of the incompatibles: the combination of permanence with love and youth and joy.

Yeats seeks to combine these incompatibles only in the poetic fictions of 'the lying days of [his] youth'. In *The Wanderings of Oisín* he depicts in the Country of the Young a world much like that of the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' and the 'Ode to Psyche':

But we are apart in the grassy places,
Where care cannot trouble the least of our days,
Or the softness of youth be gone from our faces,
Or love's first tenderness die in our gaze. (C.P., p. 422)

And in *The Land of Heart's Desire* the faery child speaks of its people and

their Land of Heart's Desire,
Where beauty has no ebb, decay no flood,
But joy is wisdom, Time an endless song.

(*Collected Plays*, p. 69)

In the poetry of his later years, rather than trying, like Keats, to have it both ways, Yeats is found for ever oscillating between his desires for the world of flux with its sensual music and for the immutable world of Art, between Crazy Jane and the golden bird, between Ireland and Byzantium.⁴

'Among School Children' stands in much the same relationship to 'Sailing to Byzantium' as does Keats's 'Ode to Autumn' to his 'Ode to a Nightingale'. We saw that 'Sailing to Byzantium' and the 'Ode to a Nightingale' are alike in expressing the poets' revulsion against the world of flux with its physical decay, and in depicting their escape into a dream-world of immortality and changelessness. In 'Among School Children' and the 'Ode to Autumn' the poets make their peace with the world of flux and the process of growing old by contemplating old age as part of an organic whole. I do not think that this is a fanciful or forced interpretation of either poem. It is certainly less explicit in the 'Ode to Autumn'. But the lines

Where are the songs of Spring? Ay, where are they?
Think not of them, thou hast thy music too, —

link the poem with the 'Ode to a Nightingale' and the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' (especially stanza 3), and strongly suggest that Keats was seeking to console himself for the leave-taking of Spring in human life as well as in Nature. It is not the exuberant, whole-hearted acceptance of the seasonal cycle and with it of old age and death that we find, for instance, in the poetry of Meredith. Significantly the music of Autumn has nothing of the full-throated ease and ecstasy of the nightingale's song but is sad and subdued:

Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn
Among the river shallows, borne aloft
Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies;
And full-grown lambs loud bleat from hilly bourn;
Hedge-crickets sing; and now with treble soft
The red-breast whistles from a garden-croft;
And gathering swallows twitter in the skies.

In the last stanza of 'Among School Children' Yeats accepts the process of aging far more joyfully:

Labour is blossoming or dancing where
The body is not bruised to pleasure soul,

⁴ For the basic contrast between the two worlds Yeats found suggestion and support in his study of magic. "Solar", according to all that I learnt from Mathers, meant elaborate, full of artifice, rich, all that resembles the work of a goldsmith, whereas "water" meant "lunar" and "lunar" all that is simple, popular, traditional, emotional.' (*Autobiographies*, p. 456.) In my references to Byzantium throughout this discussion I am confining myself to Yeats's conception of it in 'Sailing to Byzantium'. As F. L. Gwynn has pointed out ('Yeats's Byzantium and its Sources', *PQ*, XXXII), the Byzantium of the 1930 poem has little symbolic significance in common with the Byzantium of the 1926 poem, representing a different period of history and corresponding to a radically different phase of the moon.

Nor beauty born out of its own despair,
 Nor blear-eyed wisdom out of midnight oil.
 O chestnut-tree, great-rooted blossomer,
 Are you the leaf, the blossom or the bole?
 O body swayed to music, O brightening glance,
 How can we know the dancer from the dance?

The greater part of this poem is again taken up with the humiliation and absurdity of old age, especially when coupled with the transcendentalism of a Plato or a Pythagoras. It is in the image of the chestnut-tree, whose aged trunk and youthful blossoms form part of an inseparable whole, that the poet finds his symbol of the reconciliation and organic unity of youth and old age, as well as of body and soul.⁵

The last stanza of 'Among School Children' is Yeats's answer, a transitory but none the less a triumphant one, to Platonism and orthodox Christianity with their dichotomy of body and soul, as well as to his own occasional longings to escape from the world of flux and gain peace of body and mind by sailing to Byzantium.

Liverpool, 1956.

ERNEST SCHANZER.

Reviews

The Causal Clause and Causal Prepositions in Early Old English Prose. (Academisch Proefschrift, Amsterdam.) By JOHANNES VAN DAM. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1957. XII + 93 pp.

This thesis is a welcome contribution to Old English syntax because it fills a gap in investigations treating the various relational spheres; *causality* had not yet been the subject of a special study.

The author has limited his examination to Old English prose of Alfredian times (Cura P., Orosius; Gregory's Dialogues, Bede; Chronicle up to 901) in order to get a clearer picture of a definite period of the language, yet it is to be hoped that he will continue these studies and include later on Late Old English too.

Though the main part of the treatise concerns the chief syntactical characteristics of the *causal clause*, it was indispensable to study first the

⁵ In a charming quatrain, called 'The Coming of Wisdom with Time' (1909), Yeats had already used the tree image to suggest the organic unity of his youth and old age:

Though leaves are many, the root is one;
 Through all the lying days of my youth
 I swayed my leaves and flowers in the sun;
 Now I may wither into the truth.

elements of the causal conjunctions i.e. the prepositions mostly appearing as first parts in such connectives (e.g. *for þæm* (*þe*), *for þon* (*þe*), *mid þæm*, *þurh þæt þe* etc.) and consequently the causal phrases or adverb adjuncts having a preposition for their first element. Thus the dissertation falls into two parts: I) *causal prepositions* (including causal phrases) pp. 1-39, II) the *causal clause* pp. 40-85, bibliography and index pp. 86-93.

As the author has arranged his rich material in both parts alphabetically a critical survey of the whole contents in a short review is hardly possible, and it was therefore a good idea to give a *summary* of the most important results in an introductory section, 'Conclusions' pp. IX-XII. The results in themselves clearly show how carefully and accurately the work has been done, and the reviewer will do best to restrict himself to a few supplementary remarks.

As to the *prepositions* being capable of expressing the causal idea it is interesting to observe how many originally local prepositions with different semantic aspects may, by way of a change of meaning, come to express causality (*be*, *for*, *fram*, *mid*, *on* (*in*), *of*, *to*, *þurh*); not all of them are of equal frequency and causal force, *for* (+ dative) being the most common preposition surpassing all the others. The use of *for* (+ accusative), though very rare, seems to me to have been made plausible by van Dam (p. 19). Another problem which has been carefully followed up, is the construction with *agents* in the passive; it is first of all the idea of causality which in such cases is not so easy to analyze. Van Dam is probably right in considering (p. 21 ff.) non-personal agents more suggestive of cause than personal agents: e.g. *Godes þeowa wæs genyded fram werignysse his geferan* (was compelled by the weariness of his companion), where *werignys* is the cause (or motive) of the following action; such non-personal agents are usually expressed by *mid* (+ dative or + instrumental), *for* (+ dative), less frequently by *fram* (+ dative) which first of all introduces personal agents: e.g. *Her wæs tobrocen Romana burh fram Gotum*, where the Goths are, as it were, the psychological and instrumental agent i.e. the cause of the effect. *Þurh* (+ accusative) and *of* (+ dative) are found to express personal as well as non-personal agents. The preposition *bi* (*be*) is not yet used to mark agents in the passive. Latin influence may perhaps be seen in the use of *þurh* for Latin *per*; otherwise the assumption of Latin influence in the use of prepositions seems less probable.

The second and larger part of the thesis concerns *causal clauses* and their characteristics. The vast majority of all causal clauses (about 86 %) is introduced by *for*-group connectives: *for þæm* (*þe*), *for þon* (*þe*); then follows *nu* (an analogy to mod. E. *since* whose OE equivalent *sibþan* is found only once in causal function in van Dam's material). Far less frequently appear *þa*, *þa þa*; *þæt*, *þy*; *þæs* (*þe*), *þe*. To this last item the author devotes a rather long discussion (pp. 71-74) because the eight instances he has found in his texts are certainly not unambiguous, and he comes to the conclusion that *þe* alone cannot be considered as a full-fledged causal

conjunction. As to the compound types *for þæm þe*, *for þon þe*, van Dam's opinion (pp. 45 f, 51 ff) that the shorter forms *for þæm*, *for þon* are shortenings of the longer ones seems to me correct. *For* alone was certainly not yet in use as an introductory conjunction, the first positive example coming from the Chronicle (MS F, a. 995); very rare are introductory *swa* and *swa swa*.

As to sentence order the natural *sequence* (i.e. the causal clause following the main clause) prevails throughout and, except some special cases, the *indicative* is the normal mood in the causal clauses.

The treatise concludes with a final statement that the use of causal conjunctions does not appear to have been influenced by Latin patterns.

My short review has selected only a few points and problems, but I should like to emphasize that this dissertation is, by the fullness of its material especially from King Alfred's translations, a valuable contribution to the study of the King's Old English.

Bern.

O. FUNKE.

The Equatorie of the Planetis. Edited from Peterhouse MS. 75. I by DEREK J. PRICE. With a Linguistic Analysis by R. M. WILSON. xvi + 214 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1955. \$10.00.

The Equatorie of the Planetis is of exceptional interest to modern scholars for two reasons: the very definite fact that it is written in Middle English instead of Medieval Latin (almost invariably the proper language for a fourteenth-century scientific treatise) and the very uncertain possibility that Chaucer may have been its author and even that the manuscript, or at least a part of it, may be in his own hand.

Derek J. Price, the editor of this elaborate edition, discovered the manuscript of the *Equatorie* (Peterhouse M.S. 75. I.) in 1951 in the course of his research for a history of scientific instruments. The frequent occurrence of the date 1392 and especially the discovery of the name *Chaucer* on one folio naturally kindled his interest, for everyone will recall Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, written in 1391 for 'Lyte Lowys my sone'. It would be quite natural for the author, having explained the use of the astrolabe to calculate the positions of the sun and the stars, also to turn to a companion treatise on calculating the positions of the planets, for this was the use of the equatorium or equatorie, to use the form anglicized in the Peterhouse manuscript (or *equatorium planetarum*, as it was generally known to medieval writers). Just as the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* is a translation from Messahala, so also is the *Equatorie of the Planetis* an unoriginal work, though from precisely what Latin or Arabic

text it was taken we do not know. Tradition associates the work with Simon Bredon, the Merton College astronomer who died in 1372, and perhaps he was the translator into Latin of what originally must have been an Arabic treatise. The notion of Chaucer's adapting an Arabic work on astronomy is patently ridiculous, but the possibility of his translating into the vernacular a Latin version within a year or so of his work on the astrolabe is at least inviting.

Students of medieval astronomy will find the *Equatorie of the Planetis* of special interest, though the actual text covers only eight of the seventy-eight folios of the manuscript, the others being devoted to sets of astronomical tables for use with the equatorie. Readers of this journal will be more concerned with the translation of the text itself and the notes and comments scattered through the tables. Just what, then, is the case for ascribing this material, or any part of it, to Geoffrey Chaucer? In seeking an answer to this question, the editor has had the valuable assistance of R. M. Wilson, who wrote the elaborate linguistic analysis and collaborated in the translation. The *Ormulum* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* are about the only two pieces in Middle English which are generally regarded as autographs, but there are equally good reasons for adding the *Equatorie of the Planetis* to the group. Even though there is no specific statement comparable to Dan Michel's that he wrote in English with his own hand, the evidence that this manuscript is a holograph is compelling:

...it is written throughout in a single hand, which is not a formal scribal hand, and the orthography and phonology are remarkably consistent, so much so that it is difficult to believe that it can have passed through the hands of many scribes.... Moreover, the very appearance of the text, its numerous erasures, interlinings, etc., gives the impression of a text which its author is in the process of composing, either from the beginning, or at any rate from rough notes.... Certainly the consistency of the language and spelling makes it fairly certain that few copies can have intervened between the original and this particular text; and the general appearance of the manuscript suggests that it is in fact most probably a holograph (145).

Was Chaucer its author? This is one of those intriguing questions which defy a specific answer. Even if we knew a great deal about Chaucer's linguistic habits (and we most assuredly do not), we would still not be able to reach any very definite conclusion on the basis of exclusively linguistic evidence. It is true that there are eleven words in the *Equatorie* for which the OED records an earlier date only from Chaucer's works and that there are twenty-four words in it which appear first in the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, but these are more interesting coincidences than anything else. Not much importance is to be attached either to the fact that the author of the *Equatorie* speaks of a line 'which lyne is cleped in the tretis of the astrelabie the midnyht line' (22), which suggests that the author of the one piece was acquainted with the other — until we remind ourselves that the writer in the *Equatorie* may be referring equally well to some lost or not yet printed astronomical treatise. Wilson calls attention to stylistic similarities between the *Equatorie* and the *Treatise*,

pointing out some of the usages noted by Pintelon in his edition of the latter: the didactic manner, the normal use of the first person, direct address to the reader, the use of the pronoun in the second person singular, the employment of the past participle at times for a dependent clause, the use of a relative followed by a noun already used in the preceding clause, and so on. But these factors are purely negative: they simply indicate that neither linguistically nor stylistically is there any evidence against Chaucer's authorship of the *Equatorie*.

What of the external evidence? It may be reviewed briefly under several headings. 1. The script strongly suggests an author's holograph. The hand is free in contrast with the exactness characteristic of scribal writing generally. Furthermore, there is much evidence of revision, of the sort of change an author would make rather than a copyist: insertions, deletions, and other heavy corrections — some of them are obvious corrections of error, but many have been made to improve the style or the sense. 2. The composing was done c. 1392. Near the beginning of the piece we read: 'this cercle wole I clepe the lymbe of myn equatorie þt was compowned the yer of crist .1392. complet the laste meridie of decembre', i.e., December 31, 1392. More helpful, however, is the fact that in the tables following the treatise a number of dates are mentioned, and for most of them it is clear that the radix of December 31, 1392, has been employed. Though it is entirely conceivable that the work might have been composed some time after the date just given, it would seem much more probable that the actual composition was done fairly close to it. 3. From the mid-sixteenth century to the present, tradition has identified Simon Bredon, librarian of Merton College, as author. Such ascription is untenable, however, for this Simon Bredon died in 1370, and we know of no other person of the name flourishing in the late fourteenth century who might have been the author of a treatise to be dated 1392 or thereabouts. Furthermore, a sample of Bredon's handwriting has been preserved, and it differs greatly from that of the *Equatorie* manuscript. 4. What is the relation between the *Equatorie* and the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*? Because of the general similarity of subject matter, it is reasonable enough to assume some interrelationship between these treatises, particularly in view of the fact that none of the twenty-two surviving manuscripts of the *Astrolabe* is complete: only two of the five announced parts are known, and since much of the remaining three parts would have been in the form of tables, it is only reasonable to conjecture on the possibility that perhaps the tables in the *Equatorie* manuscript are part of the missing portions of the *Astrolabe*. This is all the more tempting in view of the established date of 1391 for the latter and c. 1392 for the former, and both works present examples based on calculations worked out for 1391 dates. 5. A note on folio 5 *verso* unmistakably contains the word *Chaucer* or *Chancer*, here as elsewhere so frequently it being difficult to decide between *u* and *n*. If the latter reading is accepted, then the word must be *Chancer*, the sign of the Zodiac, which, however, in all other places

in the manuscript always appears as *Cancer*, the normal Middle English form. Thus by process of elimination we almost have to accept the reading *Chaucer* and to assume that the cryptic note, 'deffe^a X^pi & R^xa chaucer' (differentia Christi et Radix Chaucer) means, as Price suggests (161),

'the difference between Christ and the radix of Chaucer', or better still 'The difference (in number of days) between (the year of) Christ and the (year of the) radix of Chaucer'. Such an interpretation would agree well with the figure giving this number of days, providing we allow the year 1392 to be referred to as the radix of Chaucer. In other words, if this note is to carry the meaning which appears most obvious, it claims that the radix of 1392, which is used throughout the tables and text, must also be the radix of Chaucer. It therefore seems to ascribe the tables and text of the *Equatorie* to Chaucer.

6. Lastly the evidence of the handwriting is to be considered: if the *Equatorie* is a Chaucerian holograph, then obviously enough one ought to compare it with other examples of Chaucer's writing. As everyone knows, however, the difficulty in this procedure is that there are no generally accepted specimens of Chaucer's hand. The Public Record Office document in which Chaucer appointed Richard Baret to be his deputy from May 16, 1378, until his return to London (i.e., during the period of the second Italian journey) may or may not be in Chaucer's own hand, but what makes it exceptionally interesting at the moment is the fact that the handwriting here and that of the *Equatorie* manuscript strongly resemble each other. Since the P.R.O. document is in French and the *Equatorie* is in English, with some Latin, the only word the two have in common is *Chaucer*, and it is undeniable that the superimposition of the two specimens establishes the uncanny similarity of the hands. (This comparison is easily possible for the reader because of the editor's ingenuity: he has reproduced one facsimile in such fashion that it may be superimposed upon the other.) The danger of attaching too much importance to this type of evidence, however, may be pointed out: there is no conclusive proof that the P.R.O. document is in Chaucer's hand, and it is entirely possible that the amanuensis who penned it may also have copied the *Equatorie* manuscript, though that he did so is perhaps more possible than probable.

Even though Geoffrey Chaucer was not the author of the *Equatorie of the Planetis* (and the evidence impresses me as being more compellingly negative than positive), the publication of this unique manuscript is a matter of major interest to Chaucerians, other students of Middle English, and all interested in medieval astronomical and scientific texts generally. The edition is an almost perfect example of the happy blending of English scholarship (of the sort that the English do too rarely) and printing: the facsimiles are thoroughly legible, and each folio is accompanied by an accurate transcription on the opposite page; they are followed by a careful translation into modern English, editorial annotation, an account of the Ptolemaic planetary system, a history of the equatorium, Professor Wilson's linguistic examination, and the elaborate analysis of possible Chaucerian authorship outlined above. A fourteen-page, double-column glossary,

three appendices (cipher passages in the manuscript, John of Linières' *Compositio equatorii*, and three specimens of ME scientific texts), a general index, and an index of manuscripts cited complete this masterly edition and greatly enhance its value and usefulness.

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Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson. By HERBERT G. WRIGHT. University of London: The Athlone Press. 1957. xiv + 495 pp. 63s.

That Professor H. G. Wright was working on an extensive study of Boccaccio's influence in English Literature had been known for some years, for he has published several books and many articles embodying significant discoveries which have whetted the appetites of all Anglo-Italian scholars. Now the main work is out and we can both see the full scope of English relations with the Italian poet and novelist and admire Professor Wright's industry and authority. There have been one or two tentative sketches (e.g. F. N. Jones, *Boccaccio and his Imitators* (Chicago, 1910)), but this comprehensive study is definitive.

Professor Wright's object has been 'to see Boccaccio in relation to the personality of the writers to whom he appealed, and to observe the changing taste of successive ages as it was revealed by their choice among Boccaccio's writings'. Moreover the author, who is well versed in several other European languages, has not ignored the history of Boccaccio's fame on the Continent.

To get an overall view of so varied a writer is difficult while paying due attention to the fortunes of his individual poems and prose writings. Professor Wright has investigated them one by one, taking the Latin works and the minor ones written in Italian before discussing the *Decamerone*.

It must be noted that Professor Wright makes few concessions to readers little acquainted with Boccaccio's works. He does not spend long on his life or reputation in Italy, but plunges into the history of the Latin works in the middle ages. 'For the men of the fifteenth century Boccaccio was the great moralist, comparable to Boethius and Seneca'; 'In Spain *De Casibus virorum illustrium* and *De Claris Mulieribus* were quoted side by side with the book of Genesis and the works of St. Augustine'. In discussing Chaucer and other writers whose relation to Boccaccio has been frequently argued, Professor Wright does not go over old ground but refers in his notes to the chief authorities. He devotes considerable space to Lydgate, whose *Fall of Princes* reveals the special attitude of the English poet to his sources, politics, the stars etc.. Whether or not *The*

Legend of Good Women was suggested by *De Claris Mulieribus*. Boccaccio's poem was well known in England, as is shown by examination of the translations, and it contributed to the defence of woman in contrast to Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* which vehemently attacked the fair sex. The *Genealogia deorum*, though not translated, was also known, and Professor Wright bases on it a valuable account of the ideas about Demogorgon whom he traces down to Shelley. There is a very full account of Chaucer's handling of the *Teseida* and the *Filostrato*.

The influence of the *Decamerone* occupies three quarters of the book and is tracked down through the centuries. The Renaissance chapter (III) discusses the handling of tales imported through French or Latin — such as Chaucer's *Clerkes Tale*, the *Legenda Sismonda* of Gilbert Banester, and various versions of Tito and Gisippo. Tales in verse derived from the Italian text were many and various, including Turbervile's *Tragical Tales* (1587) which drew from Boccaccio 'great stoare of States in woe', but changed the emphasis so as to excite moral feeling and show the importance of social distinctions, and the vagaries of Fortune. In prose Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* drew upon Maçon's French version as well as on G. Ruscelli's Italian edition and notes. A very moral adapter, Painter declaimed against lust and luxury and the passions exhibited in the stories he loved so well. The author of *Newes out of Purgatorie* made more attempt at stringing the stories together than did Painter, using the dream of Tarlton's ghost. *The Cobler of Canterburie* (1590) set the stories in a boat travelling from Billingsgate to Gravesend, and was written for a popular audience. George Whetstone was more polished, and set his tales in a hospitable Italian mansion, giving to each day of his *Heptameron* (1582) a different theme.

In Elizabethan drama popular Boccaccian themes included Griselda, Titus and Gisippus, Gismund of Salerno. Shakespeare's debt in *All's Well* (perhaps to Maçon rather than to Painter) and in *Cymbeline*, is explored in some detail, and the importance of Boccaccio as a treasure-house of lively plot or individual episodes is shown with examples from Marston, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and others down to Aphra Behn and Dufey (whose revision of *Cymbeline* in *The Injured Princess* denotes the changed tone of Restoration drama).

The eighteenth century adapted Boccaccio to its own taste and temper, beginning when Dryden, probably affected by Jeremy Collier's campaign, gave a veneer of morality to the sensuous passages in his *Fables* (which here receive full treatment). His imitator Dufey in his *Titus and Gisippus*, 'Done from a Hint' in Boccaccio, elaborated the clash between Love and Honour. The clergyman's daughter Mary Pix turned Boccaccio to didactic and sentimental use. On the other hand Augustan gaiety was wedded to the lively Italian manner in stories told in octosyllabic couplets, while Prior at least tried to make an epic *Tale from Boccaccio* in blank verse.

In prose the mixture of surface moralising with picaresque gusto in realistic stories of criminals caused writers like Alexander Smith and

Charles Johnson to include anecdotes from Boccaccio (e.g. the story of Andreuccio, *Dec.* ii.5) — and Johnson 'ascribes to Claude Duvall and a companion the adventure of Pinuccio and Adriano' (*Dec.* ix.6). Yet 'in no tale was the assimilation complete The hard cynical tone of the Restoration, echoing on into the early 18th century, and the didactic, edifying strain were alike incapable of blending with the worldly, yet in the main genial, temper of Boccaccio'.

Among the more surprising phases in the long history of Boccaccio's fame is the effect of the sale of a copy of the 1471 edition of the *Decamerone* in 1812 for £2,260. There followed a spate of works in which conversations about rare books were arranged in a framework as in Dibdin's *The Bibliographical Decameron*, J. Payne Collier's *Poetical Decameron* (1820), Joseph Hunter's *A Shakespeare Decameron* (1829). Selections from the *Decameron* (usually expurgated) were frequent towards the end of the century.

The approximation of painting and literature brought a large number of pictures by Stothard, Fuseli, G. F. Watts, Millais. Wordsworth as well as Shelley read Boccaccio. Byron loved

The Bard of Prose, creative Spirit, He
Of the Hundred Tales of Love.

Coleridge excepted the *Decameron* from his general appreciation of Boccaccio because of its licentiousness, and he did not like the 'hyperlatinization' of his style, yet he loved the story of Lorenzo and Isabella and he wrote a charming poem *Boccaccio's Garden* after a drawing by Stothard. Hazlitt loved Boccaccio and saw the Elizabethan age as akin to his. Like him Leigh Hunt delighted to visit places connected with Boccaccio, and he knew more about the other works than did most of the Romantics, who concentrated on the tales. B. W. Procter extolled Boccaccio's love for Fiammetta as that of a grave humanist for a spiritual disciple in his 'Letter of Boccaccio'. Landor actually bought the Villa Gherardesca and felt a strong kinship with the Italian, whom he brought into his *Imaginary Conversations* and the *Pentameron*, where Boccaccio is praised as 'the most creative and imaginative genius Italy has produced'. We learn of the strange views Gabriele Rossetti found in Boccaccio, making him a member of a great anti-papal secret society. Dante Gabriel read Boccaccio with the eye of a painter. Thomas Moore, who, as Professor Wright has elsewhere shown, probably wrote *The Spirit of Boccaccio's Decameron* (1812), combined love of the tales with his interest in the Levant and Orient. Keats drew on the English translation of 1620 for his *Isabella*, to the theme of which he was probably led by Hazlitt's lectures.

Professor Wright is a lucid interpreter, whose style rises and falls with his theme, and if it must be confessed that some of the earlier minor imitations of Boccaccio are not very interesting, almost all those written in the nineteenth century are presented with an air of freshness and vivacity which makes the last parts of this book particularly delightful to read.

There is no Bibliography, but the footnotes are full and rich in references. The Index is generous and contains a useful list of borrowings from each of the individual tales in the *Decameron*. This book is a treasure house of information which generations of scholars will ransack. Professor Wright is to be congratulated on the completion of his task.

London.

GEOFFREY BULLOUGH.

The Discoveries of John Lederer. Edited by WILLIAM P. CUMMING. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, and Winston-Salem, Wachovia Historical Society. 1958. 148 pp. Price \$ 5.00.

Early in 1670 a young German from Hamburg, John Lederer, arrived in Virginia. Although biographical evidence is sparse and his motive is unknown, he had some training in medicine, he was somewhat of a scholar, and he was interested in the Indian trade. In the spring and summer of 1670 Lederer, with the official sanction of Governor William Berkeley, made three separate expeditions into western Virginia and the Carolinas, trying to pierce the Appalachian mountain barrier and to establish trading connections with the various Indian tribes. Although he never succeeded in crossing the mountains, he kept a careful record of his routes and he observed the savage inhabitants; the three 'marches' became the basis of a short book which Lederer wrote in Latin and which was translated into English and published by his patron, William Talbot, in London in 1672.

The present edition of Lederer's work is enriched by letters from and about Lederer himself, and by elaborate notes explaining or correcting the geographical data and amplifying the writer's account of the various Indian units of the Powhatan Confederacy which existed in the piedmont area in the seventeenth century. Considerable controversy has taken place about the extent and reliability of Lederer's travels. Professor William P. Cumming has gone to great care to explore the various points of view and to sift all the relevant facts. The conclusion is inescapable that Lederer's trips were important and that he was the earliest European to penetrate as far as the Blue Ridge Mountains and to record his experiences.

Although the present edition will chiefly interest local historians (the general reader will certainly be confused by the variety of Indian spellings and the conflicting points of view assessed), Lederer's book has other values. The author's comments on how to prepare for the Indian trade, his description of Indian habits and manners, his extraordinary ability to get along with feuding tribes, and his shrewd remarks on aboriginal psychology will interest any reader. The wonderful speculation about how a rattlesnake can catch and engorge a whole squirrel, in the account

of the first expedition, and the description of the social life of the 'Oenock' (Eno) Indians, in the account of the third, are of special appeal.

Lederer, indeed, was an intelligent and observant traveller. One regrets that his record is so brief (in the present edition the actual travel chronicle occupies only pp. 9-43). After he left Virginia he became a citizen of Maryland and later spent some time in Connecticut where he practised medicine and became a friend of the famous governor, John Winthrop, Jr. He returned to Germany by way of Barbados in 1675; thereafter the record is blank. Professor Cumming has been unable to supply any kind of sequel. But his tireless researches and intelligent editing have made this slim volume unusually attractive. One must also commend it for its handsome typography.

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Present-Day English Syntax. A Survey of Sentence Patterns.
By G. SCHEURWEGHS, Phil. & Litt. Dr., Professor of English in
the University of Louvain. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
Ltd. 1959. xx + 434 pp. Price 21/—.

This book may be regarded as a companion volume to my *Handbook of English Grammar*, to which students are referred in the Preface. It contains a systematically arranged body of quotations from a fairly large number of prose works listed, all of them published since 1945. The sequence is as follows: I. Sentence Patterns with Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives and Adverbs; II. Additional Notes on Nouns and Adjectives; III. The Articles; IV. The Pronouns; V. Sentence Patterns with Participles; VI. Sentence Patterns with Gerunds; VII. Sentence Patterns with Infinitives; VIII. Sentence Patterns with Subordinate Clauses; IX. Sentence Patterns with Relative Pronouns without Antecedent; X. Sentence Patterns with Relative Pronouns; XI. Interrogative and Exclamative Sentences; XII. Co-ordination; XIII. The Verbal Part of the Predicate; XIV. The Verbs *To Do*, *To Be*, *To Have* and the Anomalous Verbs; Appendix I: The Grammatical Forms of English; Appendix II: Explanation of Grammatical Terms; Index. The fourteen chapters are divided into sections and sub-sections, with anything from one to over sixty quotations in each. Not since Poutsma's *Grammar* and Kruisinga's *Handbook* has such a repertory of syntactic usage been made available; indeed, this is the first large-scale collection of its kind compiled from post-war material. To future students of the phenomena of modern English syntax Professor Scheurweghs' book (with certain reservations to be presently indicated) should be of considerable service.

Here, however, a caveat must be entered. In the absence of any warning to the contrary, it will naturally be assumed that the quotations are reproduced as they stand in the originals. There is some evidence that this is not always the case. A number of sentences are quoted twice, but not in an identical form. Here are a few examples:

154. When he gets to heaven, I hope they make him try to play a guitar. (P. 127)
 174. When he gets to heaven, I hope they make him try to play one of these guitars. (P. 127)

156. The bitter weather of February will go down to posterity recorded as a spell of severe frost. (T. 8-3-1956)

293. The bitter weather of February will go down to posterity dispassionately recorded as just one more spell of severe frost. (T. 8-3-1956)

190. They are old enough to pass as having been patted on the head by Mr. Gladstone. (T. 28-1-1955)

271. These strollers must be old enough to pass as having been patted on the head by Mr. Gladstone. (T. 28-1-1955)

255. All and sundry are not free to go tramping over the moors. (B. 456)

270. All and sundry are not to be free to go tramping over the moors. (B. 456)

336. He sipped the tea taking care not to stain his beard. (P. 46)

358. He sipped it carefully, taking care not to stain his beard. (P. 46)

374. Some newspapers are more anxious for freedom of supplies to be restored than others. (T. 23-3-1955)

404. It must be said some newspapers are more anxious for freedom of supplies to be restored than others. (T. 23-3-1955)

452. There were few people whom he would address as "sir". (M. 81)

529. There are few people whom he would address as "sir" and we wondered who on earth it could be. (M. 81)

Among the books from which quotations are taken is *Living English Structure*, by W. S. Allen.¹ It seems a little doubtful whether sentences made up by an English grammarian should be treated as of equal status with such as were written with no linguistic or educational purpose in view. If they are quoted, however, they should be quoted as they stand, and this has not always been done:

451. The girl whose mother I was speaking to has just left the room. (A. 220)
 Original: The girl ... mother I was talking to has left the room. (From Exercise on Defining Relatives.)

542. What! Me fight a chap like him? Not me. (A. 16)

Original: What! Me fight a big chap like him? Not me!

554. The boy jumped off the train when it was moving. (A. 104)

Original: The boy jumped off the tram while it (move). (From Exercise on the Past Continuous form.)

While some of these discrepancies (the list could be extended) may be due to a careless amanuensis, others contain indications of deliberate tampering. Sometimes, too, a phrase or sentence, given as if it were a

¹ First published (Longmans) 1947, new impression (with a key) 1953. Only the original edition is available to me.

quotation, is simply made up, e.g. 471 The place whither he goes. (COD 1414) — what COD (the page number of course differs from one edition to another) actually gives s.v. *whither* is: '(rel., with antecedent *place* etc.) to which (now usu. to which, where)'. Now if this were only a matter of two or three dozen slips, one could recommend them for correction in a second impression, and leave it at that. But what guarantee do we have that the thousands of quotations that we cannot immediately verify because they occur in this book only once and we do not happen to have the original ready to hand, *are* completely reliable? It may be that a number of them have been shortened or otherwise adapted for teaching purposes, but, if so, this should have been clearly stated. As it is, any one wishing to use these materials in further researches will have to collate them with the originals.

One does not go into such detail in reviewing a book of this kind if one does not find it profoundly interesting. I hope, therefore, I shall be forgiven if I add a few more comments of a critical nature.

In his Preface Professor Scheurweghs states that he has refrained from an analysis of 'the subtle nuances and the different shades of meaning of constructions that might seem to be interchangeable'. He says nothing, however, about the distinction of stylistic levels, nor does he pay much attention to this in the arrangement of his materials. This seems the more regrettable in view of the hope expressed in the Preface that the book will enable students 'to write a language more sinewy and fluent than the one they have been taught in the first stage of their English studies'. Should not such students be warned that, for instance, 'She makes them laugh with her fund of happy stories' (383) is not on the same level, stylistically, with 'They bade him leave the bird alone and go (*ibid.*)? Or that sub-clauses introduced by *lest* (417, 418, 653) are definitely literary ('They must not fear lest his cold and reserved nature should disdain their homage.'), and strike a different note from, say 'At twenty three it was high time King Henry should marry.' (625)?

Another disclaimer made in the Preface is of any intention to depart from what are called 'traditional methods of dealing with English Grammar'. It all depends what one means by 'traditional'. The use of the term 'patterns', where older grammarians usually spoke of 'constructions', has a progressive ring about it; but the treatment of 'The [relative] pronoun *that*' (463 ff.) and of 'Unconnected Relative Clauses' (472 ff.) ('As a rule, the relative clause cannot be used without a pronoun if this is the subject of the verb') will strike some as rather old-fashioned. A stricter definition of some grammatical terms, as well as stricter adherence to the definitions given, would also have been appreciated. Though *Clause* is defined in Appendix II as 'A sentence consisting of a subject and a predicate that is part of a larger sentence', we read in 506 of adverb clauses (of concession) without a verb. Nor will all readers be happy about Prof. Scheurweghs' definition of Tenses: 'The various set[s] of

verbal forms, primarily used to denote time, but not always.' — and even less about the employment of the term in 569: 'The verb *to be* has a subjunctive *I were*, . . . different from the past tense, *I was*, . . . Both tenses are used in the meaning of a modal past tense, although *were* may be more common'.

Very old-fashioned indeed is such a formulation is that found in 26: 'The indirect object of a great number of verbs can *become* (our italics, Z.) the subject of a verb in the passive, provided the direct object is retained.' (Similarly in 24, 587, 589.) One wonders if W. S. Allen's warning: 'A great deal of harm has been done by teaching the passive voice as if it were merely another way of expressing a sentence in the active voice' has been lost on the author of *Present-Day English Syntax*.

But enough of fault-finding.² I began by saying that this book might be regarded as a companion volume to my *Handbook of English Grammar*. While largely covering the same ground, Professor Scheurweghs not only gives more illustrative examples than the scope of my own book allowed, but sometimes deals more fully with constructions not sufficiently treated there, or not treated at all. A good example is his section (287) on the present participle preceded by *as* ('They regarded his contract as having been broken'.) Similarly, the question of word-order in attributive clauses is treated much more fully in sections 458 and 479 ff. than anywhere in my *Handbook*. To add that the opposite is also occasionally true is not to detract from the merits of Professor Scheurweghs' achievement.

While wishing this latest venture in the exploration of English syntax all good luck on its maiden voyage, we express the hope that on its return to port it will be given a thorough overhaul, so as to ensure its seaworthiness for many years to come.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Anglistische Studien. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Professor FRIEDRICH WILD. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Dr K. Brunner, Dr H. Koziol, Dr S. Korninger. (Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, LXVI Band.) Wien-Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1958. x + 249 pp. Sewed Fl. 7.20.

Professor Friedrich Wild, to whom this volume is dedicated, succeeded Karl Luick as Professor of English Philology in the University of Vienna, and, together with Dr Herbert Koziol, published supplementary chapters to Luick's *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* after the author's

² Just one more desideratum: there are no definitions in Appendix II of Aspect (cf. 269, 281, 544), Formal Words (cf. 642, 655), Numeratives (99, 100, 104).

death in 1935.¹ As appears from the Bibliography on pp. 246-249, his own contributions to the study of English cover various sections of the Anglistic field. Literary history is represented, among others, by books and articles on Marlowe, Shakespeare, the Romantics, the Victorians, and, in the early years, such writers as John Drinkwater, Gordon Bottomley, and T. Sturge Moore. Linguistic interests are attested by a thesis on the language of Chaucer (Vienna, 1915), and by the recurrent items 'Bericht der Phonogrammarchivs-Kommission' (1941-1957) and 'Bericht über Dialektaufnahmen' (1951-1953).

The papers collected in this *Festschrift* have, with few exceptions, been contributed by Austrian colleagues, pupils and friends of the septuagenarian. The subjects range from Old to Modern English, and from philology and *Literaturwissenschaft* to the teaching of English in schools and the study of economic terms. We may mention an article by H. Penzl (Ann Arbor) on the *Vorgeschichte* of WS. $\tilde{a}$, a bibliographical survey by O. Funke (Bern) on 'Altenglische Wortgeographie', papers by the reviewer on 'Sidney in Austria', by K. Brunner (Innsbruck) on 'Joseph Addisons umfassende Interessen', and by Prof. Wild's younger colleague S. Korninger on 'Wycherlys satirische Methode'. Nineteenth and twentieth century literature are represented by five valuable contributions; among the remaining we may draw attention to an article by H. Koziol (Graz) on 'Wortbildung im amerikanischen English'.

The Tabula Gratulatoria contains names from many countries, including Germany, Scandinavia and the United States.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Tradition and D. H. Lawrence. Inaugural Lecture by R. L. DRAIN, B.A. (Cantab.), Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Groningen. 12 pp. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1960. 12 pp. Price f 1.50.

In his Inaugural Lecture Mr Drain has set D. H. Lawrence against the background of the Victorian dilemma — the polarity between a materialistic and sceptical rationalism and an idealistic, though sometimes vague, moralism. On the one hand the Benthamite tradition (going back to Hobbes, Berkeley and Hume, and forward to the young Mill, Bloomsbury and Earl Russell); and on the other hand the Victorian Sages, Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris. In between the two poles are the champions of the human heart: Wordsworth, Dickens and George Eliot.

Lawrence reacted violently against the obscene scepticism (the epithet

¹ See an obituary by Eilert Ekwall in *E. S.* XVIII (1936) 24-26.

is Santayana's) of Bloomsbury. Mr Drain brings this out well in his use of the exchange of letters between Lawrence and Earl Russell, and in his analysis of *The Rainbow*, a novel which reflects more clearly than any of the others Lawrence's phenomenal reading of nineteenth century thinkers. Lawrence had also studied Hardy very closely, and *The Rainbow* is almost, as it were, an anti-Hardy novel; it asserts positively and imaginatively the values of life, of sheer persistence almost, against the despair of *Tess* and *Jude*.

In Lawrence Mr Drain sees the re-emergence of the English moralistic tradition, a tradition which still had its roots in the rural England of Lawrence's childhood. But what gave Lawrence the strength to bring his heritage to an imaginative embodiment in art was his creative intelligence, creative that is, not merely in that he was a professional novelist, but in that he was a creative, exploratory thinker, applying a critical awareness of his past to the issues of the present and the future.

Mr Drain is to be congratulated on his appointment at Groningen University, and also on a most stimulating and thought-provoking Inaugural, which so clearly combines sensitivity and tact with a thoroughly scholarly approach and method of presentation.

Nijmegen.

T. A. BIRRELL.

Current Literature, 1959

II. Criticism and Biography

The year 1959 has yielded a rich harvest in the field of criticism and biography. One of the most important 'general' books of the year is Colin Wilson's *The Age of Defeat* (Gollancz, 16/—),¹ which seeks to examine and explain the decline of the role of the hero in modern literature, and to connect it with the cult of 'the ordinary chap' not only in contemporary writing, but in politics, society and life in general. The hero, Mr Wilson contends, must be 'inner-directed', whereas the whole stress in modern life is on 'other-direction' (or conformity). The writer surveys this tendency in social thought, in religion,² in industry and in present-day culture in its many aspects, and finds it the dominant one. The 'angry young man' type of literature, it is true, at first sight seems to represent a

¹ Published in America as *The Stature of Man* (Houghton Mifflin Co.).

² So far as religion is concerned it is surprising that, though a good deal of space is devoted to Billy Graham, Jehovah's Witness and Existentialism, there is no mention of the work of Karl Barth or Rudolf Otto. And there is one minor mistake which might be corrected in a future edition: the founder of the sect known as Jehova's Witness was not, as is stated on p. 40, Judge Russell, but Judge Rutherford.

revolt against it, but it is not an assertion of the heroic: it is merely revolt for its own sake, without any sense of direction or of definite values. It is a mask for defeatism, and can, in fact, become merely another kind of 'other-direction' in which the writer feels that he must raise the standard of revolt and express a sense of frustration out of conformity with an accepted convention amongst young men of his generation. Not of such stuff are heroes made. The old hero (of pre-Renaissance days), says Mr Wilson, lowered his head and charged like a bull; the new hero (who emerged from the Renaissance and has dominated literature until recent times) was self-divided and had to learn to heal the division. The final hero (who has not yet emerged) will be the person who has succeeded in healing it and is prepared to fling himself back into the social struggle.

Mr Wilson's treatise, which starts with an examination of current psychological theories, covers a vast stretch of territory, taking in not only English and American literature, but that of Europe in general. To some extent it is partial and lop-sided, for there are certain important trends which the author ignores, and the reading on which the book is based seems to be selected so that it will bear out a pre-conceived theory. It is, nevertheless, a thought-provoking work and deserves careful consideration.

Dorothea Krook's *Three Traditions of Moral Thought* (C.U.P., 30/—) belongs to the field of ethics rather than that of literature, but it may be mentioned here since some of the writers whom Mrs Krook discusses are normally thought of as men of letters rather than as philosophers or moralists. The three traditions distinguished by the author are the religious, deriving from Plato and St. Paul, the secular, which she traces back to Aristotle, and the humanist, a relatively modern development from the previous two. The fundamental differences between the three schools, Mrs Krook believes, are expressed most clearly in, and ultimately depend upon, their views of love as a controlling and redemptive power in human life. Besides Plato, St. Paul and Aristotle, the writers who are discussed in most detail are Hobbes, David Hume, John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, F. H. Bradley and D. H. Lawrence; and not only is their particular contribution to and place in one or other of the three traditions examined, but the point is made that the literary style of their works is closely bound up with the ethic they propound or the moral assumptions on which they are founded; both are the products of the same personality and the same imagination.

In discussing the three traditions, Mrs Krook preserves a commendable impartiality. Though she asserts that she has tried to simplify the presentation of the subject as much as possible, her book still requires a good deal of digesting, but anyone who is prepared to take the trouble will be well rewarded.³

³ There is a discussion of this book in the correspondence columns of the *Times Literary Supplement*, January 1 to January 22, 1960, and in a leading article in the number for January 29, 1960.

Another book of general interest, and a most readable volume at that, is Cecil S. Emden's *Poets in Their Letters* (O.U.P., 21/—), in which the compiler gives us studies of ten English poets as revealed by their correspondence. The poets concerned are Pope, Gray, Cowper, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats and Edward Fitzgerald. Much information emerges about their characters, their domestic life, their friends and acquaintances, and in some cases their views upon art, literature, or religion. The author of such a book as this, with such a wealth of material at his disposal, is bound, of course, to be selective, and in any case correspondence can give only a partial picture, but Mr Emden has done a valuable piece of work and has produced a book which should be useful to the student of literature and interesting to the general reader.

Then there is also Robert Graves's *The Crowning Privilege*, first published in 1955 and now appearing as a Pelican Book (Penguin Books, 4/—). It consists of the Clark Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, during the session 1954-55, supplemented by a number of Mr Graves's other essays on poetry and poets.

In *The England of Nimrod and Surtees, 1815-1854* (O.U.P., 25/—)⁴ E. W. Bovill gives a picture of hunting and stage-coaching in the first half of the nineteenth century, drawing extensively upon contemporary and near-contemporary writings, many of them now difficult to obtain. The book reconstructs quite vividly an important aspect of the social background against which we must set much of the literature of the time; and Dickensians will be interested in an appendix on the most famous of all stage-coach drivers of fiction — Tony Weller of *The Pickwick Papers*. The volume is tastefully produced and has a number of good illustrations.

Charles Coulston Gillispie's *Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790-1850* originally appeared in 1951 and is now reprinted in a cheap edition (New York, Harper & Brothers, \$1.75) to mark the centenary of the publication of *The Origin of Species*. The sub-title of the book explains its contents. It is written primarily from the point of view of science, and more especially of geology, and some of the lesser as well as the greater scientists are discussed, but the student of early and mid-nineteenth century literature should find it useful, for it does fill in one aspect of the intellectual background against which the literature, and especially the poetry, of the age has to be viewed.

John Keble's Religious and Literary Contribution to the Oxford Movement, by W. J. A. M. Beek (Nijmegen, Centrale Drukkerij N.V., fl. 9.50) is a doctoral thesis, and is written with all the detail and thoroughness that one would expect in such a work. There were many different strands to the religious revival in the Anglican Church in the mid-nineteenth century which has come to be known as the Oxford Movement. Much

⁴ 'Nimrod' was the pseudonym of J. C. Apperley (1779-1843), author of a number of sporting novels.

has been written upon Newman, and a fair amount upon Pusey. Keble, however, has received far less attention, though of all the three his influence was perhaps the deepest and the most widely felt. It is not everyone, particularly at the present day, who can sympathise with him: Dr. Beek does not sympathise with him completely, but he admires him and can understand him; and, moreover, he has endeavoured to set him against the background of the religious climate and controversies of his day. He displays him as a saintly figure and a profound mystic and romantic, hostile alike to rationalism and evangelicalism, and deeply imbued with a belief in the all-importance of the sacramental element in religion. Scholar as Keble was, he distrusted the intellect where matters of faith were concerned, and held that the final repository of truth was the Bible and the Church, while in literature (and more especially in poetry) his criterion of worth and excellence was the extent to which the work in question was inspired by, and suggested or communicated, a sense of spiritual truth behind the appearance of things. The pursuit of perfection of form he saw as a reflection of materialist rather than spiritual values.

Dr. Beek analyses all the relevant writings of Keble most minutely and sets out his position methodically, though even so it is not easy to follow him all the way in his exploration of Keble's attempts to 'realize objective unity', as he puts it. Keble's was a great mind illuminated by a great soul and sustained by a profound religious faith — that is the impression one gains from this book. Yet in the last analysis one also feels that fundamentally his faith, deeply held as it undoubtedly was, was a question-begging one; and like many other very sincere people, he had his blind spots, and found it difficult to understand those who differed from him, or to believe that *their* faith was as precious to them as his was to him. To say this, of course, is in no way to detract from Dr. Beek's study, which is written with skill and thoroughness.

In a well-produced volume entitled *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*, Edited by Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann, Jr. (Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, \$5.75) we have a collection of twenty essays by different authors on the English novel of the nineteenth century, preceded by an introductory chapter in which Mr Rathburn traces out the relation of the nineteenth century novel to that of the eighteenth, and followed by one in which his co-editor, Mr Steinmann, compares and contrasts the former with the novel as it has developed in the present century. None of the papers has appeared in print before; all are thoughtful and discerning studies. Where there is so much that is excellent it is perhaps invidious to pick out individual contributions, but we have found especially interesting J. Y. T. Greig's 'Thackeray, a Novelist by Accident', Yvonne ffrench's essay on Mrs Gaskell, John Holloway on 'Hardy's Major Fiction' and Mr Steinmann's concluding chapter, in which the author makes a plea for an appreciation of the older and the newer fiction alike, since each is the product of its own world and intimately related to it. The compilation of the volume was undertaken in the first

place as a tribute to Professor J. T. Hillhouse on his retirement from the Chair of English Literature in the University of Minnesota. Unfortunately he died while it was still in preparation, so it now stands as a monument and a memorial to him.

The fifth and sixth volumes of Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *History of English Drama, 1660-1900* (C.U.P., 75/— and 65/— respectively) have also appeared during the year under review. Volume V is a much enlarged version (901 pp.) of the previous two volumes of *Late Nineteenth Century Drama* by the same author. The text has been revised and the handlist of plays of the period considerably supplemented. Volume VI (565 pp.) is entirely new, and contains an alphabetical list of plays produced and printed in England from 1660 to 1900. Professor Nicoll's work has long been recognised as a standard history. In its new form its usefulness is considerably enhanced.

The poets and poetry of the Romantic period are a never-ending source of curiosity and inspiration to critics and theorists alike. *The Sacred River. Studien und Interpretationen zur Dichtung der englischen Romantik*, von Horst Oppel (Frankfurt am Main. Verlag Moritz Diesterweg. n.p.), a slender volume of 68 pages, is by no means a full treatise on English romantic poetry: it never set out to be. After a preliminary study of the resemblances and the differences between the romantic movement in England and Germany, the author directs his attention specifically to three topics: Chatterton and the mediaeval or 'Gothic' cult, Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* (from which the title of the book is, of course, a quotation), and Walter Savage Landor's now little known *Iphigeneia*. *Kubla Khan* Dr. Oppel regards as central to the understanding of Coleridge's position as a romantic poet, and to some extent to the understanding of English romantic poetry as a whole, while he urges the right of Landor to be considered to rank at least equally with Keats as 'the most classical, and presumably the most Greek, of the English romantic poets'. Dr. Oppel's footnotes, as well as his allusions, reveal that he has read very extensively in his subject and its background.

One of Dr. Oppel's romantic poets is taken up again in *Coleridge the Visionary*, by J. B. Beer (Chatto & Windus, 30/—), which deals particularly with the earlier poetry of Coleridge, culminating in *The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan*, and urges very cogently the thesis that these poems were actually allegories by means of which the poet sought to express some of his deepest religious and philosophical convictions, though from the very first their inner meaning has escaped their readers, a fact of which Coleridge himself soon became aware and which caused him no little concern. Mr Beer's book is a very scholarly one. He examines the poems minutely, and if at times we feel that he tends to push his thesis a little too far, we also feel that in the main he has succeeded in shedding a good deal of new light upon his subject. The view that the three great works of Coleridge were something more than mere sensuous poems of the supernatural is, of course, not completely new. It was held, and most

persuasively expounded, by the late Humphry House; but Mr Beer has investigated the subject much more thoroughly than has ever been done before, with interesting results.

Shelley's Myth-Making, by Harold Bloom (Yale Studies in English No. 141. Yale University Press, \$.5.00) is a very detailed and erudite work, but the reader is warned that he may find it heavy going. Based upon the philosophical principles of the theologian Martin Buber and the critical theories of Northrop Frye, it interprets Shelley's confrontation of life and the universe in several of his major poems in terms of the *I-Thou* and the *I-It* relationships which Buber sees at the heart of all mythologies and ultimately of religion. The poems discussed in detail are *Prometheus Unbound*, *Ode to the West Wind*, *The Sensitive Plant*, *The Witch of Atlas*, *Epipsychidion* and *The Triumph of Life*, though a number of others are mentioned in passing. Dr. Bloom also compares Shelley's imagery and his views on life, nature and the universe, with those of Blake, Coleridge, Milton and Spenser. The study is a very thorough one, but sometimes, one feels, a little over-ingenious, and though it may illuminate the imagery of Shelley it is a moot point whether it adds very much to the appreciation of his poetry on the literary plane. But the chief difficulty is that Dr. Bloom is so well read in so many fields of modern thought that most of his readers will have to take him on trust.

Georgian Chronicle. Mrs. Barbauld and Her Family, by Betsy Rodgers (Methuen, 21/—) really belongs to 1958, but having been overlooked in the survey of that year it may be included here. Mrs Barbauld was not one of the major writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but her works were widely read, she knew many of the great figures of the literary world of her day, and she was much respected by them. Mrs Rodgers, however, does not confine herself to Mrs Barbauld and her age; her book becomes, in effect, an important footnote to the history of English Dissent, and its relations with the worlds of literature and learning, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The last eighty pages of it consist of hitherto unpublished letters to and from Mrs Barbauld and members of her family, though it is a pity that they are not more fully annotated.

John Galt is not a well-known writer. George Meredith regretted that his novels were not more widely read, and though, since Meredith's day, a certain amount of critical attention has been given to him, it is still true to say that he is remembered mainly as the author of *Annals of the Parish*, published in 1821. In *John Galt's Scottish Stories, 1820-1823* (Uppsala. A-B. Lundequistka Bokhandeln, Sw. Cr. 20) Erik Frykman has written a detailed study of the novels and stories produced during the four years which constitute, as he puts it, 'the only period in which he created works with any claims to real artistic merits'. That Galt, if we take his work in its entirety, is a minor writer he admits, but he contends that the works of this period show that he had the makings of something greater. The origin, the plot and the style of each of the stories are discussed, and

by a comparison with other writings of his age and the age preceding, Galt is set against his literary background. But to many readers the most interesting part of Mr Frykman's study will be his analysis of Galt's social tenets and his presentation of social and political issues. With a belief in progress, he showed very little nostalgia for bygone days; but on the other hand he was no perfectionist or Utopian. A liberal in outlook rather than a radical, he was also, in more ways than one, a realist; he did not believe that the pursuit of material prosperity was sinful, but he held that it must be tempered with a regard for others, and that it carried with it an obligation to serve one's fellow-men: in other words, his touchstones of conduct were enlightened self-interest and social conscience. If Mr Frykman's book directs attention once again to Galt's work it will have served a valuable purpose.

Maria Edgeworth has not been quite so neglected as John Galt, but it is doubtful whether many read her novels and stories today, though her name finds an honourable mention in most histories of English literature. *The Great Maria. A Portrait of Maria Edgeworth* by Elisabeth Inglis-Jones (Faber, 25/—) is concerned, as the sub-title suggests, with Maria Edgeworth herself rather than with her works. Miss Inglis-Jones has been fortunate in having been able to draw upon a considerable body of family correspondence which throws new light upon her subject's life, personality and social relationships. Written in a pleasant and easy style, her book also tells us much about the father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and his influence upon his daughter, particularly in the formation of her views on education which she later came to express in the controversial work *Practical Education*. By the twentieth century Maria Edgeworth is remembered (when she is remembered at all) solely as a novelist: in her own day she was something of a society figure, a wit, and, if not one of the earliest of feminists, at least a blue-stocking. It is as such that Miss Inglis-Jones presents her.

Of all the Brontë sisters Anne has hitherto received the least attention from critics and biographers. This deficiency, however, has now been remedied by the appearance of two studies, *Anne Brontë, Her Life and Work*, by Ada Harrison and Derek Stanford (Methuen, 25/—) and *Anne Brontë. A Biography*, by Winifred Gérin (Nelson, 30/—). In the former Miss Harrison, who died soon after the completion of the manuscript, is responsible for the 'Life' (about two-thirds of the book) and Mr Stanford for the 'Works'. Documentary material on the Brontës is probably exhausted by now, and Miss Harrison makes no claim to any discoveries in that field. What she does do is to collate existing material from many sources, and from it to present a portrait of Anne which brings out a more determined and positive character than had hitherto been suspected. Mr Stanford, dividing his critical section into 'Anne Brontë as Poet' and 'Anne Brontë as Novelist', gives a penetrating study, the outstanding merit of which is that he emphasises Anne's realism in the little things of daily life and human conduct.

Miss Gérin's book, which appeared only a few weeks after that of Miss Harrison and Mr Stanford, inevitably goes over much of the same ground, but does so more fully and in a rather different spirit. A resident of Haworth, Miss Gérin enables us to breathe the very air of the village and the parsonage in the lifetime of the Brontës. Her study, which is detailed, careful, and, so far as one can judge, accurate, sets Anne in a new light and shows that young though she was when she died, she undoubtedly possessed a talent which, had it been allowed to develop, might have assured her of a place as a novelist on a level with that of her sisters. The book is fully documented and beautifully illustrated. Brontë lovers will find it a valuable (and valued) addition to their library.

Another item which will be of interest to Brontë students is *The Father of the Brontës*, by Annette B. Hopkins (Johns Hopkins University Press and O.U.P., 35/—). Miss Hopkins, who a few years ago produced an excellent book on Mrs Gaskell, shows the Reverend Patrick Brontë to have been a much more human and more sociable person than the popular picture represents him as, and suggests that certain of his characteristics came out in the children. The book is only a short one, of less than 180 pages, but it makes an interesting supplement to the ever-accumulating literature on this remarkable family.

The revival of interest in the novels of George Eliot, which started a few years ago, still continues. Barbara Hardy's *The Novels of George Eliot* (The Athlone Press, 25/—) is a book that was worth writing and is certainly worth reading, for it studies George Eliot's work from a new angle — that of form and pattern — demonstrating how careful was her craftsmanship in all that she wrote. As Mrs Hardy sees the novels, they exemplify, in one form or another, two recurrent and complementary themes: that at bottom human nature is the same in all grades of society, and that heroism and nobility can be found in ordinary lives and every-day situations. There is much about character contrast as a basic feature of the 'design' of so many of the stories, much about human failure, growth and regeneration, much about significant imagery; and at the opening of Chapter IV the author makes the startling assertion (which, however, she persuades us is true) that 'all George Eliot's characters are shown as egoists'. Occasionally, perhaps, we feel that Mrs Hardy is a little too solemn and academically serious; occasionally, too, that she is inclined to stretch a point over far, while the concentration upon minutiae may so easily lead to our losing sight of the wood for the trees. But for all that, we shall be the wiser for reading her book, and shall go back to the novels of George Eliot with a new insight.

Much inferior is another book with the same title as Mrs Hardy's — Jerome Thale's *The Novels of George Eliot* (Columbia University Press and O.U.P., 30/—). Brief by comparison, it is written primarily for American readers, to introduce them to an author whom, it seems to be assumed, they know little about except as a name. Necessarily, then, it must be rather elementary. Mr Thale tends to be somewhat apologetic

in his approach, as though he feels he has to persuade his readers that George Eliot has something to offer them if they will persevere. There may be a place for such a book as this, but those who are convinced of George Eliot's claim to be considered one of the significant novelists of Victorian England will not gain a great deal of enlightenment from it.

One takes up a new book on Dickens with a feeling that there can surely be little left to say about an author upon whom so much has already been written, yet in *Charles Dickens: The World of His Novels* (Harvard University Press and O.U.P., 30/—) J. Hillis Miller surprises us by taking quite a new line. He claims that in all the novels, from *The Pickwick Papers* onwards, the hero, and through the hero the author, is concerned with an attempt to find a key to the understanding of himself, life and the world. In other words, Mr Miller makes Dickens into something of a philosopher and a psychologist, with a consistent idea which was gradually maturing through his novels. This is certainly a new point of view, and as such it is rather fascinating, but we cannot help feeling that the author pushes it too far. Dickens might have been flattered by this view of him, but he might also have repudiated it. It is ingenious, and Mr Miller spares no pains to make it sound convincing, but its underlying assumption is that Dickens approached the novel in a mid-twentieth, not a mid-nineteenth century spirit — a doubtful proposition, surely.

Dickens's relations with the young actress Ellen Ternan have, of course, been common knowledge for some years now. In *Dickens Incognito* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 12/6) Felix Aylmer supplements the known facts with others which, if not absolutely proven, certainly appear to have a considerable weight of evidence to support them, the most substantial document in the case being a diary which Dickens somehow lost in New York in 1867, and which is now in the New York Public Library. The gist of Mr Aylmer's conclusions is this: that, under the assumed name of Tringham,⁵ Dickens took a house for Miss Ternan at Slough in 1866, that he frequently visited and stayed with her there, that she had at least one illegitimate child by him, and that soon after its birth it was adopted by a working-class couple who concealed the parentage. Mr Aylmer has conducted a clever piece of detective work. His evidence is not completely conclusive, but he makes out a very strong case.

Trollope continues to attract attention, and the latest addition to the accumulating pile of critical studies is Bradford A. Booth's *Anthony Trollope. Aspects of His Life and Work* (Edward Hulton, 30/—). It has previously appeared in America (Indiana University Press, 1958). On the whole it is a sober, moderate, level-headed study, which admits the force of many of the criticisms usually urged against Trollope. It seeks to show him as a successful and an 'orthodox' rather than a great novelist, whose aims (which on the whole he succeeded in translating into practice and achievement) were to draw living, realistic characters, to avoid sen-

⁵ The same name, Thomas Wright showed some time ago, was used by Dickens when in 1868 he rented a house for Ellen Ternan at Peckham.

sationalism on the one hand and excessive sentiment on the other, to maintain a moral and ethical tone to which no-one could take exception, and to express a 'common-sense', practical attitude to life, making due allowance for human foibles and frailties, and steering clear of any suggestion of lofty idealism. He was not a preacher or a reformer. But neither was he a satirist or a cynic; he was a realist. Professor Booth discusses Trollope's relation to his age, and his debt to earlier Victorian literature and traditions in the novel. The world of his novels, he points out, is a narrow one, peopled almost exclusively by clergymen, politicians, sportsmen and lovers, but he saw — and created — in this world a symbol of the whole gamut of human life. We can commend this book as a very sane and thoughtful contribution to Trollope criticism.

Another work well worth serious study is William Robbins's *The Ethical Idealism of Matthew Arnold* (Heinemann, 25/—), in which a close and detailed examination of Arnold's religious views leads to the conclusion that though he had no consistent and coherent philosophy, he was keenly aware of the dilemma of his age, and perhaps faced it more honestly than did many of his contemporaries. While he still regarded himself as a Christian, his attempt to liberalise religion and free it from dogma led him into a kind of ethical idealism which he never found really satisfying, and which had very little power to attract others. His desire for the union of all Christian bodies into one comprehensive church was beyond doubt sincere, but it alienated most adherents of the Establishment, while Arnold himself seems to have been completely unable to understand or appreciate the real basis of Dissent, with the result that he remained something of a lone crusader. Professor Robbins's book is based upon wide reading and a close acquaintance with the period he discusses. It will be found of interest to students not only of Arnold, but of the mid- and later nineteenth century generally.

And while we are concerned with Arnold we may also notice *Poetry and Morality. Studies in the Criticism of Matthew Arnold, T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis*, by Vincent Buckley (Chatto & Windus, 21/—), a searching and erudite book, but one which makes difficult reading. If, however, one is prepared to persevere there is much to be gained from it, for, as Professor Basil Willey states in a foreword, 'The reader will find here no jargon, no humbug, nothing weary, stale, flat or unprofitable... All is fresh, first-hand and responsible: the work of a man who is himself a poet and critic, and who cares intensely for both poetry and morality — cares for them so much, indeed, that he sees with extreme clearness the complexities of their inter-connexion.'

Assuming, then, that there is some relation between poetry and morality, Mr Buckley sets out to examine the writings of three outstanding critics over the last century in order to find out their views on the subject. Two essays are devoted to each, and their conclusions, stated briefly, are as follows. For Arnold the moral function of poetry was to console man in a world which presented him with innumerable perplexities, and to

strengthen him for the practice of virtue. It was, that is to say, prophetic. It assumed that certain moral truths existed in man's inner consciousness, and it was the peculiar task of poetry to appeal to and awaken these. In this respect Arnold was typical of his age, and a descendant of the earlier romantics. For Eliot, on the other hand, poetry is exploratory rather than consolatory — a report on the human condition, as Mr Buckley puts it, or a diagnosis of society's spiritual sickness by a probing of emotions and feelings. Where Arnold's view of man was based upon the idea of fundamental righteousness, Eliot is always aware of — and almost obsessed with — original sin.

When we come to the third of the trio, F. R. Leavis, we find a still different point of view: the 'morality' of a poem consists in its sincerity or integrity, 'the presence somehow, in the poem, of the situation which justifies the emotion'. It is, that is to say, an artistic morality that it is concerned with, not moral issues or values outside itself. Mr Buckley's primary purpose is to examine, explore and expound. He does not hesitate to express his own opinions upon the position taken up by his three critics, particularly upon that of Leavis, when he feels it necessary to do so, but his study is, on the whole, objective.

To commemorate the birth, on December 18, 1859, of Francis Thompson, J. C. Reid has produced a new biographical and critical study, *Francis Thompson, Man and Poet* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 25/—). It traces out in detail Thompson's life and his relationship to the literary world of his day, and especially to the Catholic revival of the second half of the last century, and assesses his poetry, his reputation during his lifetime and immediately after his death, and the position he holds today. Mr Reid is no apologist for Thompson. Much of his poetry, he admits, belongs to what he calls 'a trumpery tradition', much of it too has already faded and is unlikely to arouse interest again, and Mr Reid shows us why, but there remain a few pieces (mainly the better known ones) that still have a living force and are worthy to stand amongst the best that the last hundred years have produced. Within this group Mr Reid would include *The Hound of Heaven*, *All Flesh*, *To a Snowflake*, *A Fallen Yew* and *In No Strange Land*. But in the last analysis he believes that the poet in Francis Thompson is less important than the religious man. In a few cases the two combined and blended, with happy effect, but only too frequently the poet failed to express the aspirations, the intuitions and the mystical awareness of the religious man. Not all students of English poetry will accept Mr Reid's opinions, but for all that his book is an important one, which cannot be ignored.

The case made out by Herbert Howarth in *The Irish Writers, 1880-1940* (Rockliff, 42/—) is that the characteristic temper and tone of the Irish Literary Renaissance owed their being to the downfall and death of the one-time national hero and leader, Charles Stewart Parnell. After his death a kind of Messianic legend and tradition grew up around his memory, and the recurrent themes of the literature which sprang from

and reflected the national aspirations for which he had stood embody this Messianism. In effect, then, Mr Howarth's book is a study of the development, in one form or another, of the Parnell legend in Irish literature. The specific authors chosen for detailed discussion are George Moore, Lady Gregory, W. B. Yeats, A. E., J. M. Synge and James Joyce. In his foreword Mr Howarth declares that his book is not intended for the specialist, but for the general reader. Nevertheless the specialist will find much of value in it, while the general reader may sometimes feel that he is wading in deep water.

In *The Sympathetic Alien. James Joyce and Catholicism* (New York, University Press, \$4.00) J. Mitchell Morse takes Joyce's own description of himself as a key to the understanding of his writings. Brought up and educated as a Catholic, Joyce nominally renounced the faith of his early years for a kind of agnosticism; and yet, Mr Morse contends, he always retained at the bottom of his heart a deep respect for it. And so he outlines Joyce's thought in terms of an eternal conflict between the Church and the artist. 'James Joyce belongs to the brave though rather tenacious tradition of Catholic thinkers', he writes in his first chapter, 'who have stood for the individual as against the authorities.' And elsewhere, 'The Church wins outwardly, but the individual becomes godlike by asserting the best that is in him.' So Joyce is revealed on the one hand as belonging to the line of great heretics (theological and otherwise) who were driven outside the Church because the church was not big enough, spiritually, to contain them, and secondly as the heir of the epic writers of old, who were impressed by the spirit of man undaunted in the face of overwhelming obstacles, and great and noble even in defeat. Mr. Morse discusses the influence of St. Augustine on Joyce's theory of art, and there are separate chapters on the contribution of John Scotus, Erigena, William of Ockham, Thomas Aquinas, and Ignatius Loyola. We sometimes feel that Mr Morse overworks his theory or carries it too far, but for all that, it is an interesting one, which is worth considering.

Edward Marsh is today remembered chiefly for his editorship of *Georgian Poetry*, but that this was only one side of a very full career and interesting personality is shown by Christopher Hassall in *Edward Marsh. A Biography* (Longmans, 42/—). Mr Hassall's book is very long (700 pp.) and very detailed, but it does succeed in bringing Edward Marsh to life and showing him as a generous, kindly person, always anxious to encourage the young writer of promise. Not unnaturally, the chief emphasis is on his literary work and his relations with other writers of his day, but his social life and activities are not neglected.

Another very long and detailed book is *Kenneth Grahame, 1859-1932. A Study of His Life, Work and Times*, by Peter Green (Murray, 30/—), published to coincide with the centenary of its subject's birth. It is a full-length study of one of the most attractive of the English writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, best remembered today for his work of fantasy *The Wind in the Willows*. Grahame's personality

stands out very clearly from this study: successful as he was professionally, socially and financially, he yet appears to have led a rather sad and disappointed life. The golden city of his dream world stood in such sharp contrast to the middle-class reality around him. He and his wife were, temperamentally, not the best suited of partners; and then, too, he had his personal sorrows. His son died in tragic circumstances while still at Oxford, and though he sought to bear the loss with stoical fortitude, he never really recovered from it.

Mr Green discusses Grahame's works with a sympathy and understanding which throws a new light upon them and their relation to the tradition of child literature which was so characteristic of the late Victorian and the Edwardian ages. His book is a fitting monument to a writer who has hitherto been an all but unknown figure to the many thousands, children and adults alike, who have read his works with such enjoyment.

Parodying two of Ezra Pound's own titles, Clark Emery suggests, in the preface to his *Ideas into Action. A Study of Pound's Cantos* (Coral Gables, Florida. University of Miami Press, \$.4.50), that he might have called his work 'An A.B.C. of Ezra Pound's Cantos'. And perhaps he might, though it is not nearly so lucid as one would expect a work with such a title to be. It is, indeed, very difficult to read, and though at the end of it one may be somewhat clearer about certain of Pound's ideas than at the beginning, not many readers, we think, will find it substantiates the rather exaggerated claim of the publishers printed on the dust-cover. Nor does Mr Emery's own style help matters. Admittedly, he has a rather confused and confusing subject to deal with, but the book strikes us as a skilfully assembled jig-saw puzzle. And finally may we enter a protest against the type-face, which gives the page a drab appearance and makes it difficult to read? The author denies that he is a Pound idolater, and true it is that he readily admits shortcomings on Pound's part, but one does feel that all the time he is trying desperately hard to assert the claim of the *Cantos* to be considered a great poem.

How seriously Ezra Pound is taken in certain academic circles in America is shown not only by Mr Emery's book, but also by *A Casebook of Ezra Pound*, Edited by William Van O'Connor and Edward Stone (New York, Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, \$.2.50), a collection of articles on Pound's work and career by a number of different writers, intended as the basis of a freshman English course in American colleges and universities. Most have appeared before in journals or magazines; a few are from official sources. In an appendix there are transcriptions of some of Pound's wartime broadcasts, and the volume concludes with a list of suggested essay or research subjects. The object of the editors has presumably been to collect together material dealing with as many aspects of Pound, and from as many points of view, as possible. This they have certainly done, but the result is that the volume becomes, like the one noticed previously, something of a hotch-potch, though perhaps we should not be too critical of it on this score, since it is described on the cover as 'pro and con

selections intended to be used as controlled source material'. It is only fair to add that the publishers enclose with it a cyclostyled sheet drawing attention to a letter of Pound in the *Times Literary Supplement* of December 6, 1957, accusing the author of one of the articles ('Weekend with Ezra Pound', by David Rattray) of inaccuracies and distortions.

Of the young poets who lost their lives in the first World War Isaac Rosenberg is not among the best known, though a volume of his *Collected Poems* was published in 1949 by Chatto & Windus. In a brochure entitled *Isaac Rosenberg, 1890-1918* (University of Leeds, 7/6) Jon Silkin and Maurice de Saumarez present us with a descriptive catalogue of an exhibition concerned with Rosenberg and his work, held at Leeds University during May and June 1959. The catalogue itself, which covers sketches, photographs, letters, documentary and biographical items, printed books and manuscript material, loses much of its significance, of course, apart from the actual exhibition, but of wider interest will be a preliminary essay on the poetry of Isaac Rosenberg by Jon Silkin, a similar essay by Maurice de Saumarez on his drawings and paintings, the text of some uncollected verse fragments, and a number of hitherto unpublished letters.

When the literature of the first half of the twentieth century can be seen in perspective Charles Morgan will probably stand out as one of the significant writers of the period. In an excellent book entitled *The Novels and Plays of Charles Morgan* (Bowes & Bowes, 21/—) Henry Charles Duffin gives us the first real attempt to assess his work and its relevance to the age in which it was produced. Mr Duffin's study is divided into four parts. In the first the author surveys the world of the novels and the plays, in the second the chief characteristics of Morgan's art, and in the third his philosophy. The fourth is devoted to individual studies of the chief novels and plays. Mr Duffin sees Morgan as a combination of the Platonist and the romantic: at a time when it was the fashion to emphasise the trivial, the sordid and the baser side of existence, he continued to take an elevated view of life, and despite the evidence of evil he believed in the preponderance of good in the world. The discussion of religion and religious issues as such found little place in his work, yet his view of man and the universe was essentially a religious one, being founded on a belief in the reality of spiritual values and their eternal validity. He does not judge his characters by conventional moral standards of right and wrong, but by whether their whole being 'gives a lift to the heart'. His approach is intellectual, it is true, but emotion is not absent; it is controlled and disciplined by intellect. True it is again that to the extent that almost all his characters are middle class his view of life was limited; but, Mr Duffin contends, the section of society with which he was concerned was a representative section. Those who can appreciate Charles Morgan's writings will also appreciate this book, and others will find in it much to stimulate thought and reflection on wider issues. It is one of the important books of the year, though it is, of course, by no means the last word upon Charles Morgan and his works.

As a tribute to Somerset Maugham on his eighty-fifth birthday Klaus W. Jonas has edited the symposium *The World of Somerset Maugham* (Peter Owen, 21/—). Dr. Jonas himself contributes essays on certain biographical aspects, on race problems, and on the works with an oriental setting; Frank Swinnerton takes the general subject of Somerset Maugham as a writer; St. John Irvine deals with the plays, and M. C. Kuner writes on 'Maugham and the West', while Glenway Wescott considers the qualities of his works that will count with posterity. Somerset Maugham himself contributes a preface.

And finally there is *Contemporary English Poetry*, by Anthony Thwaites (Heinemann, 10/6), a revision of a book which first appeared in Japan in 1957. The introductory chapter on 'The General Scene' is entirely new, there are additional chapters on Wilfred Owen and D. H. Lawrence, a few new names appear in the final chapter ('Poetry Since 1950'), and the rest has been slightly recast, while the bibliography has been brought up to date. 'Contemporary poetry' is, of course, a vague term, particularly when the word *contemporary* is mis-used, or loosely used, for 'present-day' or 'modern'. Here it is taken to mean poetry from the time of W. B. Yeats onwards, though there is a preliminary chapter on Gerard Manley Hopkins as a predecessor of the moderns. Within the brief compass of about 150 pages there is much sound and suggestive criticism. The book claims to be no more than an introduction to its subject, but it is a useful one.

The obituary for the year is happily a very short one: Sir W. W. Greg (March 5) and H. M. Margoliouth (March 20). Greg was best known for his work in the fields of bibliography and Elizabethan studies. Margoliouth's special province was the poetry of the Romantic period, though he had also edited Marvell and Traherne.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XL

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XLI, No. 5, October 1960

123a. Wherever in this paper *to sit* and *sit down* are referred to, we always imply the proviso 'as used in the quotations'; we are not concerned here with other senses or uses.

According to Poutsma (*The Characters of the English Verb and the Expanded Tenses*, §§ 10 and 13) *to sit* has its ingressive character imparted to it by the context,¹ while that of *to sit down* is formally expressed by the adverb.

¹ In modern linguistics there is a tendency to avoid the term 'context'. It naturally suggests a text and hence printed words. Now first of all language is primarily spoken

First a word about this ingressive character. It is often precarious to classify a verb as having an ingressive (inchoative, inceptive) or a resultative (terminative, conclusive) character, because to one man it may seem to have the former, to another the latter, according as the initial or the final stage of the activity strikes him as the more important of the two. For this reason we have been careful to use a non-committal 'perfective' when submitting the present problem to our readers. *To sit down* is a case in point. Is this verb really inchoative? Mr. C. N. Andriessen, Overveen, rightly observes that sitting down does not just mean lowering one's body to a sitting posture, but also attaining that position, so that it is a matter of personal opinion whether to call the verb-group inchoative or terminative. Sometimes we are even compelled to attribute an imperfective (durative) aspect to it, since we find it used in the progressive: *Just as I was sitting down I felt a stabbing pain in the small of my back.* Poutsma may have been unconsciously prompted to ascribe an ingressive character to the two verbs by his native speech-habits, since Dutch in both cases uses *gaan zitten*, which group is definitely inchoative. But if this conjecture is correct, he has interpreted one language in terms of another, a procedure always to be deprecated. A translation, even a close and correct translation, never guarantees identity of the conceptions underlying the words, expressions or constructions in the two languages concerned. There is no more reason for calling *to sit* and *to sit down* inchoative because Dutch has *gaan zitten* than for saying that they are reflexive in view of French *s'asseoir* or German *sich setzen*. Poutsma's thesis that the only difference between *to sit* and *to sit down* is that in the case of the latter verb its character, whatever it may be, is expressed more explicitly by the adverb, is not only erroneous, but also does not lead us very far, since it fails to tell us when we use the one, when the other. To us the difference seems to lie on another level.

Mr. P. N. van Wageningen, Leeuwarden, has noted the essential thing about the use of *to sit*, which is that it only occurs in sentences containing an indication of place, usually in the shape of an adverbial adjunct, whereas in the case of *to sit down* such an indication may or may not be found. On referring to our quotations the reader will see that in each case *to sit* duly takes an adverbial adjunct of place (*on the corner of his desk, on a bench in one of the squares, at this table*). Similarly in the sentences quoted by Poutsma (l.c.):

How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!

Here will we sit and let the sounds of music

Creep in our ears. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, V.i.54 ff.

and only secondarily written or printed. Only an infinitesimal part of language is ever put on paper, and always faultily at that. But more important still, whenever we use language, it is conditioned by the circumstances calling forth our speech. In the great majority of cases, this speech-situation is not put into words at all, but must be inferred. For these reasons we now prefer to say that some phenomenon of speech is determined by the situation rather than by the context.

*There from his charger down he slid, and sat. Tennyson,
Launcelot and Elaine, 508.*

Discovering a giant palm *in a secluded corner*, and a low couch *behind it*, he sat at once and began to talk. Max Pemberton, *Doctor Xavier*, Ch. X, 50a.

We can, hence, say *He sat* as well as *He sat down on the edge of the bath-tub* (with a difference in meaning presently to be discussed), but we can only say *As he was tired, he sat down*. There is, consequently, no alternative construction with *sat* to the last quotation under *b*. This supplies us with the clue to the difference in meaning and use between the verb and the verb-group. Sentences with *to sit* require an indication of place because this is a necessary complement to the verb. Why this should be so can be inferred from a comparison with *to sit down*. The alternative to sitting down is to remain standing; the alternative to sitting somewhere is sitting elsewhere. The place where we *sit* is always mentioned because it is singled out from among, or contrasted with, other places.

The aim of the activities denoted by the two verbs is also different. We *sit down* in order to rest, relax, take our ease, in short, to be more comfortable than we would be if we were to remain standing. We *sit somewhere*, on the other hand, because we prefer that place to any other, or because there is no other. From the fact that our aim in sitting down is to rest, it follows that *sit* is the word indicated when the activity is accidental or untoward: *He sat by mistake on his hat; Don't sit on this drawing-pin* (the examples are Dr. Wood's).

A third point of difference is that *to sit* represents the activity as occurring after some space has been traversed or some distance covered to reach the place, as in our first example: *Mason walked over and sat . . .*. Putting it briefly and perhaps with some over-simplification, we might say that *to sit* = *to go* (come, walk over, cross the room, etc.) *and sit*. The verb denoting the moving to the place is not always explicitly mentioned, but in that case it can be readily inferred from the situation.

The difference in meaning and use between the verb and the verb-group, though somewhat subtle, is real enough, and can perhaps best be illustrated by means of an imaginary case. Two people are taking a long walk in the country. If one says to the other 'Shall we sit down here for a moment?' the implication is 'I'm tired and want to rest'. If he says 'Shall we sit here for a moment?' the suggestion is 'This seems a suitable place to stop a moment'.

b. 'The left (right) foot is used because the attitude is described as a common or characteristic one, such as might be adopted (and frequently is adopted) by anyone sitting on the corner of a desk; it is not something peculiar to this particular person on this one occasion. It is thus similar to *thumbs in belts*, as contrasted with *their thumbs in their belts*, discussed under point 96 (XXXVIII, 2, p. 91).' So far Dr. Wood, whose form-

ulation is concise and contains all that is necessary to interpret the case correctly. It may perhaps be added that the use of the definite article instead of the possessive pronoun before nouns of inherent possession, sometimes creates a slightly comic effect. It is a favourite device of Mr. P. G. Wodehouse. By suggesting, for instance, that the woe-begone attitude of a young man whose love-affair is not prospering, is characteristic of a whole species and by no means restricted to him only, the young man's case, which looms so large in his own eyes, is made to dwindle to insignificant proportions.

Here I am at Blandings Castle, loving it. Sing of joy, sing of bliss, home was never like this. And yet, when the project of my coming here was first placed on the agenda, I don't mind telling you *the* heart was rather bowed down with the weight of woe. *Summer Lightning*, ch. I, p. 8. (Pan Books.)

Anthony was looking at him in surprise. 'I say, Rudolph, there isn't anything wrong, I hope?'

'Do you notice a change, Tony?'

'Well, no; but *the* manner is a little formal, if one may say so.' Max Murray, *The King and the Corpse*, ch. I 5, p. 180. (Penguin Books.)

Mr. Harold Gutschow, Berlin, whom we welcome as a new correspondent, contributes two more examples: *I'll bet I get the (= my) pants took off me* (Sinclair Lewis) and *The (= My) leg is starting to hurt now* (Hemingway).

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

(To be continued)

Brief Mention

The Paris Manuscript of Walter Hilton's 'Eight Chapters on Perfection'. Edited by FUMIO KURIYAGAWA. Tokyo, 1958. 36 pp.

This is the first edition of the original Middle English of a minor work by Walter Hilton, so that it is interesting to compare it with the late Dorothy Jones's modernized version, in her 1929 *Minor Works*. The present editor has based his text on that of Bibliothèque Nationale anglais 41, which she did not know of; and he has added another manuscript to her list, Lambeth 541. But fresh manuscripts of Hilton's works are constantly turning up in mediaeval anthologies: and this edition has not utilized the text of chapter ii found in Harley 6615, ff. 100-103. It is stated that Miss Jones's edition 'had to be used with great caution' as a modernized text, but a comparison of her work with the present one shows the high degree of accuracy which she used, and how very little modernizing she undertook. The present editor might also have spared a generous word for her learned and admirable general introduction to the *Minor Works*. We still await a critical edition of them which will report in full the manuscript tradition, and deal competently

with the difficult questions of Hilton's methods and sources. It is hard to see what else a future editor can do, except ignore this present interim text and do the work all over again. There is everything to be said against sporadic raids into scholarly fields such as this.

Liverpool.

ERIC COLLEDGE.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, *De Warachtighe Historie van Doctor Faustus*. Treurspel in Twee Delen. Opgevoerd op het Gerecht te Leiden ter gelegenheid van het 77e Lustrum der Universiteit door het Leidsche Studenten Toneel in de bewerking van Dr. A. G. H. BACHRACH en DOLF VERSPOOR en onder regie van CRUYS VOORBERG. Den Haag: Bert Bakker/Daamen N.V. 1960. (Dubbele Ooievaar 122/123.) 253 pp.

This little volume contains the text of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* as arranged by Walter Hudd for performance at Stratford, with a translation into Dutch facing each page and an Introduction and a Commentary (in Dutch) by Prof. Bachrach. It may be recommended to students as well as to others interested in sixteenth-century drama and the history of the Faustus legend. — Z.

The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined. An Analysis of Cryptographic Systems Used as Evidence that Some Author Other than William Shakespeare Wrote the Plays Commonly Attributed to Him. By WILLIAM F. FRIEDMAN & ELIZABETH S. FRIEDMAN. Cambridge University Press. 1957. xvii + 303 pp. Price 25s. net.

The authors of this disconcerting exposure of human futility are described on the cover as distinguished American cryptologists, who have both spent many years in the service of the United States Government. They have critically examined the attempts made during the last 70 years or so to prove the presence of hidden messages in the text of the First Folio put there by the 'real' author (usually Francis Bacon) to reveal his authorship to posterity. The enthusiasts whose works pass in review are mostly Americans (Ignatius Donnelly, Orville Ward Owen, Mrs Elizabeth Wells Gallup, etc.), with occasional members of other nationalities among them (Holland being represented by the mathematician Dr H. A. W. Speckman). As professional cryptologists the Friedmans come to the conclusion that none of the writers whose works they have carefully examined have proved their point. This might have been foreseen, but it is good to have it scientifically established.

To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that not all adherents of the Baconian theory rest their argument on supposedly hidden ciphers, and that several other noblemen besides Bacon (and a number of commoners as well) have been proposed as the 'real' authors of Shakespeare's plays. Those interested in the products of this inverted Shakespeare idolatry may be referred to another recent book, *Shakespeare and his Betters*, by R. C. Churchill (London, Max Reinhardt, 1958). — Z.

'Pride of Reason' in the Restoration and earlier Eighteenth Century. By IRÈNE SIMON. (Langues Vivantes No. 55.) [Bruxelles:] Marcel Didier, Editeur. [n. d.] 50 pp.

In the first part of this excellent pamphlet, Professor Simon, qualifying the conventional view of this period as an Age of Reason, draws attention to and analyses the distrust of reason expressed in such works as Rochester's *Satyr Against Mankind*, Dryden's *Religio Laici*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Prior's *On Exodus III, 14*, and Pope's *Essay on Man*. In the latter part, this distrust of reason is traced to its sources, to the New Philosophy and mathematics, to a reaction against Hobbes, and to the fears generated by the Civil War. The attitudes towards reason and faith of such writers as Sprat, Boyle, Hobbes, the Cambridge Platonists, Tillotson, Locke and Bolingbroke are discussed with shrewd illustrations. The whole argument, too, is clearly and cogently presented, and the value of such 'background' work is in this case increased by the discussion of particular works of art.

Leiden.

DAVID WILKINSON.

We have received Vol. 2, No. 4 (Oct. 1956) and Vol. 3, No. 3 (June 1958) of *Anglica*, a journal for the study of the English language and its history published by the English Philological Society of Kansai University, Osaka, Japan. As appears from an accompanying list of back volumes, Vol. 1, No. 1 came out in Nov. 1950, in Japanese, and these two are the only numbers thus far published in English (with the exception of Vol. 4, No. 1, Oct. 1959, which we have not received). The contents range from Old through Middle to Modern English, American English of course not being forgotten. They show a thorough familiarity with the European and American *Fachliteratur*, as well as a capacity for further exploration of linguistic problems.

Corrigendum

On p. 315 of the October number, lines 23 and 24 should be read as follows:

of contemplation which is less Proustian than Bergsonian in character.
For instance, to Peter Walsh, after his brief encounter with Clarissa

Contrary to what is stated on p. 322, the name Hoppe should *not* be written with an accent on the e.

Books Received

1958

English Intonation: A New Approach. By W. R. LEE. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company. [Received 1960.] 345-371. Price fl. 3.—. [Reprint from *Lingua*, Vol. V, 4, 1956.]

1959

Quantitative Study of the Speech of Australian Children. By F. W. HARWOOD. Reprinted from *Language and Speech*, Vol. 2, Part 4, Oct.-Dec. 1959, pp. 236-272.

Regularized English. An Investigation into the English Spelling-Reform Problem with a New, Detailed Plan for a Possible Solution. By A. WIJK. (Stockholm Studies in English VII.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 361 pp. Price Sw. Kr. 24.

Die Lebensfunktionen der Menschen und Säugetiere im Spiegel der englischen Sprache. Von G. GENZEL. Halle (Saale) / VEB Max Niemeyer. xix + 351 pp.

Die Aussprache des Englischen. Von H. KOZIOL. Wien-Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller. 146 pp. [See Review, Aug. 1960.]

Practice in Spoken English. By N. HADDOCK. Cambridge University Press. 32 pp. Price 1/6 net.

Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries. Inleiding tot de Moderne klankleer. Door A. COHEN, C. L. EBELING, P. ERINGA, K. FOKKEMA, A. G. F. VAN HOLK. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. xi + 147 pp. Price fl. 12.50. [See Review, Aug. 1960.]

Festschrift für Walther Fischer. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. viii + 332 pp. Cloth DM 36.—.

Tulane Studies in English. Volume IX. New Orleans: Tulane University. 131 pp. Price \$ 3.00.

Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien. Herausgegeben von W. FISCHER. Band. 4. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. [Received 1960.] 335 pp. Sewed DM 32.—.

1960

Colum's Other Island. The Irish at Lindisfarne. By G. W. DUNLEAVY. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. x + 149 pp. Price \$ 4.50.

Die Englische Sprache. Ihre Geschichtliche Entwicklung. Von K. BRUNNER. Erster Band: Allgemeines/Lautgeschichte. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. xxii[i] + 416 pp. Cloth DM 28.—.

A Glossary of the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (Brit. Mus. Ms. Cotton Vespasian A 1). Part One: The Verb. By P. MERTENS-FONCK. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CLIV.) Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 95, boulevard Raspail (VIe). 387 pp. Price 2.000 fr.

An Anthology of Old English Poetry. Translated by C. W. KENNEDY. New York: Oxford University Press. xvi + 174 pp. Price in U.K. 12/— net.

The Seafarer. Edited by I. L. GORDON. (Methuen's Old English Library.) ix + 70 pp. Price 7 s. 6 d.

Byrhtnoth's Tod. Aus dem Altenglischen übersetzt von H. KOZIOL. Wien-Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller. 16 pp. DM 1.40.

Middle English Dictionary. H. KURATH, Editor; S. M. KUHN, Associate Editor. Part C. 4: 383-510, *cold-congre*. Part C. 5: 511-638, *congregacioun-cotoned*. Part C. 6: 639-766, *cotoner-crosser*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Price \$ 3.00 each part.

The Owl and the Nightingale. Edited by E. G. STANLEY. (Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library.) Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 210 pp. Price 15/— net.

Facsimile of MS. Bodley 34. St. Katherine, St. Margaret, St. Juliana, Hali Meïðhad, Sawles Warde. With an Introduction by N. R. KER. (E.E.T.S. No. 247.) Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press. xviii and Facsimile. Price 42/— net.

Life on the English Manor. A Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400. By H. S. BENNETT. Cambridge: at the University Press. xvi + 364 pp. Price 13 s. 6 d. net; \$ 1.95. First edition 1937.

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